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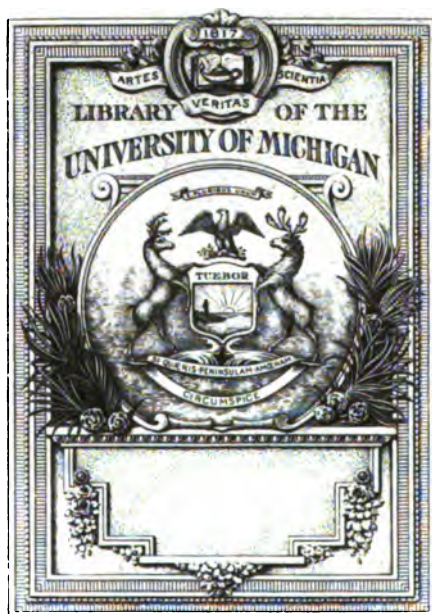
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The Venetian Republic

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The
Venetian Republic

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Its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall

421-1797

BY

W. CAREW HAZLITT

VOLUME II

1423-1797

LONDON

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1900



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Maps

VENICE AND THE LAGOONS (from the earliest known plan) *Facing page 325*

DOMINIO VENETO *In pocket at end*

The Venetian Republic

CHAPTER XXIX

A.D. 1423-1431

Renewed Appeal of Florence—Its Rejection—Successive Defeats of Florentines by the Milanese—Fresh Appeal to the Signory—FRANCESCO DI CARMAGNOLA, his Birth and Fortunes—He enters the Venetian Service—Negotiations with Milan on behalf of the Florentines—Growing Tendency to War—Speech of the Doge Foscari—League between Florence and the Republic (1425)—Attempt of Visconti to avert the Danger—Fall of Brescia—Operations on the Po—Liberal Offer of the Senate to Carmagnola—Peace, and Cession of Brescia and its territory to the Republic (1426)—Suspicious Conduct of Carmagnola—Second War against Milan (1427)—Misbehaviour of Carmagnola—Battle of Macalo—Peace (1428)—Cession of Bergamo, the Bergamasque, and a Portion of the Cremonese to Venice—Generosity of the Senate to Carmagnola—Venetian Government of Bergamo—Anecdote of Leonardo Giustiniani—Revolutions of Bologna (1270-1428)—Venice declines successively Bologna and Lucca—Violations of the Treaty of 1428, and Third War against Milan (1431)—Costly Preparations of Venice.

THE accession of the Doge Foscari naturally gave new hope to the Tuscans, whom the aggressive projects and unprincipled cupidity of the Duke of Milan were inspiring with the greatest inquietude. Surpassing in the magnitude of his schemes even his father the Count of Vertus, Filippo-Maria, having made himself master of Genoa and Brescia, carried his arms into the Romagna, to which Giovanni-Galeazzo had never extended his conquests, and seized Imola and Faenza. The Florentines now conceived that they could no longer, consistently with their own safety, delay to draw the sword; on the 24th November 1423, the Council of War (*Dieci della Balìa*) was organised;¹ prompt measures were taken to obtain troops from the Riviera of Genoa

¹ Della Robbia, *Vita di Bartolomeo Valori*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 277. Valori was one of the *Dieci*.

and elsewhere; and Rinaldo degli Albizzi was dispatched to Venice to beg that Government to reconsider its determination, and to make common cause with the Tuscans. Admitted to the bar of the Senate, Albizzi represented¹ in fulfilment of his instructions that, the Duke being manifestly bent upon crushing the freedom of Florence, the latter had resolved to run the hazard of war in defence of Italy and for her own security. He besought the Republic to open her eyes, and, as the principal Power in the Peninsula, to co-operate in providing for the general safeguard. He pointed out, that the arms of Florence, properly seconded, could impose a curb on the ambition of Visconti. He exhorted the Signory at least to exhibit a favourable leaning to the just cause by closing against the Milanese the Passes of the Po; and the Ambassador concluded by declaring that his countrymen, rather than tolerate any longer the arrogance of the Duke, would call to their aid all the powers of the world.

The answer of the Senate was delivered on the 13th May 1424.² That Body "regrets profoundly the fresh disagreements which have arisen to disturb the peace of the Peninsula; on its part it desires nothing so ardently as repose, and in that interest the Republic has invariably exerted herself. There are excellent reasons which preclude Venice from acceding to the proposal for a League. In regard to the Passes of the Po, the Florentines ought to be aware that the Senate is in no position to close them; but the Republic is prepared to deny the Milanese any passage through Ferrara." "Besides" (continued the Senate), "such is the wisdom and dexterity of the Florentines, that it entertains no doubt that they will concert among themselves the measures most conducive to their welfare and greatness: to speak frankly, the Venetians, having failed in repeated efforts to make peace with the King of the Romans (Sigismund), have been under the necessity of contracting an offensive and defensive alliance with the Duke;³ and the consequence is that if the King is invited (by Florence) into Italy, we are bound to unite against his Majesty with Filippo-Maria."

This second rebuff was supremely vexatious and perplexing. But, whatever scruples the Florentines might have conceived on the score of prudence, they were conscious that they had now

¹ Romanin, iv. 101.

² Romanin, *ubi supra*.

³ In 1421, for ten years. Bisticci, *Vita di Lorenzo Ridolfi*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 317-8.

gone too far to draw back; Carlo Malatesta and his brother Pandolfo were already in the Romagna with 10,000 men; and a collision with the Milanese under the redoubtable Bussone was almost daily to be expected. The only course which remained open was to seek other external support; and notwithstanding the implied menace of the Signory, letters were written to the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, and the Swiss, in a supplicatory tone. Sigismund, more particularly, was implored to hasten into Italy "to confound the enemies and rebels of his Crown, and to help his devoted servants."

Bussone and the two Malatesta encountered each other at Zagognara,¹ in the Faenzan territory, on the 27th July 1424, and the Tuscans were deplorably beaten. In her despair, the discomfited Power made a fresh appeal to the Republic.² An embassy, consisting of Palla Strozzi and Giovanni de' Medici, the latter a member of the *Florentine Company* of Venice and father of the more famous Cosmo, waited on the Doge in the first week of October. But the attempt met with no better success than its predecessors; and although Foscari, from vanity, perhaps, as much as from conviction, was personally inclined to the course which he had so warmly advocated before his accession, the Senate and the Ten were equally averse from committing the country to a policy, of which they found themselves unable to foresee with sufficient clearness the bearings and issue. At this stage, the Holy See having interposed, the Florentine ambassadors officially intimated to the Senate that it was the desire and aim of the Pontiff Martin to make peace between their Government and Filippo-Maria, and to frame a defensive alliance among the Italian States against the Emperor. The Senate replied:—"We rejoice to receive this intelligence. The Republic will be very glad to give her adhesion to any Confederacy of the kind indicated, and Cardinal Lando, our Ambassador at Rome, has been instructed to support the measure so far as lies in his power."³ But the proposed Italian League with the Pope at its head eventually fell to the ground; and the Government of the Doge contented itself with sending Andrea Mocenigo to Milan in December (1424), to pray the Duke to refrain from molesting the Lord of Ferrara, whom the Venetians had taken under their protection. "Your Signory,"

¹ Paolo Morosini, lib. xix. p. 407.

² P. Morosini, *Memoria intorno alla Repubblica di Venezia*, xxii.

³ Romanin, iv. 103.

caustically observed Visconti to Mocenigo, "*prays* me indeed, but her prayers are ever commands!"¹

A second reverse, which soon befell the Tuscans at Val di Lamona, slightly shook, however, the composure of the Republic; and on the 17th February 1425, a secretary, Francesco della Sega, was ordered to set out for Milan, to endeavour to open some negotiation, and to lay before Visconti at the same time certain demands preferred by Venice on her own account. The Ducal Government "*prayed*" that the Lord of Ravenna, "*whom* it had taken under its protection," might be indemnified for the sacrifices to which he had been put during the last war; that the Venetian subjects at Casalmaggiore, Brescella, and Torricella might be left undisturbed; that the Genoese might not be debarred from remitting to the Signory the compensatory payments due for former losses; and that the tolls, illegally exacted from the Venetian citizen, Bettino da Uberti, by the Milan Custom-house, might be reimbursed. It was only five days after the delivery of his commission to Secretary della Sega, that an unexpected occurrence gave a somewhat new complexion to the question.

Francesco Bussone was a native of the small village of Carmagnola, in the district of Turin. He was born about 1390; his father was named Bartolomeo.² The race from which the boy sprang was extremely humble and obscure: the elder Bussone is reported to have been a poor rustic; and it is said, that in his younger days Francesco was accustomed to tend sheep. His military tastes and talents were developed, however, at a precocious age; and his crook was, at any rate, soon exchanged for a sword. His first patron was Facino Cane, one of the most powerful princes in Italy and the greatest general of his time. At the death of Cane in 1412, Filippo-Maria Visconti, then in the beginning of his career and master of Pavia only, married his widow Beatrice Tenda, and extended his patronage to FRANCESCO DI CARMAGNOLA; upon this point the destiny of Carmagnola and his employer equally turned; and the History of Lombardy may be read for some time in the Fasti of a Turinese hind. Having by a happy recognition of rare merit promoted the young soldier of Cane from the ranks to the head of his army, Filippo-Maria succeeded in the course of ten years not only in recovering, but in amplifying, the Dukedom of Milan; Carmagnola himself amassed

¹ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1086.

² Berlan, *Il Conte Carmagnola*, 1855, p. 9, *et seq.*

a fortune of between 70,000 and 80,000 ducats, of which he had the prudence to invest 30,000 in the Venetian Funds;¹ his services were speedily requited with the Countship of Castelnuovo (1415) and with the hand of a daughter of the House of Visconti (1417²); and, that he might have a residence suitable to his position and dignity, he laid the foundations of the beautiful Palace of Broletto-Nuovo at Milan. In 1421 and 1422, the exploits of the hero culminated in the successive conquest of Brescia, Genoa, and Forli; and in the latter year he was made Governor of Genoa. In person, the Count of Castelnuovo was square-set, powerfully built, and robust; his frame was symmetrical; his complexion was ruddy; and his hair and eyes were of the same chestnut-brown tint.³

It was impossible, that so brilliant a reputation should long remain unenvied or unslandered. The Court of Milan was as rich as any other in mediocrity of talent, and Carmagnola counted numerous rivals who, enraged at finding themselves eclipsed and superseded by an alien interloper, breathed into the ear of Visconti suspicions of the ulterior plans of his favourite captain. The astrologers, a singularly powerful body in those days, were on their side; and the selfish pusillanimity of the Duke was not inaccessible to the whispers of calumny. Filippo-Maria became more and more distrustful of the Governor of Genoa, and he secretly meditated his ruin at the earliest opportunity. This change of feeling came to the knowledge of Carmagnola in due course, and he hastened from his seat of government to confront himself with his accusers, and to refute their insinuations. The Duke, however, dreading the possibility that his intended victim might have penetrated his design, denied him an audience, and even instructed the guards to stop him, as he proceeded to cross the drawbridge; and the injured man, quite aware of the easy doctrine of his employer on the removal of political obstacles, consulted his personal safety by a sudden and rapid flight from the Castle of Abbiate-grasso, near Genoa, where Filippo was then staying. Milanese troopers were instantly put upon his track; but he outstripped all his pursuers, and reached without impediment the Savoyard frontier. The baffled Visconti vented his wrath by sequestering all the property possessed by the fugitive

¹ The requisite permission was only given on a second application by the special authority of the Great Council, May 21, 1421.

² Berlan, p. 9.

³ Ibid.

within his reach, amounting to 40,000 ducats, and by committing his wife and children, who had been instructed to follow him, to close custody.

Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, received his distinguished visitor with urbane kindness, and extended to him all the offices of hospitality. But he naturally shrank from acceding to the warlike projects against Milan which the General sketched out, and politely declined to become a tool in the hands of the Count of Castelnovo for wreaking his vengeance on his enemies.

Carmagnola did not yet despond. He knew, that there was one Power greater than Milan and greater than Savoy, to which he might appeal with some prospect of success. In 1421, he had been permitted, as a high mark of favour, to invest a part of his fortune in the Venetian Chamber of Loans; those 30,000 ducats were now all that remained to him; and he determined, after the failure of his overtures to Amadeus, to repair to the Lagoon, and to offer his services to the Republic. The Count arrived at his new destination, accompanied by eighty men-at-arms, on the 23rd February 1425, in the same week in which Secretary della Sega had departed for Milan with his weighty budget of demands.

Among other personages of note who hastened to pay their respects to the noble stranger, was a certain Andrea Contarini, who appeared to throw himself a good deal in the way of Count Francesco, and to cultivate his acquaintance with an unusual degree of assiduity. To Contarini, in truth, the Government had secretly confided the task of sounding Carmagnola; and it was not the object of Carmagnola to be mysterious. The General unfolded his views frankly and without constraint; he disclosed many points of Milanese policy not generally known, and he finished by conveying to his questioner a desire to be employed by the Signory. Contarini reported to the Government all the facts which he had collected; an audience of the Doge was arranged; and on the 2nd of March, a week only after his arrival, his services were secured at a liberal scale of remuneration, but without any specific commission. Until he was absolutely required to take command in the field, it was intimated to him that he might retire to Treviso, and there await orders.

It was during the stay of Carmagnola at Treviso, and in the month of August 1425, that two persons, named Gherardo da Rubiera and Giovanni degli Aliprandi, were arrested by the

local government, on suspicion of being concerned in an attempt upon his life.¹ It transpired in the confessions of Rubiera and Aliprandi under torture that they had been hired by Visconti for the express purpose of dispatching the General by poison or otherwise, that they had several accomplices, and that it formed part of their plan to excite on the spot a spirit of disaffection to the Signory. The two principals were summarily executed; in regard to the treatment of their accessories, the Senate thought proper to lodge a discretionary power in the podesta and captain of Treviso, Nicolo Priuli. But, in a letter which was addressed to Priuli on the subject, that body, earnestly solicitous to postpone any collision with Filippo-Maria, at all events until a better opportunity, added this passage: "You will be careful, in the legal documents and in the proceedings taken in connection with the present affair, to avoid all personal allusion to the Duke, and we recommend you to state on paper simply that the intended assassins came from Milan!" Aliprandi was a distant connection of the Visconti, and, on being required to leave Milan for some political reason, had been living at Treviso on terms of intimacy with his intended victim.

The mission of della Sega was, so far as the Florentines were concerned, entirely ineffectual. The Duke announced that, if he treated with Florence, it would be without the mediation of the Holy See, the Signory, or any third Power; nor had the subsequent embassy of Paolo Corraro a happier result. On the return of the latter, Lorenzo Ridolfi, the Tuscan ambassador, urged the Senate more warmly and importunately than ever to embrace the cause of his countrymen (May 1425). But that circumspect and wary Assembly was still inclined to temporise. It alleged that, although Visconti had declined her intercession, he had expressed the utmost reverence for the Republic and his readiness to reconsider the question. On such an errand della Sega was once more employed; but the reverence of the Duke did not make itself particularly manifest, and the friendly offices of Venice remained unappreciated. Ridolfi and his colleague, Palla Strozzi, were in absolute despair; at the close of an audience, which had been accorded to them by the Senate, the latter² exclaimed, with passionate emotion: "My Lords of Venice, it appears to me that you wish to see Filippo King of Lombardy.

¹ Andreae Billii *Historia*, lib. v.

² Redusio de Quero contemp., *Chronicon Trevisanum*, 854, Murat. xix.

If you make him King, we, who have withstood his ambition hitherto, will make him Emperor! You shall judge!"

The pithy and sententious declaration of Strozzi, which in all probability had not been hastily uttered, slightly deranged Venetian equanimity. A little while afterward, a member of the Government took an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject. "The fact is," he was told, "our Navy is dispersed in sundry directions; the winter is at hand; and there are several reasons which render it undesirable to launch out into hostilities. But, at the same time, we beg you to accept an assurance, that Venice will never view with indifference or apathy any serious encroachment on Italian liberties!" It was not, however, that the Senate alone was loth to engage in war on behalf of Florence. The Doge, who perhaps still recollected the warning voice of his predecessor, also leaned toward neutrality.

The sally of the Florentine Envoy was indeed a good deal more than a mere rhetorical common-place. The withdrawal of Carmagnola from the service of Filippo-Maria had not ameliorated the prospects of the other belligerent. The Tuscan arms were exposed to a series of humiliating reverses at the hands of the new lieutenants of Visconti, Nicolo Piccinino and Francesco Sforza; and the situation of Florence was becoming alarmingly critical. The triumphal progress of the Duke, with the occurrences at Treviso in the summer, which furnished an ample source of irritation, operated more potently than any other agency in persuading Venice to relent; and the consecutive defeats of the Florentines in the course of a single week (Oct. 9-17, 1425) at Anghiari and Faggiuolo warned the Signory that the time was at hand for throwing her own mighty sword into the scale against Visconti. This warlike tendency was strengthened and fostered by a voice from the throne. In the course of November 1425, an address which, as it has come down to us, offers a potent contrast to those of his predecessor, was delivered in the Senate by the Doge himself, now apparently in course of conversion to a modified policy; and it seems that no one, apart from his exalted rank, carried greater weight from his persuasive manner, his eloquent style, and his particularly fine voice:—

"Many resolutions have been proposed, Conscript Fathers, which, being of a contradictory kind, breed confusion, and tend to mislead our judgment. *Decipimur specie recti*. There are two things, which in this our Republic are thought exceedingly

pleasant, but which nevertheless have involved States oftentimes in troubles: they are, peace and frugality. While men cling to repose too fondly, and shew themselves too greedy of gain, grave perils beset their path. Of this we have examples numerous enough in ancient and in modern days. Have we not one under our own eyes? Behold the fate of the Florentines who, having neglected to bridle the power of Filippo-Maria, while it was still insignificant, are now in imminent danger of falling under a Milanese yoke? But what am I saying? Is it not our place to help the distressed and jeopardised Power? Shall we suffer Filippo to lay a finger on the liberties of Florence? That insensate tyrant (if he be not checked) will be pursuing his conquests unmolested, until he has overrun the whole Peninsula; and when he has got Florence, HE WILL ATTACK US NEXT.¹ That is the grand object of his machinations; that is his sole thought. Therefore I have wondered much when I have heard it said, that it is not for us to interfere in this matter. Really, most excellent Fathers, I am of decided opinion that our interest and duty lie in that very direction; I am of opinion that the Dominion ought not to remain a passive spectator of the present contest. I must remind you that the Florentines, though weakened indeed, are not so utterly exhausted that they cannot furnish their share of troops. By Carmagnola we have been assured that 'the power of the Duke is not so great as it is reputed to be'; and under such a leader who, even in our age so prolific in military talent, has no equal, we may sanguinely look for a prosperous result and for an extension of frontier. All these considerations are calculated to induce us to engage in the war—a necessary war, I must call it—against the common foe who, contemning all laws, human and divine, appropriates by fraudulent and nefarious arts the possessions of his neighbours, and who is aspiring to the Italian throne. For such reasons, I repeat, let us undertake the struggle with good courage; and in crushing this enemy, let us secure for the Peninsula the blessing of tranquillity!"

The Ducal address, supported by more than one collateral circumstance, influenced Venice in favour of the propositions brought by Ridolfi and Strozzi. On the 23rd November, the Senate decreed the acceptance of the League with Florence; and from that point the conduct of the whole affair, with the management of all details, was allowed to devolve on the Ten. The

¹ See Bisticci, *Vita di L. Ridolfi*: *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 318.

treaty was signed on the 3rd December, and it was to have a duration of five years from this date.

The stipulations were: 1. That each of the contracting parties shall send into the field 8000 horse and 3000 foot. 2. That a naval squadron for the protection of the Po shall be raised at the common expense. 3. That it shall be competent for the Republic to control absolutely the movements of the combined armies, to conclude peace at her pleasure, and to make any incidental arrangements which she thinks beneficial to the mutual interest. 4. That the conquests of the League in Tuscany and Romagna shall belong to Florence, those in Lombardy to Venice, and Lucca and Parma to Ferrara. 5. That Genoa shall be restored to independence. 6. That either party shall be at liberty to include in the present Treaty its allies and adherents, provided that they are Italian. 7. That the confederacy shall be regarded as framed against Austria, Hungary, Germany, or any other Power whom the Duke of Milan may enlist in his cause, and that the faculty of disposing of the Malatesta estates, if that family espouse the side of Visconti, shall remain in the hands of the Venetians.

The Republic at once endeavoured to procure the adhesion of Martin V.; and overtures were addressed to Switzerland and Savoy for the purpose of creating a favourable diversion in that quarter. On the 21st December, the number of the Pregadi was carried to 100;¹ and that Council was constituted a tribunal for the management of the War. On the 13th January 1420, the Cavaliere Bembo was named Captain of the Po; and on the 21st the League was published. But it was not till the 19th February that the commission of Captain-General of all the land forces was delivered to Carmagnola.

On the first report of the existence of a Coalition, Filippo-Maria had dispatched an ambassador, Franchino da Castiglione, to Venice to expostulate with that Government in a friendly spirit; and it happened, that Castiglione arrived on the same day, on which the important instrument was proclaimed (January 21). He intimated to the Signory, that his master had received the last news with a feeling of intense astonishment; he spoke of the excellent terms, on which the Venetians had always stood with the Visconti; and he averred that the latter, having ever proved himself, and wishing to be still, "a dutiful son of the Republic," was quite at a loss to understand how Venice could

¹ Navagiero, fol. 1087; Paolo Morosini, lib. xix. p. 412.

have been led to range herself among his enemies. To this flimsy protest a categorical answer was given. The Doge confessed, that the most affectionate relations had subsisted between his country and the Dukes of Milan; "and," he said, "it is on that very ground, that we have learned with peculiar pain the differences of Milan and Florence. We have, it is well known, spared no labour to re-establish peace. We have watched with patience and solicitude the efforts made by the Marquis of Ferrara and by the Florentine Ambassador at Milan toward the settlement of the difficulty; and we at length volunteered our own mediatorial offices. But every attempt has failed. Our pacific sentiments and desires have found no reciprocity on the part of the Duke. We deny that by the proposed federation with Tuscany the Republic violates the Treaty of 1421, or absolves Filippo-Maria from any obligations in respect to it. For that treaty aimed simply and purely at providing a common safeguard against the Emperor. Even granting it to be true, that the Republic has been guilty of such a breach of faith, the Duke ought to be reminded that he took the initiative by attacking the Malatesti, who are under our protection, and by contracting alliances with several States contrary to his engagements, thus in strictness nullifying the compact in question. Your master mentions guarantees! The best guarantee which Venice can have is peace; but that does not appear to be contemplated by the Duke!" "The truth is," concluded his Serenity, "that we have determined to adhere to the League for ten years. If Filippo-Maria choose even now to propose the mediation of Ferrara or Mantua, we are content: only, if Florence be attacked, we shall help her. On the other hand, should the Duke come to terms, he may join the League with us against other enemies, if he thinks proper to do so."

Nothing farther was heard of Castiglione; and it was suspected that the Milanese astrologers were persuading their master that it would not, after all, be quite a hopeless task to grapple with these Venetians, whose aggrandisement in the last century at his father's expense and his own deeply rankled in his bosom.¹ "There was between the Duke and Venice," explicitly states the biographer of Acciaiuolo, "a natural hatred on account of his lands, which are occupied by the Republic." "Filippo," he adds, in another place, "refused an audience to the Venetian ambassador,

¹ Bisticci, *Vita di Agnolo Acciaiuolo*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 348.

because he detested the parade and circumlocution, which the Venetians employ, who are excessively ceremonious and verbose!"¹

Nicolo Contarini had been sent to Florence to concert a plan of operations with the Dieci della Balìa;² and hostilities were opened forthwith. At the end of the month, the Venetians and Tuscans entered the Milanese territory from opposite points; and on the 3rd March, the Allies, 7000 or 8000 strong, were in front of Brescia. The acquisition of the Guelph and other Quarters, into which the city was divided,³ was achieved with comparative ease. By collusion between Carmagnola and the Avogadri and other Guelph families,⁴ with whom he was intimate, the gates were thrown open to the Confederates on the night⁵ of the 7th; and the Milanese troops, who were few in number and ill-victualled, retired without opposition into the citadels. The latter, known as the *Castello Vecchio* and the *Castello Nuovo*, were situated on the brow of a hill commanding the City, with which they communicated by a high and massive wall running the whole length of the sloping elevation into the plain on which Brescia is built.⁶ The bombardment of the Old and New Castles was an undertaking of a far more arduous kind; and the difficulties, with which it was fraught, allowed the generals of Filippo-Maria time to improve and increase their resources. On the other hand, the arrival of Nicolo da Tolentino, the Florentine commander, placed at the disposal of Carmagnola the talents of the most celebrated engineer of the day; and the siege was immediately formed. The enemy had not yet come up.

The Tusco-Venetian Alliance soon produced important results of a collateral kind. In May 1426, a truce was negotiated by the Florentines between Venice and the Emperor, on condition that the Signory should lend maritime aid to Sigismund in his Turkish war; and in July following,⁷ the Duke of Savoy, yielding to Venetian pressure, came to the resolution of acceding to the League, and was guaranteed in the possession of all the conquests hereafter to be made beyond the Ticino toward Piedmont and the German Alps, together with Asti, Tortona, Voghera, Vercelli, Novara, and Milan itself. Alessandria was likewise

¹ Bisticci, *ubi supra*.

² Navagiero, fol. 1087.

³ Galibert, ch. vi.

⁴ Sabellico, dec. ii. lib. x.; Muratori, *Annali*, 1426.

⁵ Andrea Billii *Historia*, lib. v.

⁶ Diedo, *Storia*, lib. ix.

⁷ *Istoria di Firenze*, Murat. xix. 973.

appointed to fall to the share of Amadeus, unless the Marquis of Monteferrato became, within a reasonable space of time, a member of the Coalition, in which case that city and its environs were to be allotted to the Marquis.

The execution of that clause of the Treaty of December last, which referred to Genoa, was confided to the author of the *Trevisan Chronicle*. It had been understood that Florence should arm at her own cost 1600 horse and 2000 foot in the cause of Genoese independence. "I was sent," Redusio himself tells us,¹ "to the Florentines in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and, among others, to Tommaso Campo-Fregoso, late Doge and Governor of the City, who was now Lord of Sarzana, and to Giovanni-Luigi da Fieschi, residing at Pontremolo, by both of whom I was warmly welcomed. Nevertheless, the Florentines did not perform their engagements."

One contingency, for which Venice provided in the December Treaty, was speedily realised. Carlo Malatesta elected in the new contest to take part with Filippo-Maria, whose generosity after the battle of San Egidio in 1416 had completely captivated his heart; and in the early part of April he was consequently proscribed by the Hundred. On the 17th of the month, Malatesta addressed an epistle to that Council, couched in terms of surprise and remonstrance, and demanding to know "whether the report which had reached his ears was correct?" The answer was prompt and pointed: it bore date the 19th April. "We have received your letter of the 17th," wrote the Hundred, "and we beg to inform you, that it is quite true that we have published such a proclamation as that to which you allude; and a copy is herewith inclosed to your Magnificence. It is equally true, that your magnificent progenitors have rendered to us the services which you specify, and many more indeed; and that is precisely the reason why we extended our friendship and kindness to your Magnificence and to your brothers, and why we made you our captain, pensioned you, and conferred citizenship upon you. But your Magnificence and your brothers, deviating from the path of your forefathers, and forgetful of benefits received, have leagued yourselves with our foes, and have paid no heed to our protests and remonstrances. Whether your conduct has been honourable and fair, we must leave you to judge. We, at any rate, considering the course which you have so un-

¹ Murat. xix. 854.

worthily pursued toward our Republic, have issued the present proscription; and what we have begun, we mean to carry through."¹

Meanwhile, the operations before Brescia were progressing favourably, though slowly. Under the superintendence of Tolentino, trenches and other siege works had been constructed on a large scale; both citadels were invested; and provisions were already running short in the garrison. In August, Carmagnola made himself master of the Pilo Gate of the Old Castle, and a few weeks afterward, the Garzetta Gate, in the Borgo of San Alessandro,² fell into his hands. On the 16th September, the Proveditors, Pietro Loredano and Fantino Michieli, wrote to the Hundred from the Camp as follows:—"The troops of the Duke, to the number of 7000, having presented themselves here and offered battle; the Venetians, with 5000 horse and 1000 foot, formed in excellent order, and came to an engagement with the enemy. The fighting lasted three hours, when the Milanese were compelled to retire with the provisions they had brought to relieve the fortresses; and the Venetians then entered the Old Castle. The New still holds out; but, with the Divine aid, we look for its speedy submission. The bombards are already planted against the walls."

The defenders of the New Castle, however, continued to make a resolute stand, until the pressure of hunger was no longer endurable. On the 10th November, the Milanese commander capitulated, subject to an understanding that, if relief arrived within ten days,³ the instrument should be annulled; but the 20th came without bringing any reinforcement or hope; and on that day therefore the keys were delivered, and the confederates gained absolute possession of Brescia.

At the same time, the Captain of the Po,⁴ having, in pursuance of his instructions (May 1426), ascended that river so far as Cremona, sailed into the Adda, took two forts along its banks, and penetrated to the very walls of Pavia, which he treated with insulting defiance. Filippo-Maria, exasperated to the highest pitch by the blow inflicted on his arms and fortunes, now had recourse to all sorts of expedients for weakening and distracting his new antagonist. At his instigation, the Hungarians created a diversion in Friuli; and in July, the Republic

¹ Berian, cap. 27.

² Diedo, *Storia*, lib. ix.

³ Ibid. cap. 41.

⁴ Ibid. lib. ix.

was obliged to dispatch a body of troops to that coast under the Proveditor Marco Miani. A wretch, named Arrigo di Brabante,¹ was employed by the Duke almost simultaneously to set fire to the Venetian Arsenal; but the iniquitous scheme was happily revealed prior to its execution, and the intended incendiary, sentenced to be quartered alive, died amid excruciating torments.

From an intelligible reluctance to augment the national burdens and to injure commercial interests, the Signory had paused, before she finally committed herself to war; but her policy was now unalterable. On her own material resources she had reason to place the fullest reliance; and Carmagnola was honoured by the manifestation on her part of unbounded confidence in his integrity no less than in his genius. On the 7th May,² civic honours had been accorded to him, and the Great Council had enrolled him among its members. A few days later (May 11³), the Senate signified to him its readiness to form a State for his family on which side of the Adda he might prefer, so soon as his efforts were crowned by victory. On the 28th of the same month, pacific overtures having been initiated by Filippo-Maria through two esquires of the body to Carmagnola, who had been taken prisoners,⁴ the Signory declared that she was willing to intrust the negotiation to the Captain-General, "who could fight and treat at the same time"; and Carmagnola was "recommended" by his employers to treat with Filippo "in such honourable and dexterous manner as may seem to his Magnificence most meet."⁵ But he was earnestly exhorted not to allow mere empty phrases to interfere with the active prosecution of the war. The Venetians wished to avoid in future at least the reproach of verbosity.

Almost from the outset, to say the truth, the Count of Castelnovo had rendered himself somewhat troublesome and suspected; and a party had long existed, which viewed his movements with solicitude and mistrust. So far back as the beginning of April, he begged leave, as a means of recruiting his health which was not particularly good, to quit the camp for a certain term, and to proceed to the baths of Abano. The Hundred, having taken the opinion of the highest medical authorities at Venice and Padua,⁶

¹ Sanudo, fol. 987.

² Romanin, iv. cap. 5.

³ Ibid. cap. 41.

⁴ Ibid. p. 433.

⁵ Berlan, cap. 41.

⁶ Ibid. cap. 21.

offered no direct opposition to his wishes ; but he was begged not to absent himself at present, unless it was absolutely necessary, and the Council recommended him to try an aperient. The hint was not appreciated ; the visit to the baths was paid ; and the command-in-chief was provisionally conferred upon the Lord of Mantua. The request, to which the Government had thus yielded, was repeated, however, at intervals ; and the Proveditors had the utmost difficulty in keeping him at his post. At length, in the middle of October,¹ while the conquest of Brescia was still imperfect, his importunacy was triumphant, and he started on a second trip : nor did he return till the 14th November, four days after the signature of the capitulating articles. The conduct of Carmagnola was fairly open to animadversion and blame. His employers had every reason to view such behaviour with displeasure ; and he was scarcely entitled to complain, if it excited some degree of suspicion.

The fall of Brescia on the 20th November, the threatening posture of Savoy, Switzerland and Aragon,² and the undisguised tendency of many of the Lombard States to side with the victorious League, gravely puzzled Visconti. The cold season was now at hand, and it was tolerably certain that the activity of his opponents would be suspended during the winter. The Duke, who was bitterly disappointed by the rout before Brescia of the troops expressly summoned from the Romagna to its relief,³ saw no alternative but to seize the present opportunity ; and the Pontiff Martin, whom he had propitiated by the recent cession of Forli and Imola to the Church, was persuaded to intercede for him with the Venetians. The Government informed the Nuncio who was sent on this business to Venice, "that the Signory is far fonder of peace than of war, and that she accepts with pleasure the mediatorial offices of His Holiness." The initiative having been thus taken, and the Republic having an undoubted right, under the Treaty of December 1425, to terminate hostilities,⁴ certain preliminaries were arranged ; a safe-conduct was granted to the plenipotentiaries of the Duke ; and after a delay, which the nature of the conditions makes intelligible, a treaty was signed between Milan and the League on the 30th December in the ancient monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.⁵ No conquests had

¹ Berlan, cap. 45.

³ Ibid. 856.

⁵ Romanin, iv. cap. v.

² Redusio, *Chronicon Tarvisinum*, 855.

⁴ See also Navagiero, 1098.

hitherto been effected in the direction of Tuscany or Piedmont, and consequently neither Florence nor Savoy was a gainer in point of territory. But the latter acquired important commercial advantages in being placed on the same footing in the capital of the Republic with the German Gild:¹ while the Florentines were allowed to export English and French goods from Genoa in their own instead of in Genoese bottoms.² To Venice Brescia and the Bresciano,³ with Casalmaggiore, Valcamonica, and a portion of the Cremonese,⁴ were reluctantly surrendered. The fortress of Montecchio was transferred to Ferrara. The House of Malatesta was emancipated from its obligations to Visconti. The release of the wife and children of Carmagnola, and the restitution of his property, were guaranteed at Venetian dictation.⁵ Several other points of minor consequence were adjusted.

The Brescians had no cause to regret their change of rulers. Their Constitution, which was assimilated, with some difference in the details, to that introduced into Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, and the other Provinces of the *terra firma*, was framed in a liberal spirit and on wisely moderate principles. The taxes underwent little or no alteration. The courts of law were improved;⁶ and the administration of justice was rendered prompter and more effective. The acquisition, at the same time, was more advantageous to the Signory, in a financial point of view, than any other of her conquests, Padua not excepted: for, while the expenditure was calculated at 16,000 ducats a year only, the revenues of the Bresciano were found to reach⁷ 75,500, a surplus thus remaining of nearly 60,000.

The first Podesta of Brescia was Fantino Dandolo, son of the Doge Andrea, and a man of equal piety and erudition; and the appointment of Captain of the City was bestowed upon Nicolo Malipiero. The post of Castellan of one of the citadels devolved upon the author of the celebrated *Chronicle of Treviso*, a subject and tried servant of the Republic. "While the cession of the place (Brescia) was still pending," this writer observes,⁸ "the Senate of Venice sent for me, Andrea Redusio of Quero, Citizen and Chancellor of the Commune of Treviso, and told me, that I

¹ Sanudo, p. 992.² Napier, lib. i. c. 30.³ Andrea Billii *Historia*, lib. v.; Aretini *Suorum Temporum Commentarius*; Murat. xix. 934.⁴ Berlan, cap. 47.⁵ Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia*, lib. v.; Murat. xx. 353; Romanin, *ubi supra*.⁶ Sandi, *Storia Civile Veneziana*, lib. vii. c. 1.⁷ Sanudo, p. 965.⁸ Murat. xix. 858.

must go as Castellan to Casale-Majus with a proper garrison; and my pay was to be 200 gold ducats a year. So I proceeded in compliance with this bidding; and I entered upon my duties on the 10th January 1427."

It soon became convincingly apparent, that the new treaty was no more than an armistice of the most ephemeral character; the lieutenants of the Duke in the Bresciano refused, for the most part, to fulfil the agreement by delivering the keys of the fortresses to the Venetian delegates; and so early as the 3rd February 1427, the Captain-General was invited to repair to the capital, in order that he might assist the Government in laying down the plan of a fresh campaign. On the 24th March, the Countess Carmagnola-Visconti, who had been liberated in pursuance of one of the articles of December, joined her husband; and she experienced at the hands of the Signory a gorgeous reception. Neither trouble nor cost was spared in doing honour to that favoured individual, to whom a great people were content, so long as he was true to their interest and to his own, to commit their fortunes in trust; and under such auspices, while the personal prospects of Carmagnola became enviably brilliant, his employers were at liberty to promise themselves the realisation of their proudest dreams.

The Florentine connection had proved itself almost throughout of very little utility; and a portion only of the stipulated contingents had ever been forthcoming. The Tuscan Commonwealth speedily discovered, that it had committed itself to a contest, which was calculated to try too severely its resources.¹ Although, at the moment when it embraced the Venetian alliance, the question of aggrandisement was kept quite out of sight by the more vital one of independent existence, a few months sufficed to change Florentine views; that Power began to think, that the results obtained hardly warranted an outlay of 2,500,000 florins, which it was alleged at least to have incurred;² and the Republic foresaw pretty clearly that, in the second stage of the struggle which was impending, she would be obliged to fight almost single-handed. Her levies and preparations were of commensurate magnitude. 36,000 men, of whom 8000 only³ were mercenaries, were received into her pay; and although 4,000,000 ducats had already been added to the national debt since the beginning of the reign, Venice returned to the field with energy

¹ Napier, iii. 87.

² Ibid.

³ Diedo, *Storia*, lib. ix.

and cheerfulness. She had been the last to draw the sword; it now seemed probable that she would be the last to sheathe it; and the integrity of the Florentine constitution was perhaps not the only problem, which was to be worked out by the sword of Carmagnola.

Their recent humiliation was not without the effect of stinging the pride of the Milanese aristocracy, and of awakening in their breast a powerful impulse of patriotism. The Duke was implored not tamely to submit to the dismemberment of his possessions in the loss of one of the most important dependencies of his Crown. The utmost devotion was manifested. As the price of a few privileges, of a little liberty, the Nobles of Milan declared themselves ready to make any sacrifices. Visconti acted in this instance with the egregious duplicity and falsehood which belonged to him. With outspread hands he received the contributions offered on all sides to his acceptance; and he dismissed the deluded petitioners for reform with professions, which were of the slightest possible value.

The first blow was struck by the Duke, whose troops under Nicolo Piccinino and Angelo della Pergola, after taking Torricelli in the Parmesan territory, and overrunning the Bresciano, formally assaulted Casalmaggiore. The Venetian Commandant, Fantino Pisani, defended his trust with great intrepidity, until succour, for which he had promptly applied to Venice, to the new Captain of the Po, Stefano Contarini, and to Carmagnola himself, could arrive. The naval forces of Filippo-Maria, which were stationed in the immediate neighbourhood of Pavia under Eustachio Paccino, were vastly superior to those at the disposal of Contarini; they consisted of not fewer than one-and-forty sail; and the Captain validly pleaded his inability to respond to the appeal. The Captain-General, whose headquarters were near Casalsecco, sent only lame and shallow excuses. The Hundred desired him, intreated him, to hasten to the relief of Pisani; but he did not stir an inch. On the 27th April, he wrote: "My horses are without forage, and I can do nothing." The answer of the Hundred was: "To raise your camp, change your positions, and plant yourself elsewhere, is not the work of a moment, and before you stand in need of it, the grass will have had time to grow!"¹ Next he was short of money, and begged a remittance; he was told that the remittance was on its way. Still he did not move, and when

¹ Berlan, cap. 48.

For from the middle of May¹ the proveditors had been under a strict injunction "to abstain from meddling unduly or unnecessarily with his Magnificence."

It was now the height of summer. The weather was exceedingly sultry, and in the open country the dust was blinding. It was hard to distinguish even near objects. On the 12th July,² the enemy seized the opportunity, crossed the moat, broke through the palisade and the line of waggons, and surprised the camp. There was indescribable confusion. There was a rush to arms and to horse. Friends and foes were mistaken for each other. The General himself was violently pitched from his saddle, and was nearly killed. Gonzaga of Mantua, who was serving under him, was discovered in the midst of the Milanese; Sforza, misled by the whirlwind of dust ploughed up by the hoofs of the horses, plunged into the thick of the hostile encampment; and both had the narrowest escape from being made prisoners. Ultimately the aggressors beat a retreat; and no advantage remained with either side. After this discreditable affair, the Captain-General, possibly a little ashamed of himself, shewed some symptoms of reviving energy. Taking advantage of the disunion understood to prevail in the Milanese camp, and of the valuable diversion created by other members of the League in the direction of Monteferrato, Savoy, and Switzerland,³ Carmagnola proceeded to occupy Binate⁴ and San Giovanni-à-Croce; and, finally, he recovered Casalmaggiore.

It soon appeared that Carmagnola had pledged himself, without consulting his employers, to restore the prisoners taken at Casalmaggiore. The Hundred pointed out to him, in their dispatch, that the Venetians who had fallen into the hands of the Duke were still detained, and that his own should therefore have been kept back with a view to an exchange; "but," concluded the Council, "as you have made the engagement in our name, you must fulfil it." The Signory was perfectly aware, that its general merely followed the habitual practice of condottiero warfare, which so excellently tended to prolong operations and pay. At the same time, he was emphatically urged not to relax in his efforts, to persevere in his enterprise, and to cross the Adda. Two nobles of illustrious name, Leonardo Mocenigo and Fantino Michieli, were even appointed to wait

¹ Berlan, cap. 48.

³ Ibid. 132.

² Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 131.

⁴ Sabellio, dec. ii. lib. x.

upon his Magnificence on the part of the Doge, to inculcate for the third or fourth time the importance "of doing something decisive, and at once": while Giacomo Contarini was sent to Florence for the purpose of stimulating that Power to the prosecution of her plans for emancipating Genoa from Milanese thralldom. For it was the fear of Venice, that the maritime strength of her old rival might otherwise be reorganised by Visconti, and that the Republic might thus find it necessary to commence naval armaments upon a grand and costly scale at a moment when the monthly expenditure upon the Army alone was not less than 60,000 ducats.

The pace of operations remained, notwithstanding, provokingly languid; and about the middle of August the posture of affairs was so stagnant, that several members of the Hundred openly complained from their seats of the miserable progress of the War, and suggested the propriety of intimating to his Magnificence in some stronger terms than heretofore the repeatedly declared wishes of the Signory. But the hope was not yet forsaken that affairs might soon improve, and the motion consequently dropped.¹ Toward the end of September indeed headquarters were shifted to the neighbourhood of the Lago d' Iseo, and siege was laid to Montechiaro. But no result of any consequence attended the change. At the same time, Carmagnola was not insensible to the ill-disguised sneers and disparaging strictures of those about him, more especially of the proveditors of Brescia; the complaint and ridicule were too just not to be excessively galling; and in the beginning of October he addressed to the Doge a letter couched in the most indignant and resentful language. He denounced with bitter emphasis all meddling and self-sufficient civilians who, quitting their counting-houses, came to teach war to the Child of War; and he threw out a hint of no ambiguous sort about unappreciated services and more discerning employers. The tone which he used excited some alarm. His genius was at present indispensable; his anger was not to be treated with levity; and, stifling its instinctive desire of counter-remonstrance, the Government acted upon the necessity of meeting the Condottiero in a conciliatory spirit. On the 6th of the month, the Noble Andrea Morosini was charged by the Doge to proceed with all possible dispatch to headquarters, to intimate the sorrow of the Republic at the discord and bad

¹ Berlan, cap. 51.

feeling which seemed to reign in the camp, to remind him that the mildness of Venetian institutions permitted a liberty of speech to which he was perhaps unaccustomed, to suggest that the idle rumours which were constantly circulating abroad ought to be beneath his notice, to afford the strongest assurance of unabated and cordial friendship, and to pray him to display the utmost activity in the execution of the high task confided to his talents. Morosini was farther instructed to reprimand the proveditors at Brescia; and those indiscreet functionaries were accordingly summoned to his presence. "Have you," the Ducal Envoy inquired, "in public or otherwise spoken disrespectfully of the Captain-General?" "If you have," he continued, "the Government greatly wonders that personages so wise should not have foreseen the pernicious operation of such a proceeding on the mind of his Magnificence. Even if you had perfect reason, you ought not to have done so. *For he has our State in his power.*"¹ It may be judged that the circumstances were deemed cogent, which persuaded the Doge to whisper into the ears even of his confidential ministers a confession so startling, though it might partake of the nature of a hyperbole.

Nevertheless, the animadversions of which he had become the object were not without the salutary effect of awakening Carmagnola from his apathy; and, having left Montechiaro, which he had taken after a month's siege,² in his rear, he pushed forward³ to Macalo,⁴ near the Oglio, about seven miles from Cremona, and not more than three from the Milanese quarters. The voice of detraction and satire appeared to be now exercising an influence so long desired by moving his Magnificence to increased exertions. By the suggestion of a doubt of his abilities, and even of his courage, the inmost nature of the man was touched. His old spirit lived in him again. Upon his arrival at Macalo,⁵ he hastened to reconnoitre positions, and to measure distances. He went over the ground with minute care, exhibiting an anxiety to make himself acquainted with every curve and slope; and the smallest details were not too small to receive his personal superintendence. It was clear that some great design was in his thoughts; and Venice had reason to believe that that turn in the war was at hand, of which she had been content hitherto, though

¹ Berlan, cap. 56.

³ Sabbellico, dec. ii. lib. x.

⁵ Redusio, Murat. xix. 863.

² Redusio, *Chron. Tarr.* 863.

⁴ Known at a later period as *Macalodio*.

not without a hard trial of patience and temper, to content herself with the bare expectation.

The Milanese army had, down to the present time, suffered materially from the absence of a Captain-General; the divisions among its numerous leaders formed a source of weakness and confusion; and Filippo-Maria, observing how ill his affairs prospered, at length came to the resolution of conferring the post of Generalissimo on Carlo Malatesta.¹ The fame of the young Lord of Pesaro had been within the last few years tarnished by more than one military blunder, and he was naturally impatient to redeem his character by some striking and brilliant exploit. Malatesta possessed considerable abilities; but he was rash, and he was also unfortunate. The two forces were separated by a swamp, which was traversed by a narrow causeway; the country abounded in brakes and thickets. Malatesta, eager to engage his adversary, crossed the bog, and found himself in close contact with the Allies, who were drawn up in admirable order to receive him, and who did not give him time to commence the attack. It was the 11th October 1427.² Carmagnola had made his dispositions with great care; he had directed Nicolo da Tolentino, with 2000 horse,³ to plant himself behind some adjacent coppices, and at the appointed signal to take the enemy in rear, while the main body assailed them in front. Malatesta fell into the snare prepared for him. He was unexpectedly hemmed in on both sides. The movements of his cavalry were cramped by the nature of the ground, on which they had incautiously allowed themselves to be forced; the feet of his horses became entangled in the underwood, and the bellies of the animals were stung by the briars. The strength of the Allies lay in their centre, and its onset was perfectly irresistible. Malatesta, whose impetuosity was threatened with a sadly disastrous issue, soon despaired of success, and yielded up his sword to Gonzaga of Mantua, his brother-in-law.⁴ The day was lost to the Duke of Milan; 8000 cuirassiers, all the baggage, and an immense booty were secured by Carmagnola⁵ after the victory of Macalo.

This splendid achievement thoroughly retrieved the reputation of the commander-in-chief; and on the arrival of the news at Venice on the 16th⁶ a feeling of exuberant satisfaction was

¹ Candidus Decembrius, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, Murat. xx. 1056.

² Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 132.

³ Diedo, *Storia*, lib. ix.

⁴ Andrea Billii *Historia*, lib. vi.

⁵ Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia Florentina*, lib. v.

⁶ Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 997.

produced. A letter, superscribed by the Doge, was written to him on the following day, full of the warmest eulogy and the most flattering protestations. From a politic wish to convince him that old impressions were forgotten, the Signory lavished upon the hero the most elaborate compliments and the most munificent rewards. A house in the capital at San Eustachio, which Venetian gratitude had once awarded to Pandolfo Malatesta,¹ with the fief of Castenedolo in the Bresciano for himself and his heirs, was assigned to the successful General. Giorgio Cornaro and Santo Veniero were deputed to present to him the thanks of the Republic. He was exhorted to look upon Macalo as the first of a series of triumphs equally splendid and equally within his reach. The Hundred signified an opinion that the moment had come for passing the Adda, and for putting an end to the war by a glorious victory and an honourable peace.² Such was the *éclat* of the General, that the young Venetian patricians ordered caps *à la Carmagnola*.

There was a common feeling in Italy, that it was now quite open to Carmagnola, by bridging the Adda and marching rapidly on Milan, to shatter at a single blow the power of Filippo-Maria, and to hoist the Lion of Saint Mark upon the ramparts of his Capital. But his Magnificence, who did not conceive it to be his interest that the war should be so soon finished, or that his former employer should be totally crushed, had no intention of doing anything of the kind proposed; and instead of responding to the appeal of the Signory, he frittered away the remainder of the year in insignificant achievements, and then demanded permission to go to the Baths. The Proveditors, who were enjoined to divert him by all means from his purpose, had no light or enviable task; but for the moment their representations prevailed. Of these idle subterfuges the Republic was growing a little weary; and even if her doubt of his good faith began just now to strengthen, it was hardly wonderful.³ For it was notorious that his opponents were no match for him, either in ability or in material force; and the common supposition in the Milanese camp was that his inaction proceeded rather from a contemptuous confidence than from any other motive.⁴

The Duke, however, had during some time been seriously revolving in his mind the expediency of procuring at least a sus-

¹ Berlan, cap. 58.

² Ibid. cap. 59.

³ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1092-3.

⁴ Decembrio, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1056.

pension of hostilities. The progress of his old lieutenant, though to a certain extent neutralised by causes of which he was possibly not altogether ignorant, excited his fears, and rendered him anxious to witness the return of peace. With this object his invaluable ally, the Pontiff Martin, was again required to furnish a proof of his love of concord and devotion to the House of Visconti; and so early as September the Cardinal of Santa-Groce began to feel the temper of the Ducal Government.¹ The Battle of Macalo naturally gave a potent spur to such a movement; and after a delay, which partly arose from the presence of the plague at Venice, and partly from an accident which befell one of the Venetian ambassadors on the road,² a Congress met at Ferrara on the 3rd November. The grand obstacle to any settlement lay in the lofty pretensions of Venice.³ In addition to Brescia and its territory already ceded, the Republic claimed the City and Province of Bergamo, Palazzolo, Martinengo, and Iseo. The Duke made a vigorous attempt to obtain a modification; but the Hundred, familiar with his embarrassed and helpless condition, shewed themselves inexorable; and it was only at the earnest desire of the Florentines that the immediate restoration of Genoa to freedom, on which the Venetians had at first insisted, was waived.⁴ Visconti neglected no expedient for improving his situation and for gaining time: for he was aware that the war had also reduced his opponents to serious financial straits; and Florence alone was represented to have spent 3,500,000 florins. He intrigued and dallied with Carmagnola. He adroitly detached Savoy from the League by marrying the sister of Amadeus. The Congress was deluded and duped with propositions and counter-propositions, till the spring had fairly set in, and Venetian patience was utterly exhausted. The Signory then recommended Carmagnola to resume the offensive; but this mysterious trifier sent back word that his health was remarkably delicate, and that he wished to recruit his strength at Abano. The Government replied: "We are really very much surprised at such a request on the part of your Magnificence at this season of the year, when it has become of such consequence to take the field"; but, nevertheless, Pietro Loredano, the bearer of the

¹ Decembrio, *Vita Philippi-Maria*, Murat. xx. 991.

² *Letters of Palla Strozzi to the Dieci di Balìa at Florence*; Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, ii. Documenti.

³ *Letter of Strozzi*, Dec. 29, 1427, *loco citato*.

⁴ *Strozzi's Letters*, January 6, and April 5, 1428.

answer, was secretly instructed to yield, if the General insisted, and to assume the command-in-chief during his absence. On the 13th March, the Count duly made his appearance, and was received by the Doge and the other members of the Executive with ceremonious pomp. After a short stay in the capital, and a few conferences with the Signory, he left for the Baths. But the commission of Vice-Captain-General, given to Loredano (February 23) who had earned a classic reputation by his feats of arms at Motta and Gallipoli, afforded a convincing proof that, whatever might be the cost, the Republic was prepared to maintain an uncompromising struggle; and, after a painful conflict with his pride and ambition, the Duke, at the instance of the Papal legate Santa-Croce, elected to acquiesce in the terms dictated by Venice. On this basis, peace was signed at Ferrara on the 19th April 1428; and it was published on the 16th of the following month.¹ The enormous aggrandisement, which the new Treaty brought to the Signory, powerfully contrasted with the meagre advantages derived by Florence. A clause, seeming to bear a covert meaning, but partly declaratory of one in that of 1425, was inserted at the desire of the Venetians, by which the House of Malatesta was withdrawn from Milanese jurisdiction or protection; both the contracting parties pledged themselves to abstain from interference in the affairs of Romagna, Bologna, and Tuscany; a few minor points were submitted to Papal arbitration; and fresh guarantees were exacted by Venice in favour of the undeserving, but indispensable Carmagnola,² who made a triumphant entry into Venice, and whom the Doge and a distinguished suite honoured by a visit to his own house, where the guests were nobly entertained.

One inducement to arrange a settlement was, perhaps, the marriage of Visconti; and the Doge and Signory were invited to the ceremony and accompanying festivities. The official reply was that, the plague being in Venice, it was not thought expedient for so many persons to travel, with the risk of bringing infection, but that Messer Giorgio Cornaro should be sent to represent the Doge. The proposal had the appearance of having been a trap; possibly it was so interpreted by those addressed and affected.

Bergamo, after much demur, was consigned to the Venetian Proveditors on the 8th May. The Duke announced at the last

¹ *Istorie di Firenze*, 973; Murat. xix.

² *Strozzi's Letter*, March 10, 1428; Cavalcanti, *Documenti*.

moment that he would rather give up Cremona; but the Signory declined to make the exchange. The government of the new district differed in some respects from that established in the other dominions of Venice on the mainland; and the citizens and provincial population had the best reason to congratulate themselves on their transfer from the atrocious despotism of Visconti to the more enlightened institutions of the Republic. At the head of the administration, as elsewhere, was a Podesta, who held office for a year, and who, upon entering on his functions, swore before the Arts, representatives of the people, to observe the laws and the privileges of the municipality, and to rule uprightly and impartially. The popular representatives composed the Lower House of Parliament; the Upper House consisted of the Nobles; and it was called *the Great Council*.¹ Every year in December, this assembly, in concert with the Podesta, chose out of its own ranks a body of seventy-two persons, who were denominated *the Ancients*, and of whom a conclave of twelve sat once a week in bi-monthly rotation to represent and watch the communal interests. At these conclaves the Podesta was entitled to preside. The Bench formed in itself a separate and distinct jurisdiction, termed the College of Judges; and it was before this tribunal that all appeals were brought, as well as pleas and criminal informations. The balance of revenue and expenditure in Bergamo and the Bergamasque yielded a yearly surplus of 16,000 ducats. The income was 25,500: while the expenses of administration did not exceed 9500.² The first Podesta was Leonardo Giustiniani,³ a nobleman of ancient family and an ornament of contemporary literature. He was one of the sons of Bernardo Giustiniani, an early Venetian historian. Visconti cordially hated him. "That fellow," the Duke used to say, "has made more war upon me with his head than any 10,000 horse of the Signory;" and Pietro Avogadro of Brescia once observed: "If the Signory had such a man in her other cities, all Lombardy might soon be hers!"⁴

The Republic had emerged with glory and advantage from her contest against the Duke of Milan; and she was now left in the enjoyment of repose. The ambition and cupidity of Turkey kept her cruisers constantly on the alert, and exposed her trade to heavy losses at intervals; but there was no European Power

¹ Sandi, lib. vii. cap. 1; Romanin, iv. 227.

² Sanudo, *Vite*, 963.

³ Sandi, *ubi supra*; Diedo, *Storia*, lib. ix.

⁴ Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 1002.

with whom she was actually at war; and she was at last in a position to lay down her arms, and to bestow closer attention on her commercial interests. Venice was thankful for this rest, even if it was not to be a very lengthened one; she was glad to be spared for a moment the costly necessity of conquering. For, in the present state of Italy, no combination was apparently possible, which could withstand the genius of Carmagnola, seconded by the prudence of the Republic, her heroism, and her gold.

In the revolutionary annals of the Peninsula few more remarkable episodes are to be found than the vicissitudes of Bologna. Originally governed by its own Dukes, that City hastened, at the era of the Lombard League, to embrace republican institutions; and in the following century it found itself engaged in a losing contest with the Venetians on the question of the Gulf-Dues. In 1402, after several revolutions, the Bolognese were incorporated with the Dukedom of Milan. After the death of Giovanni-Galeazzo Visconti, they became the subjects of the Church, and tolerated the odious tyranny of the Pope till 1411, when they rebelled against his government, and returned to a short enjoyment of freedom, succeeded by an interval of seignorial oppression under the house of Bentivoglio. In 1412, by the connivance of some of the Nobles, the Pontifical yoke was riveted with stronger links to their necks; and between that and the present time, although several violent and convulsive changes were wrought in the Bolognese constitution, the city lay, for the most part, under Papal sway.

At length, on the 1st August 1428,¹ the cry of *Long live the Arts and Liberty!* which had not been heard since 1411, rose once more in the streets; a large number of Nobles assembled on the Piazza; the doors of the Palace were wrenched from their hinges; the Cardinal-Legate was obliged to flee; and the old constitution, with its Standard-Bearer and its *Council of Ancients*, were triumphantly proclaimed. The Holy See, however, was too fond of its temporalities to surrender tamely so important a possession. It was known that the Legate was already engaged in collecting a powerful force to assert the authority of his master; from the vengeance of such a Government everything was to be dreaded; and the Ancients, alarmed by the prospect of a bloody retribution and aggravated servitude, sought the offices

¹ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 6-134; Pugliola, *Cronica di Bologna*, Murat. xviii.

of the Signory as an intercessor, determining, if that expedient failed, to implore her mighty protection. The treaty just concluded between the Republic and Visconti was a manifestation of Venetian power which might be fairly expected to produce collateral fruits; and this appeal from Bologna was one of them.

The answer of the Senate to the Envoys of the distressed Commune was delivered on the 27th August; it was as follows:¹—"The Republic has always valued the friendship of the Bolognese, and has wished them well. They may rely upon the exertion of her utmost influence with the Apostolic See; but she is precluded by recent treaties² from direct or active interference. At the same time, we pray that the Bolognese Condottiero Sanseverino, whose services we have engaged, and who has been paid in advance, may be desired to proceed to his destination without delay."

But the situation of Bologna grew from day to day more critical. Menaced by the troops of Lucca and Rome, the city renewed its appeal to the Venetians, and volunteered to place itself entirely at their disposal; but the opinion of the Senate underwent no change; that Body contented itself with reiterating its previous declaration, accompanied by an expression "of sorrow for the dilemma in which the Bolognese were placed." Apart from other motives, the behaviour of the Duke of Milan rendered Venice reluctant to take any course, which was apt to involve her in a serious dispute with the Vatican.

The treaty of 1428 proved a *pace volpina*. Before any considerable interval had elapsed, its provisions were infringed by attacks on the princes, of whose estates that compact expressly guaranteed the integrity and freedom from spoliation.³ On the 25th October 1428, Giorgio Cornaro was sent to Milan to lay these grounds of complaint before Filippo-Maria. But no satisfaction was afforded; and on the 12th of the following January (1429⁴) the Signory wrote to Fantino Dandolo, her ambassador at Florence: "Filippo continues to be quite the same as ever, molesting the Fregosi (of Genoa) and their Allies, the Marquis of Monteferrato, (Orlando) Pallavicini, the sons of Arcelli, fortifying boundaries and collecting troops; and therefore the League must be persevered in."

Two days before (January 10), a letter had arrived from

¹ Romanin, iv. cap. 5.

² *Letters of Strozzi*, No. 22, April 3, 1428.

³ Ibid. No. 21, March 23, 1428.

⁴ Romanin, iv. 135, note.

Carmagnola, in which he tendered his resignation of the post of Captain-General: it was not accepted. His employers, however, knowing the desire of the Duke to regain his former lieutenant, resolved to thwart the intrigue, which was more than suspected to be in progress, by outbidding him; and, in the middle of February, a fresh arrangement was concluded with the generalissimo, framed on a scale of unprecedented liberality. The supreme and exclusive command of all the armies of the Republic in Lombardy was conferred upon the Count. It was agreed that, whether Venice went to war or remained at peace, he should be paid at the uniform rate of 1000 ducats a month; and during actual hostilities all ransoms and other prize-money, to whatever amount, were to be allotted to him.

The anxiety of the Signory to secure him, even at so dear a rate, soon became intelligible enough. The Milanese difficulty was acquiring from day to day additional complication. The Florentines, emboldened by the unwarlike character of Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, whose patrimony had at one time formed part of their own dominions, declared war against that State in the course of December 1429;¹ and the victims of this unprincipled aggression, having first made a manful stand against the invaders, followed the example set by Bologna, and sought to throw themselves into the arms of Venice.² To the present offer an objection existed in the eyes of the Senate analogous to that raised against its predecessor; and that august Body returned a substantially similar reply. It thanked Lucca and her Lord for the flattering proposal, and regretted that the alliance between Florence and the Republic was of such a nature as to preclude acceptance.³ The treaty of 1428 equally debarred the Duke of Milan from meddling in the affairs of Tuscany; but that prince, who contemplated a rich prize in the perspective, derided all delicate scruples. His powerful assistance was lent to Lucca, and the sword of his general, Francesco Sforza, speedily turned the scale. The Lucchese beheld themselves liberated for a moment from their ambitious neighbours;⁴ but they were by no means out of danger.⁵ Florence, having been a slight gainer from

¹ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 138.

² Instructions given to the Sienese Ambassador at Florence, Dec. 6 (1429); Commission of the Sienese Ambassador sent to Venice, Dec. 24, Cavalcanti, ii. *Documenti*.

³ Romanin, iv. 136-7.

⁴ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 139-40-1.

⁵ Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xi.

the Venetian alliance, appeared to be possessed by a resolution to conquer something for herself; and, on the other hand, the appetite of Visconti for dominion was already whetted.

The countrymen of Guinigi thus stood between two formidable enemies. Their sole hope lay in the renewal of the war between the Duke and the League; and for such a hope there was only too good a foundation. At the same time, the unequal contest, which the Florentines were maintaining with Lucca, was not without the effect of kindling a strong spirit of animosity against the former throughout Tuscany, especially at Siena; and in the instructions¹ given to its ambassador at Perugia that Government was singularly outspoken. "It is very clear to us," were its words, "that the Florentines meditate by some means or other to absorb this poor Tuscan soil, and to swallow up all their neighbours!" Even some Venetian statesman, addressing the Florentine Envoy, had been heard to exclaim in a moment of excitement: "You Florentines want your own Pope; you want your own Council; you want Lucca; the whole world would not satisfy you!" But the Sienese were hardly less bitter against Venice herself. "It is necessary for us," they wrote to the Perugians, "to look after our own interests: for it is tolerably manifest that the Venetians do not care much what becomes of us, and would tacitly permit our spoliation!"²

The path of the Republic, however, was beset by two impediments of no ordinary kind: the faithless variability of the Duke, who secretly exulted at the idea of being able to beat the Venetians, while the affairs of Lucca were engrossing the attention of their allies,³ and the collusive inaction of Carmagnola. The dishonesty of the latter was becoming daily more and more palpable: yet the Signory, furnished with no convicting proofs, was reluctant to compromise the Count and herself by a hasty step; and not a breath of suspicion was allowed to transpire. In July 1429, his Magnificence incidentally remarked, in a letter to the Government: "Filippo has indirectly intimated to me that I am mistrusted and watched." In reply, the Senate said: "We are excessively surprised at any such insinuation, since we have furnished no motive whatever for any notion of the kind; and we exhort you once more to beware of the plausible and mendacious character of Filippo, and ever 'to go buckler on arm.'" Still the

¹ Cavalcanti, *Documenti*.

² *Ibid. Documenti, ubi supra.*

³ Cavalcanti, lib. xi. c. 2.

General persisted in corresponding with the Duke; and the Duke stated that he was prepared to leave everything in respect to a negotiation to Carmagnola, "in whose judgment I have implicit confidence."

During all this time, Visconti was not ceasing to display his thorough contempt for the treaty of 1428 in every possible way. Those articles, which acknowledged the title of the League to take under its protection the Marquis of Monteferrato, Orlando Palavicini, the Arcelli, and several other princes, were unblushingly set at naught. The Venetian possessions in the Veronese and Bresciano were occupied by Piccinino. The Customs' tariff on the Po was altered and augmented in the most outrageous manner.¹ Every opportunity was seized of embittering and annoying the Republic. Her motives were misconstrued; her acts were distorted; her couriers were arrested by the Milanese authorities without a shadow of reason or right. No contrivance was omitted for exhausting the forbearance of Venice, and drawing her into war.

In January 1430, Andrea Contarini had been sent to Milan to make a final effort in the direction of peace. In one of his earliest dispatches to his Government, Contarini stated: "Between the copy of the protocol delivered to me by the Ducal Chancellor and the original, I have discovered that important discrepancies exist, and *both differ* from the oral declaration of the Milanese ambassadors."² In the event of the failure of other expedients, the Venetian Envoy was authorised to announce that his country, in its unwillingness to disturb the harmony of relations, did not object to accept even the Pontiff himself (the particular ally of Filippo) as an umpire in the question of the territory unfairly occupied by Milanese troops, and would religiously abide by the award of his Holiness. This concession was to be the ultimatum; and, the Duke failing to respond to it, Contarini, in obedience to his instructions, took his leave. War was now the alternative.

On the 17th August, Carmagnola was summoned to the capital to concert arrangements for resuming the offensive as soon as possible. He met with a friendly and even cordial reception. Meeting the Doge, as his Serenity left the Council, after a protracted sitting, verging on daybreak, he saluted him; and Foscari's countenance bore a genial expression (*fronte allegra*)

¹ Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, lib. xi.

² Romanin, iv. lib. v.

as he said, "We have been talking about you a good deal to-day," and then he changed the conversation, lest he might have gone too far, and passed on. And many councillors in their red robes followed, to whom, as to men whom he personally knew, he addressed himself jauntily, asking, "Shall it be good-even or good-morrow, illustrious Signori, who keep watch over Venice, while the rest of the world is asleep?" His good acquaintances offered their salutations, and disappeared in the twilight.

The Republic had been availing herself of the temporary suspension of arms to recruit her finances, which had necessarily suffered from an extraordinary monthly expenditure of 60,000 or 70,000 ducats;¹ and it was her present determination to return to the struggle in earnest.

Pietro Loredano was again named Captain-General of the forces on the sea, consisting of two-and-twenty sail,² and Stefano Contarini had the first offer of the Captaincy of the Po, where a new fleet, organised at an outlay of 300,000 ducats or upward, was in course of being launched. But Contarini, who had been badly wounded in the last war, excused himself, and the appointment was given to Nicolo Trevisano. The flotilla on the Po was composed of thirty-seven galleys and forty-eight smaller craft,³ mounting 10,000 men, exclusively of rowers. In order to isolate the Duke, and to simplify the contest, Marco Zeno was accredited to the Court of Savoy, to detail the reasons which had led to a revival of the quarrel, and to solicit the neutrality of Amadeus; and on the 23rd February 1431, directions were transmitted to the Captain-General to negotiate the cession of the Valtelline. As a reward of victory, an entire city was promised to Carmagnola (September 1, 1430);⁴ while the importance was inculcated upon him more forcibly and emphatically than ever of spurning all insidious overtures and of declining to receive any more Milanese emissaries. "If the Duke," the Hundred told him, "has anything to say, we shall be glad enough to listen; but his course will be to put it in writing, and to forward it for our consideration."

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 1015.

² Navagiero, *Storia*, p. 1096.

³ Sanudo, and Diedo, lib. x.

⁴ Romanin, iv. lib. v.

CHAPTER XXX

A.D. 1431-1441

Story of Francesco Carmagnola—His Treachery, his Arrest, and his Execution (May 1432)—Favourable Results of the Change in the Pontifical Government (1431)—Peace between Venice and Milan (1433)—Story of Giorgio Cornaro—The Doge Foscari tenders his Resignation, which is not Accepted (1433)—The Republic Supports Eugenius IV.—Cosimo de' Medici at Venice—Source of the Venetian Power—Venice addresses a Protest to Europe against the Patriarch of Aquileia—Fourth War against Visconti (1434)—Fall of the Last of the Carrara (1435)—Investiture of the Doge with the Provinces of *terra firma* (1437)—Difficult Situation of the Republic—Mantuan Duplicity Chastised—The Retreat of Gattamelata—Story of the Siege and Defence of Brescia—Francesco Sforza becomes Captain-General of the Venetian Forces (1439)—His Successes (1440)—Peace of 1441—Its Advantageous Character—Marriage of Jacopo Foscari, the Doge's Son, with Lucrezia Contarini (January 1441)—The January Fêtes—Marriage of Sforza with Bianca Visconti—Venice acquires Riva di Lago, Lonato, Valleggio, Asola, and Peschiera—Embodiment of Ravenna and the Ravennate with the Venetian Dominions, and Extinction of the House of Polenta (1441)—Festivities at Venice on the Return of Peace—Sforza and his Bride are invited to the Capital.

TRUE to her maxims, to her professions, and to her real interests, the Republic had hitherto earnestly laboured to induce Filippo-Maria to respect the treaty of Ferrara. The neglect and consequent damage, which trade had suffered during the protracted struggle against the Duke of Milan, and the desolating inroads of the Turks on her establishments both in Europe and Asia, in defiance of the most elaborate and costly precautions,¹ rendered her rulers strongly desirous of procuring as long a respite as possible from Italian wars. It was not more than eight years since the Doge Mocenigo had foretold on his death-bed that, if his country adopted an aggressive policy, that commerce, which he likened to a garden bringing forth spontaneous fruits, would decline, "and she would place herself at the mercy of a soldiery." These words seemed to be speedily

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1008.

approaching fulfilment. The destinies of Venice were, for good or for evil, all but in the hands of one whose father was a poor shepherd and an ignorant villager, and who himself was reputed to have begun life as a herd-boy.

But, all their efforts in the direction of peace having failed, the Venetians prepared to resume the offensive with the utmost vigour and promptitude, and to place at the disposal of Carmagnola such resources as might insure an honourable and glorious termination of the contest. 12,454¹ men were now under the Generalissimo in the field, and 10,000 were on the Po under Trevisano. To these forces the army of Piccinino and Sforza, with the squadron of Eustachio Paccino of Pavia and his colleague, Giovanni Grimaldi, Signore of Monaco, who had placed his great naval abilities at the Duke's service, was fully equal in point of number and discipline. In the present struggle Pisa, Volterra, Siena, Lucca, Genoa, and Piombino, favoured the Duke; while the exertions of the League were seconded more or less powerfully, and more or less heartily, by Mantua, Ferrara, Monteferrato, the Pallavicini, and the Arcelli.

There was an event of recent occurrence which gave peculiar courage to the Venetians. It was the decease, quite in the beginning² of 1431, of Martin V., the ally of the House of Visconti, and the succession of a Venetian, the Cardinal Gabriello Condolmiero, to the Papal Chair under the appellation of Eugenius IV. The moral weight, which the support and goodwill of the Head of the Church lent to the cause of his countrymen, was highly valuable and highly opportune, and it afforded corresponding gratification. "On the 7th March," writes Sanudo,³ "three couriers arrived one after the other, bringing letters from Rome to state how the Cardinals in conclave have created as Supreme Pontiff a Venetian Cardinal, called Messer Gabriello Condolmiero. So, in the course of eight-and-twenty years, there have been three Venetian Popes—Pope Gregory, of the House of Corraro, Pope Alexander, a Minorite of Candia, and this one of the House of Condolmiero. . . . On the 9th, the Pregadi resolved that eight solemn ambassadors shall be sent to offer the congratulations of the Signory, who may be furnished with one mantle of crimson velvet bordered with miniver apiece, and among them may have one hundred and twenty horses."

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1015-16.

² Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 142.

³ *Vite*, p. 1012.

Apposite instructions were forwarded to Carmagnola. The General, instead of yielding compliance, wrote back: "*Another messenger from Filippo has just made his appearance, bringing assurances of the goodwill and integrity of his master. The Duke reminds us that he is an Italian, and desires to prove himself such; that, as it is credibly reported that the King of the Romans (Sigismund) is coming here, he wishes to make common cause against him with you and the Florentines; and he begs me to arrange the preliminaries of a League.*"¹ The Senate informed his Magnificence (November 9) as follows: "After all the idle and insincere professions of Filippo, it is no longer compatible with our dignity to hearken to his lies. If the Duke be really solicitous to treat, he can communicate directly with the Signory. But we command you to join without farther delay the Army of Friuli."

The letter of the 9th November had a certain effect. Carmagnola started for his new destination; and his triumphant success, more damning to his character than the worst defeats, proved that it was only when his sword was drawn against one individual, that his unconquerable spirit forsook him. The enemy fled before him like sheep. They were discomfited and scattered at all points. At Rosazzo the Hungarian army was all but destroyed. After these noble exploits, the Count begged and obtained leave to pay a visit to Venice; during his stay, he had more than one interview with the Government; and in the middle of December he returned to his old quarters at Brescia.

The gratifying operations in Friuli, combined with the miscarriage of an attempt to dispatch the Duke by poison, made by a person named Micheletto Muazzo, and countenanced by the Ten (October 10²), who first tested an experiment made upon two pigs, induced the Senate to resort to different methods. On the 28th December, it was moved that "the Lordship of Milan be offered to his Magnificence upon the contingency of the total destruction of Filippo's power;" but an amendment was brought forward "that this be reserved as a final resource;" and the latter was carried. On the following day, however, it was resolved that, "as it is of high moment to have somebody of trust at all times near the person of his Magnificence, the noble Giorgio Cornaro do proceed to the Camp

¹ Romanin, iv. 146.

² Ibid. 146-7. Muazzo was to have had 25,000 ducats, had he succeeded.

immediately as provveditor-general with instructions to promise a liberal scale of recompense to the condottieri, to urge the prompt passage of the Adda—the Governor of Bergamo having written to say ‘that matters are in excellent train at Lodi and Crema,’ and to distribute the pay to the heads of companies, so soon as the Camp is shifted.” But Carmagnola was superior to persuasion; and about the middle of January¹ (1432) the unpleasant news was brought to Venice, that her ally, the Marquis of Monteferrato, pressed by the Savoyards, had effected a reconciliation with the Duke of Milan.

The Government entertained a reasonable expectation that, at least as the spring approached, the Commander-in-Chief would submit for its approval some scheme for the campaign of 1432. But the General did nothing of the kind; and with audacious assurance he merely continued to transmit accounts of his correspondence with the Duke.

On the 21st February (1432), the Senate (with the Pregadi) addressed to him the following letter:—

“Francesco Foscari, by the grace of God, &c.

“We have seen and read your letter with its inclosures, sent to you by Cristoforo Gilino.² We reply to your Magnificence that, considering the small fruit which has been hitherto derived from the visits of this Cristoforo and so many others, continually accredited to you by the Duke on different pretences, it does not appear to us expedient, and we do not choose, that either he or any other emissary whosoever shall be received henceforth, being perfectly convinced that there is nothing in the proposals which they bring but the wonted tricks and deceptions of the Duke.”

Notwithstanding this studiously temperate but suggestive message, worded by the Government, and formally superscribed by the Doge, the attitude of affairs remained absolutely stationary, until Venetian patience was fairly worn out. On the 28th March, Foscari, in concert with all the members of the Privy Council, proposed, at a meeting of the College, “that the Pregadi be dissolved, and that the Ten do take the matter into their own hands.” The three Chiefs of the Ten³ proposed as an amendment, that “this Body be not dissolved until the present business be out of hand.” But, on a division, the first motion was carried by a majority of two; and the dissolution was decreed, the

¹ Romanin, iv. 148.

² His agent.

³ Romanin, iv. cap. 6.

entrance of the palace, Da Impero vanished, and the personal followers of the Count were turned back with an announcement that "their master will dine with the Doge, and will come home after dinner." But his other companions remained, and ushered him into the Hall of Saint Mark's. As he passed through, the General observed that the doors closed behind him. He at once inquired where the Doge was, declaring his wish to have an audience, "as he had much to say to his Serenity." Leonardo Mocenigo, one of the Sages of the Council, stepped up to him, and told him that Foscari, having had an accident in descending the staircase, was confined to his room, and could not receive him till to-morrow. Carmagnola then turned with a gesture of impatience on his heel, and prepared to retrace his steps, remarking: "the hour is late, and it is time for me to go home."¹ When he arrived at the Sala delle Quattro Porte, however, one of those in attendance gently arrested his progress, with, "This way, my Lord," indicating the corridor which led to the Orba prison.² "But that is not the right way," retorted the Count hurriedly. "Yes, yes, it is perfectly so," was the answer given. At this moment, guards appeared, surrounded Carmagnola, and pushed him into the corridor. The last words which he was heard to utter were: "I am lost!" and, as he spoke, a deep-drawn sigh escaped from him.³ During two days, he refused to take any kind of nourishment.⁴ He is reported to have said, when some one tried to reassure him, "but birds, which are to be set at liberty, are not put into cages"—a construable reference to the Gheba or Gabbia prison.

The Trial began on the 9th April with all the forms recognised and required in criminal procedure by the constitution; the examination was conducted by a special committee of nine persons—Luca Mocenigo, Privy Councillor; Antonio Barbarigo, Bartolomeo Morosini and Marino Lando, Chiefs of the Ten; Daniele Vetturi, Marco Barbarigo, and Luigi Veniero, Inquisitors of the Ten; and Faustino Viaro and Francesco Loredano, Avogadors of the Commune.⁵ On the 11th, the accused, having declined to make any answers,⁶ was put to the question. It happened that one of his arms had been fractured in the service

¹ *Chroniche Veneziane*, 426, Add. MSS. 8579; Paolo Morosini, *Historia*, lib. xx.

² *Chron. Venez.*, *ubi suprà*.

³ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1028.

⁴ *Chron. Venez.*, *ubi suprà*.

⁵ Romanin, iv. 158.

⁶ *Chron. Venez.*, *ubi suprà*.

of the Republic; and the committee consequently objected to the use of the estrapade. But a confession was wrung from him by the application of the brazier.¹ During Lent, the process was suspended. At its recommencement, on the 23rd of April, a mass of documents were submitted for investigation; and numerous witnesses were summoned. Independently of the confession, which was possibly of indifferent value, damning evidences of treasonable connivance with Visconti were adduced. On the propriety of conviction there was perfect unanimity; but in regard to the nature of the sentence opinions were divided. The Doge himself and three of the Privy Council proposed perpetual imprisonment. The three Chiefs of the Ten and the Avogadors of the Commune were, under all the circumstances of aggravated guilt, in favour of capital punishment. A resort was had to the ballot; and of seven-and-twenty persons entitled to vote nineteen voted for death. On the 5th May 1432, Francesco di Carmagnola was led as a public traitor to the common place of execution. He wore a scarlet vest with trimmed sleeves, leggings of the same colour, a crimson jerkin, and a velvet cap *alla Carmagnola*; a gag was in his mouth; his hands were pinioned behind him according to usage; and there between the Red Columns, in the sight of all Venice, his head was severed from his body at the third stroke of the axe.² It is highly characteristic of Italian ideas, that there was a general murmur among the dense crowd of "Sventura! sventura!" as much as to say, it was a case of a man, who had played for high stakes, and lost.

Thus fell, in the prime of life, the victim of his own blind and perverse folly, a man of the first order of talents, and within whose reach the most superb opportunities had so recently been. The Government had tolerated his errors, until his criminality was beyond a doubt. When his death was decreed, his corruption and treason were already sufficiently substantiated by letters admittedly bearing his signature, and by what is expressly termed "domestic testimony." Yet there were subsequent discoveries, which made his case infinitely worse, and which procured an instant mitigation of the penalty against Nicolo Trevisano and the other officers concerned in the loss of the Battle of the Po; and some justice, however tardy and inadequate, was rendered to the sufferers by the open declaration of a member of the Signory in the Great Council "that, if the Government had at

¹ Paolo Morosini, lib. xx.

² Sanudo, *Vite*, 1029.

the time been in possession of that exact information which was now in its hands, its treatment of Trevisano and his comrades would have been very different."¹ In fact, the two capital charges against the prisoner were his abandonment of the captain of the Po and his collusion with Visconti in regard to Cremona. It is well put by a modern writer,² that "Carmagnola seems to have acted in so equivocal a manner as would have made him amenable to any court-martial with little chance of absolution."

The remains of Carmagnola were conveyed by four-and-twenty bearers to the Church of San Francesco della Vigna. But when the burial-service had already commenced, the friar, who had shriven the departed, made his appearance to state, that the Count had, in his last moments, expressed a desire to lie at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari; and the wishes of the dead were respected. The bones were eventually transported to the Church of San Francesco Grande at Milan.

On the 7th May, two days after the tragedy, a Chief of the Ten and an Avogador of the Commune waited on the Countess Carmagnola, to make known to her the fate of her husband, and to offer their condolences. Upon the Countess was settled an annual pension, and upon her two daughters a dowry of 5000 ducats each, conditionally upon residing within the Venetian frontier; but such of the property of the traitor, as remained after the liquidation of his large encumbrances, reverted to the Power, which had formerly lavished it upon him with its proverbial munificence; and all his titles and dignities suffered attainder. The family settled for a short time at Treviso, but afterward crossed the frontier, and forfeited the bounty of the Republic by breaking their parole.

In the course of April and May, dispatches were forwarded to all the leading Italian States, to the Podestas of Treviso and Vicenza, the Lieutenant of Friuli, and other Governors of Provinces, and to the Legation at Ferrara, apprising them of the steps taken in regard to Carmagnola, and detailing the causes which justified the Signory in proceeding to extremities. Already, on the 8th of the former month, Marco Dandolo and Giorgio Cornaro had been sent to headquarters to assume till farther orders joint command of the Army.

It becomes important to remember, in studying the somewhat prolix details of the Carmagnola business, that we enjoy at this

¹ Romanin, iv. 161-2.

² Napier, *Florentine History*, iii. 191.

distance of time the opportunity of watching the progress of the case in all its stages through the conversion of the agenda of secret tribunals into archives accessible to all. Those who were outside the councils knew absolutely nothing of these momentous deliberations, extending over months, until they culminated, as we are aware that they did. An even more remarkable—indeed an unique—fact, is that during the whole interval at least two hundred persons were privy to all that occurred and was said, and that not a hint transpired. To divulge the proceedings was forfeiture of life and goods. But, so far as we know, the complete records were preserved for future reference, though not for ours.

The devolution of the Pontifical tiara, in March 1431, upon a Venetian was fraught with the best results. Eugenius IV. at once espoused with ardour the cause of his countrymen, and Visconti lost his most valuable ally. Under the new auspices, the Venetian army, commanded by Dandolo and Cornaro, conquered successively Bordellano, Romanengo, Fontanella, Soncino; and it was on the point of penetrating into the Valtelline when, in a severe defeat by Piccinino, which cost the Republic about 1200 troops,¹ Cornaro had the misfortune to be taken prisoner.² He was sent to Milan (November 27, 1432). The Proveditor was a nephew of the Doge Marco Cornaro, and was a person of considerable weight and influence in the councils of the Signory. Upon receipt of notice of his capture, the Government hastened to supply the vacancy created by the death of Carmagnola; and in the beginning of the new year the post of Captain-General was conferred upon Giovanni-Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. The troops confided to Gonzaga amounted, according to official returns, to 12,000 horse, 8000 foot, and 11,000 *Cernide*; and a promise was given to the Generalissimo that, if his exertions were attended by fair success, the Doge would grant him investiture of Guastalla, Mirandola, Crema and the Cremasque, Caravaggio, and Triviglio.

The operations of the Lord of Mantua afforded the highest satisfaction. In a short time, he rendered himself master of the Valtelline and of Valcamonica; and the Duke was awed by his triumphant progress into taking the initiative in demanding peace. The Florentines, who had aggrandised themselves to a

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1031-2.

² Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, Murat. xxi. 1062-3; Diedo, *Storia*, lib. x.

much larger extent than they could have expected in Tuscany, insisted at first (March 20, 1433), upon a continuation of the war, until the province of Pisa was entirely in their hands. But the Signory overruled this objection; and peace was signed on the 26th April 1433, the Marquises of Ferrara and Saluzzo mediating. The new treaty gave the whole of Pisa, excepting the disputed ground of Pontremolo, to Florence. Venice herself, whom the triumphs of Gonzaga had placed in a position to dictate conditions, was left in possession of Bergamo and all her other acquisitions on the *terra firma*. Lucca, whose antipathy to the Florentines was frantically violent,¹ recovered her freedom. The Dukes of Milan and Savoy were pledged to the restitution of all the territory which they had usurped in Monteferrato and elsewhere. A complete exchange of prisoners was appointed to take place, and an amnesty was proclaimed.

The execution of the clause affecting the reciprocal adjustment of territory led to an angry correspondence between Venice and Savoy,² the latter demurring in the first instance to the restoration of certain lands belonging to Monteferrato; and the article touching the exchange of prisoners occasioned a painful revelation. When the Government demanded in due course the release of Giorgio Cornaro, one of the Proveditors placed in command of the troops after the arrest of Carmagnola, the Duke sent word to say that he was dead; and his family accordingly went into mourning.³ The statement of Filippo-Maria, however, was an audacious falsehood: for the Proveditor was still alive, and in one of the dungeons at Monza. It had been correctly supposed by the Duke, that an officer, who had filled such a variety of confidential stations, could not be otherwise than well-informed on the affair of Carmagnola, in whose fate Visconti discovered a lively and suspicious interest; and no labour was spared to elicit from the prisoner all the facts of a transaction still imperfectly known at Milan. He was asked: "Who were the accusers of the General? Who were his judges? Who are advocates of war at Venice? What are the ulterior views of the Republic? What are her resources?" In the attempt to obtain answers to these interrogatories, the creatures of Filippo-Maria subjected the Venetian to the most brutal torments. When they desired

¹ Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xi.

² The Doge's letter to the Duke of Savoy will be found printed in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*

³ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1032.

him to denounce the members of the war-party, Cornaro, in a moment of excruciating agony, muttered a few names, which rose mechanically to his lips; but they gave no clue. At another time he said: "I am not aware that any particular person accused Carmagnola; the latter, by his egregious dereliction of duty, exposed himself to universal censure and distrust, especially when the letter had come from Brescia,¹ shewing how he neglected to occupy Soncino, although he might have done so with the utmost facility. So far as I know, there was no betrayal, no conspiracy. Venice loves peace; but when she is driven into war, she deems no sacrifices too great. If hereafter she be assailed in her lagoons, she will make the assailant rue his act." Such are the words which appear in the personal narrative left by Cornaro. The unhappy man was detained at Monza, notwithstanding all the protests of the Republic, several years; and when he at length returned home, in October 1439, he was no longer himself. His frame was emaciated and disfigured; his face was haggard; his eyes were sunken; and his beard was long and matted. His constitution was hopelessly shattered. In less than three months, he pined away, and he died, in the December of that year, a miserable wreck. All Venice followed his remains to SS. Apostoli.

Exactly a decade had passed away, since Francesco Foscari ascended the throne of Venice; and in that interval many events had occurred which were calculated to shed lustre upon the position. At the same time, there was more than one circumstance which tended to sour his spirit and to cast a gloom over his life. In 1430, a noble, Andrea Contarini of SS. Apostoli,² probably the same whom Carmagnola had met on his first coming to Venice in 1425, was unsuccessful in his application for the vacant post of Captain of the Gulf, for which he was declared scarcely competent; in thwarting him in the favourite object of his ambition, Contarini chose to conceive that the Doge himself was principally instrumental;³ and at one of the public receptions (March 11) he thrust himself in the way of Foscari, and made a plunge in the direction of his nose⁴ with a dagger. The blow had been dealt somewhat at random; and the wound which the weapon inflicted was happily very slight. The assassin was arrested. His friends pleaded in extenuation his insanity. But

¹ Romanin, iv. 166.² Sanudo, *Vite*, 1007.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.

no adequate proofs of aberration or weakness of intellect were found; and, after examination before a Special Committee, the unfortunate man was sentenced to lose his right hand, and afterward to be hanged between the Red Columns.

In 1432, Foscari was not a little mortified by the departure of the Ten from his wishes in regard to Carmagnola, of whose death the Doge, in common with seven or eight other members of the Government, was anxious, under every circumstance of provocation, to spare the Republic the odium. In the beginning of the following year, thirty-seven Nobles were denounced by name to the Decemvirs as concerned in a nefarious scheme for balloting to each other by collusion the more lucrative offices under Government; and the offenders were condemned to various terms of imprisonment or exile. Among the number was Pietro Ruzzini, a connection of the Doge by marriage; Ruzzini was excluded for three years from the Great Council. In addition to these sources of vexation, many domestic troubles had fallen to his share. Since 1423, all his sons, excepting Domenigo and Jacopo, had died. On several questions of home and foreign policy he differed from his advisers; and the rejection of his views severely tried his proud temper. The pecuniary difficulties arising from a prolonged series of costly wars, to which he had lent his sanction, harassed his mind. He was haunted by the prospect, absolutely agonising to so true a patriot, of a future full of embarrassment, possibly not free from disgrace.

All these considerations made the post of Foscari peculiarly irksome to him, and inspired him with a distaste for that power, in the attainment of which the young Procurator of 1423 had not hesitated to employ artifice. At length, the feeling of lassitude and repugnance became so strong that, without consulting any one, he took a decisive step. On the 27th June 1433, a month after the conclusion of peace, the Doge told his Privy Council that he desired to resign, and that it would be better for them to see about the appointment of a successor.¹ But the Privy Council, having asked time to consider, at length informed his Serenity "that they were unable to come to any accord," and so² the matter dropped there and then without reference to the Great Council.³

The consequences of the change of 1431 in the Pontifical

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1032.

² *Ubi suprà*.

³ Paolo Morosini, *Istoria*, lib. xx.

Government had been hitherto felt only to a partial extent. The accession of Eugenius to the Papal Chair altered much the relations of the Italian Powers, and induced Venice herself to enter upon an entirely new line of foreign policy. The Florentine connection was at present of equivocal utility. Florence, absorbed by her Tuscan projects, and offended by the support which the Signory had lent to Lucca, began to shew symptoms of coolness; both Venice and Florence, the latter strongly biassed by the Medici party, wanted to obtain the greatest advantages with the least risk, if not cost; and the Government of the Doge hailed with satisfaction the advent of a steadfast ally in the Head of the Church.

In the July following the election of Eugenius, a new General Council met at Basle with his concurrence to seek the accomplishment of the grand aim, in which that of Pisa in 1409, and that of Constance in 1414, had successively failed. The Republic was represented by her own Ambassadors, and delegates were sent from all quarters to be present at the deliberations. In sanctioning the choice of a German city as the seat of the Conference, the Pope discovered, when it was too late, that he had committed a grave blunder. The Assembly, removed beyond the range of his influence, proved unruly and contumacious. His Holiness was in a perfect frenzy. He inveighed against its insolence. He hesitated not to declare his resolution to dissolve it; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that Venice restrained him from setting out for Basle and leaving Rome at the mercy of the opposite faction. The imperious and violent character of Condolmiero bred a good deal of ill-will, and created him many enemies. But his own countrymen espoused his pretensions with undiminished warmth, and Venice alone was powerful enough to protect him. Andrea Mocenigo, ambassador at the Court of Prague, was instructed (if he judged fit) to make known to his Majesty that the Signory treated Eugenius as the only true Supreme Pontiff, and gave him its hearty support.

All the moral weight, which the favour and friendship of the Vatican carried with them, was now transferred to Venice. But the Republic had also improved the state of her relations with the Emperor Sigismund. By a treaty concluded in 1428, and recently renewed (June 14, 1432), all apprehensions on the side of Dalmatia and Friuli were at all events postponed, and Venice derived from the successful mediation of the Pope a prodigious

accession of confidence and strength. The treaty of 1432 contained one provision which did not occur in its predecessors, and which accorded to Sigismund free liberty to make war upon his enemies in the Peninsula, always excepting Ferrara, Mantua, Monteferrato, and Ravenna, "which enjoyed the special protection of the Signory." In diplomatic language, the Venetians intimated that, the defensive League between the Duke of Milan and their own Government having expired in February twelvemonth, they should not feel themselves at all pledged to interfere, whenever it might suit the convenience and taste of his Majesty to attack Filippo-Maria Visconti. After his coronation by the Pontiff at Rome, Sigismund proceeded to Basle, carrying with him 10,000 gold ducats, which the Republic had given to him at his own desire to enable him to advocate the cause of Eugenius.¹

"The Emperor," comments Leonardo Aretino,² "came into Italy with every prepossession in favour of Visconti, and he leaves it with every prepossession in favour of the Venetians."

His Holiness, however, was so far from being out of danger, that his troubles could not be said to have yet fairly begun. The Duke, incensed at a turn of fortune which so much weakened his own power, and more than proportionately strengthened his opponents, indulged his anger and spleen by pouring a large body of troops under Francesco Sforza and Nicolo Fortebraccio into the Ecclesiastical States. The Pope tried to divide his enemies by offering to invest Sforza with the March of Ancona. But the Duke retaliated by inciting the Romans to revolt; and his Holiness, besieged in the Castle of San Giovanni Grisogono, escaped with difficulty from the hands of the insurgents. His track was happily undiscovered. The fugitive reached Leghorn in safety on the 12th June; and on the 22nd he arrived at Florence, where he met a joyous reception.³

After the lengthened maintenance of a neutral attitude toward the Church, Venice again found herself assuming the old character of its champion. Into this policy the chivalric element perhaps more or less largely entered: yet none was more excellently calculated to advance the views which the Republic was known to entertain on the mainland; and the present situation of Condolmiero therefore engaged the gravest attention and most anxious

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1033.

² *Suorum Temporum Commentarius*, Murat. xviii. 936.

³ *Istorie di Firenze*, Murat. xix. 975.

thoughts of the Signory. It had become clear, that the outbreak of a fresh war with Milan was merely a question of time; and, although there might be every disposition on the part of the Venetians to postpone hostilities, circumstances were daily arising which rendered such a course by no means easy. As a temporary measure, an ambassador was sent to Bologna to exhort that City to preserve its allegiance to Rome, while a second proceeded to Florence with instructions to suggest the immediate levy of 3000 men (of whom the Signory offered to contribute two-thirds), to shield the Holy Father from his persecutors, and to maintain in its integrity the Patrimony of Saint Peter, the legacy to the Apostolic See of the great Countess Matilda. The affairs of the Church were in this distressing posture, when the struggle for political supremacy between the Florentine Houses of Medici and Albizzi terminated in the defeat and banishment of Cosmo de' Medici to Padua. The wealthiest man in his own great city, and the head of one of the principal banking firms in Europe, Medici counted many friends in the influential circles of Venice. The Signory, having little faith in the stability of the Albizzi administration, instructed her ministers on the *terra firma* to receive the exile with full honours; and at her intercession the Florentine Government was even induced to sanction the residence of Cosmo and his family in any part of the Venetian Empire. The banker himself, who was well known to the Venetians, and whose father had been a member of the Florentine Association at Venice, fixed his abode in the capital, where he was the guest of the patrician Jacopo Donato. He was a man of a refined mind and liberal tastes; and during his stay he spent large sums in refounding, under the supervision of the Florentine architect Michelozzo, who accompanied him to his temporary residence, the old Abbey library, and in enriching the institution with books and other works of art. The great Florentine statesman was charmed by the reception which was accorded to him; he had had no idea, he said himself, that he would experience such flattering attention and such loving sympathy. The Republic discerned in him the coming man on the banks of the Arno.

While the licentious element, which had imperceptibly crept into the freedom of the majority of Italian cities in the first half of the fifteenth century, was corrupting its character and sapping its foundations, the new principles of government and the new constitutional maxims, upon which the Venetian administration

was conducted, carried with them an overmastering force. While other States were the dupes of wretched superstitions or the victims of an abject tyranny, to behold a Power maintaining religious tolerance and equality of civil rights, was a novelty in Europe; and herein, even more than in her commercial prosperity, lay the cause of the greatness which Venice had attained, and of the malevolence with which she was regarded. The Republic was doomed henceforward to be perpetually at war with one Power or the other: with Milan, with France, or with Germany; with Europeans or with Asiatics. The motto of her Empire was Peace; but its upholder was the sword. To her ambition she had sacrificed for ever her repose. Her interests were identified and bound up to an extent which she perfectly appreciated with those of Tuscany and Naples; and her quarrels were Italian quarrels. On the other hand, the Dukedom of Milan was dangerous and detrimental to her; the power of Visconti was antagonistic to her power; his ambition was as insatiable as her own; and she therefore observed with pleasure any tendency on the part of Sigismund to attempt the destruction of the Milanese dominion.

The condition of the peninsula remained so ominously unsettled, that it was impossible to foretell, how far the influence of circumstances, if no other agency, might constrain her to return to that policy, which pointed as its ultimate object to nothing less than the absorption of Lombardy. The side, which Venice and Milan were taking in the religious contention of the day, was so opposite, that the relations between the two Powers necessarily assumed a very precarious aspect; and the prospect was rendered still less tranquil by the intrigues and troublesome conduct of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Louis de Teck, the creature of Sigismund. Before the Council of Basle, which deposed the Venetian pontiff Eugenius IV., De Teck laid a formal complaint of the usurpation of Friuli by the Signory. The Venetian orators, in accordance with their instructions, proposed that their country should hold the Province as a material guarantee, "until the expenses of the Friulan war were paid," as originally stipulated, and that if, when the pecuniary claim was satisfied, the Republic considered the cession at variance with her interests, the question should be submitted to arbitration. The Patriarch, however, not only spurned the suggestion, but launched a monitory against Venice. That strong measure necessitated the transmission of fresh directions to Basle; and on the 13th October 1434, the Senate met together

to deliberate. It was resolved¹ that "our orators be desired, in omitting no opportunity of coming to terms, to seek in no wise any relaxation of the monitory, since 'the more unjust it is, the less weight it will carry;' that, if it be found impossible to accommodate matters, they shall leave Basle, and, preparatory to doing so, call upon the representatives of all the Powers there assembled, to explain clearly how the case stands—how formerly, the Patriarch declining the friendship of the Signory, and stirring up enemies against her, the latter had recourse to Martin V.; how his Holiness, having vainly prayed the Patriarch to desist, at last consented to the war waged in Friuli (1420-1), a war undertaken in her own defence, and for her own security; a war welcomed by the population, to which the despotism of the Patriarch had become insupportable. In what manner, they shall inquire, can Venice be justly called a despoiler of the Church? They shall point out how a number of petty tyrants have usurped lands belonging to their country, and have enjoyed them unmolested; but they shall urge warmly, that against the Venetians, who never usurped the property of any, but who only studied the welfare of their subjects, a charge of wrongful occupation is surely unfair!"

The Government of the Doge subsequently (January 1435) aimed at improving its position by taking the opinion of the University of Padua on the point of territorial right. The views of the Doctors were favourable, as might have been anticipated; and copies of the report made to the Signory on the subject were transmitted to all the European Powers, with which Venice had relations.

The Council of Basle, among other fruits, brought many illustrious visitors to Venice, who took the city on their way, or availed themselves of the opportunity of a friendly conference with the Government. But the reasons or motives were manifold. The Doge customarily acted the part of *cicerone*, and where the rank of the guest was equal to his own, his Serenity met him at a certain distance from the capital in the Bucentaur, and conducted him back with full honours. The etiquette was that the first magistrate of the Republic uncovered only to sovereign princes, who followed the example. A few years later the Council of Ferrara furnished a second occasion for similar visits, and we hear of the Greek Emperor and his brother, Despot of the Morea, being

¹ Romanin, *Stor. Documentata*, iv. 177, *et seqq.*

splendidly received and entertained, the Doge taking his place on the left hand of the Emperor (Johannes Palæologos), when he ascended his Majesty's barge. Sometimes in seasons of trouble or illness the Doge excused himself, as when Frederic III. and his consort, Eleonora of Portugal, who stayed a fortnight at Venice, and were received by the Dogaressa, on the plea that her consort was indisposed; it was, in fact, the commencement of certain private troubles, not long after the marriage of Jacopo Foscari in 1441 to Lucrezia Contarini. The Empress was only fifteen, and is said to have been rather oppressed by the ceremonies and sight-seeing which she was expected to attend.

At the same time, the threatening complexion of Italian affairs persuaded the Republic to draw nearer to Naples and the Emperor. Already in the beginning of the year (1434), the ambassador at the Court of Joan II. had been instructed to solicit the Queen to join in protecting the Papal States, and to sound her Majesty touching a Venetian alliance; and efforts were almost simultaneously made to convert the existing truce with Sigismund into an offensive and defensive League. The friendship of Venice was just now of more value to the Emperor than that of any other Power; and the Signory consequently thought herself strong enough to stipulate on her own behalf for the boundary of the Adda, leaving her ally at liberty to appropriate all the territory on the Milanese side of that river, while she demanded at the Imperial hands formal investiture with her acquisitions on the *terra firma*.

The Venetians had been sagaciously prodigal of their homage to the distinguished man, to whom they had afforded an asylum, their calculations respecting a revulsion of feeling at Florence were speedily verified by the recall of Cosmo de' Medici and his restoration to office; and the nearly concurrent death of Joan II. in February 1435, led, after a severe contest between the French and Spanish claimants, to the union in the person of Alfonso V. of the crowns of Arragon and Naples.

Meanwhile, the war in Lombardy was recommencing with the seizure of Imola by a Milanese force in contravention of the treaty of 1433. But the progress of hostilities was remarkably languid, victory inclining rather to Visconti. The Republic, however, laboured under great disadvantages. Her alliance with the Emperor, which had bred such hopeful expectations, did not add a soldier to the League. Florence, still fostering her old Lucchese

recollections, and more bent on pushing her own fortunes in Tuscany than on fulfilling her contract, lent the Venetians no hearty or continuous support. Eugenius, intimidated by the menaces of Visconti, went over to his side. The successor of Carmagnola, Gonzaga of Mantua, began to follow his example, and to grow indolent and listless. Under such circumstances, the tide of war exhibited frightful fluctuations. In the course of these years, the Republic preserved with difficulty the Bresciano, the Bergamasque and the Veronese. Verona itself was lost and recovered. The enemy beleaguered Brescia. But the Government did not relax its activity for a moment. On the 17th March 1436, a project was communicated by the authorities at Padua to the Ten for introducing Marsilio, the only surviving son of Francesco Novello, into that City in the disguise of a merchant.¹ The dexterity and closeness, with which the plans of Visconti and his minion were laid, were such that the conspiracy was only discovered when it was almost matured. The informant of the local government was a peasant; the man stated that the execution was fixed for the 19th. Marsilio was arrested in the territory of Trento on his way to Padua. Conducted to Venice, he was brought before the Decemvirs, to whom he disclosed under torture all the details of the scheme;² and on the 20th March, he was beheaded between the Columns.³ All his accomplices, whose guilt could be established, were sent to the scaffold.

The league with Sigismund, although it did not yield those practical advantages which had been so sanguinely anticipated, was not altogether without its use. One of the conditions had been, that the Emperor should grant the Doge formal investiture of the provinces added more or less recently to the Venetian dominion; and that interesting ceremony, perfectly consonant with the feudal theories which the Republic then found in force, took place at length, on the 16th August 1437, on the Great Square at Prague. Marco Dandolo represented the Signory. A platform was erected on the open space, surmounted by a dais, on which sat the Emperor, surrounded by his peers and councillors. An enormous crowd filled the square. So soon as Dandolo approached, two hundred gentlemen, magnificently habited, advanced to meet him, and conducted him with every mark of

¹ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1099; and Romanin, iv. 179.

² Sanudo, *Vite*, 1040.

³ Paolo Morosini, lib. xx. 445.

honour to the platform. The ambassador, who appeared in a splendid suit of cloth-of-gold, walked in front of his retinue to the foot of the throne, and then sank on his knees. The Emperor instantly begged him to rise, and desired to be acquainted with the nature of his commission. Dandolo replied: "I am charged by the Venetian Republic to obtain investiture of the States which belong to her on the *terra firma*:" whereupon he displayed his credentials. Sigismund signified his complaisance; and in imitation of his example, all rose, and proceeded in order to the Cathedral, where mass was performed. On the return to the Square, the diploma was read, by which Francesco Foscari was declared "Doge of Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Ceneda, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, Casalmaggiore, Soncino, Platina, San Giovanni-a-Croce, and all the Castles and places in the Cremonese territory and in the rest of Lombardy on this (the Venetian) side of the Adda." At the conclusion, Dandolo took an oath of fealty, and engaged, that all the successors of Foscari should repeat the ceremony, and should transmit a yearly tribute of 1000 sequins in the shape of a cloak of cloth-of-gold or otherwise, as his Majesty might be pleased to direct. Sigismund brought the proceedings to a close by conferring the honour of knighthood upon the ambassador, and by pronouncing in his presence a glowing panegyric on the Republic. The diploma was dated the 20th July 1437; and it was proclaimed by Ducal manifesto at Venice on the 20th November following.¹ Both the tribute and the investiture were part of the mediæval system of feudal tenure, under which service gave title, and eventually, in many cases, the latter was not invalidated by the discontinuance of the original equivalent.

Thus the title which the Visconti, captains and archbishops of Milan, had borne in the preceding century, was allowed to devolve upon Francesco Foscari. Foscari became Doge of Venice and a moiety of Lombardy, and *Imperial Vicar*. The diploma of 1437 had its moral utility in legitimising the Italian conquests of Venice, and in lending an approved sanction to her territorial claims.

She had seldom been in more urgent need of all the courage and strength, which it was in the power of collateral incidents to afford her. The Republic, in the prosecution of her war against Visconti, still laboured under numerous drawbacks.

¹ Romanin, iv. 187.

Above all, the Treasury was deeply and alarmingly embarrassed by the expenses of a struggle, which had lasted with few interruptions since 1424; and a pernicious anomaly had crept into practice, by which a portion of the revenue was collected in advance. The consequences of the systematic adoption of such a principle were speedily felt; in less than twelve years 7,000,000 of fresh debt had accumulated. The Funds which, at the death of the Doge Mocenigo, amounted only to 6,000,000 (ducats), had already reached 13,000,000. Francesco Sforza and his Free Lances were no longer in the pay of the Duke; but the Florentines monopolised their services, and Florence continued to aggrandise herself in Tuscany, and to resent the Lucchese policy of Venice by estrangement.¹ Cosmo de' Medici himself tried to prevail on Venice to act with greater cordiality and energy in promoting the views of his own countrymen, and paid a personal visit to the city for the furtherance of the matter. He was received with politeness, yet not with that effusive attention, which he had experienced as an exile. The Republic virtually said to him, that it did not object to the Florentines taking Lucca, but that it would not spend its money in helping them to do so. He proceeded to Ferrara, and saw the Pope; but his mission was not productive of any immediate fruit, and on his way home he again appealed to the Republic, and was almost repulsed.

The troops in the Venetian pay were insufficient to cope with the Milanese, even if the Signory had been more than commonly fortunate in her Captain-General, while the reverse was the truth. The Marquis of Mantua manifested all the sluggishness and all the caprice of Carmagnola without any marked indications of Carmagnola's genius; and his blunders and shortcomings became at last so flagrant, that his employers conceived a suspicion of his honesty.² The Polesine of Rovigo remained in the hands of Venice ostensibly in pledge for the payment of an old debt due to her from Ferrara; and the Marquis, disgusted by the retention of his province, and emboldened by the firm attitude of the Milanese under Piccinino, began to listen to the proposals of the Duke, and to waver in his friendship for the Republic. Thus, the Florentine connection continued to be excessively precarious; neither Mantua nor Ferrara was to be trusted; and the Govern-

¹ Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xii. cap. 1.

² Soldo, *Memorie delle Guerre contro la Signoria di Venezia*, Murat. xxi. 789.

ment of the Doge was expecting from week to week to be apprised of the reconciliation of the Duke of Milan with his intended son-in-law over the joined hands of Bianca Visconti and Francesco Sforza.

Surrounded by these difficulties, added to her financial embarrassment, Venice felt that she had no easy part to play; and it was with a sensation akin to relief that she viewed the resignation of Gonzaga in November 1437. "On the 26th (Nov.)," Sanudo reports, "the Pregadi held a meeting, because the Lord of Mantua had sent the Signory word, that after the end of the month he did not wish to retain the command, but desired to return home. Wherefore it was decided that Gattamelata should be made Governor of the Army." It was the latter, whose talents, energy and devotion had more than once saved the cause which he was serving from ruin; and the hope was cherished that under his immediate auspices the exertions of the troops would develop important and happy results.

Gonzaga had no sooner quitted the service, than he unmasked himself, and went over to the Duke, with whom he secretly planned a partition of the Venetian dominions on the *terra firma*, Verona and Vicenza falling to the share of Mantua,¹ Brescia and Bergamo to that of Milan. His conduct, which had during some time been exciting mistrust, was now at once explained. His duplicity and its tardy detection enraged beyond measure his former employers; and reprisal was made by seizing the persons and property of the Mantuan residents at Venice, and by inflicting every possible damage on the commerce and territory of the traitor. His successor did not disappoint the proud expectations which had been formed of his genius and capabilities. The new General-in-Chief threw into the work before him an honest heart and splendid faculties; and all that it was humanly possible to do with the limited force at his disposal, Gattamelata performed with equal courage, fidelity and zeal.

Gattamelata had not only to contend against superior numbers, but he had to deal with a master-spirit. The Duke still employed the great soldier Nicolo Piccinino, the most distinguished disciple of the school of strategy, founded in Italy by Andrea Braccio of Montone. Piccinino carried all before him.² The Veronese,

¹ Simoneta, *Vita Francisci Sfortia*, lib. vi.; Soldo, *Memorie*, 809.

² *Annales Bonincontri*, 148, Murat. xx.; Soldo, *Memorie*, 789-90-1; Simoneta, *Vita Sfortia*, lib. v.; Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. x.

Vicentino, Bresciano, and Bergamasque, with the important exception of Montechiaro, the Orci, Palazzolo and some other first-class fortresses,¹ were overrun by the Milanese. The fortune of war threatened to wrest those valuable provinces altogether from the Republic.

The latter neglected no precaution for preserving its possessions and for protecting its subjects. The veteran Loredano was sent with a strong flotilla to the Po, to create a diversion in the direction of Mantua, and to compel Gonzaga to provide for the defence of his own estates.² By opportunely relaxing her grasp of Rovigo, over which she claimed no permanent jurisdiction, the Signory removed a lurking sense of wrong from the breast of the Marquis of Ferrara, and secured a free passage for her troops through the Ferrarese territory. A renewed attempt was made to obtain the services of Sforza, still detained by Florence, with a view to his coalition with Gattamelata.

Piccinino, having made himself master of Casalmaggiore, crossed the Oglio, carried his arms into the Bresciano, and, marching in the direction of the Lago di Garda, took Rivoltella, Chiari, Pontoglio and Soncino; and, notwithstanding a severe check from the Venetian Commander at Rosato, he advanced upon Brescia itself. That stronghold which, in the earlier part of the century, had actually connived at its reduction to the Venetian rule, evinced its predilection for the mildest and most constitutional of mediæval governments by a noble and grand defence. A militia of 6000 citizens formed the garrison; and the entire population, banishing, at the summons of the Commandant Francesco Barbaro, all party differences, united in the common cause.

The General-in-Chief had marched with a little too much boldness into the Bresciano. He soon found that Piccinino's superiority of force threatened him, if he continued to advance, with the loss of his communications with Venice, and that such a course was calculated to expose the Republic to danger; and Gattamelata, who had only 3000 horse and 2000 foot under him,³ was obliged to reconcile himself to the idea of falling back on the Veronese. In September 1438, he began his retreat. The snow already mantled the Alpine peaks and ridges; the mountain-streams were swollen by the heavy autumnal rains;

¹ Soldo, 794.

² Platina, *Historia Mantuana*, Murat. xviii. 817.

³ Ibid. 816; Cavalcanti, lib. xii. c. 1.

the roads were terribly out of repair; almost all the bridges had been washed away; and scarcely a ford was available. The Army was exceedingly short of provisions; and the rear was harassed by the troops of the Bishop of Trento, an ally of Milan. Everything depended on the exercise of unanimity, discipline and fortitude. But the men and their officers were devoted to Gattamelata; and the retrograde movement was conducted by the Captain-General, in such circumstances, with admirable skill and coolness. The torrents, gullies and ravines were bridged. The roads were levelled and repaired, or, where they were too bad, new causeways were constructed; and at the end of the month, after indescribable trials and hardships and an unbroken series of forced marches, the Venetians debouched through Val-Caprino into the wide plain, on which Verona stands.¹ The Milanese were thus baffled in their more than suspected design of throwing themselves between Venice and her little army, and of penetrating through the March of Padua into the Dogado. The retreat of Gattamelata was deservedly regarded by the tacticians of his day as a masterpiece; but that retreat, while it saved the Venetians from the ultimate ignominy of a surrender, necessarily reduced the Brescians to great straits. The inhabitants displayed in the presence of such a crisis immense heroism.² Every sacrifice and privation were cheerfully borne.³ The conduct of Barbaro exacted applause from his enemies themselves.⁴ The two leading families, the Martinengri and the Avogadri, forgot their rivalry, and fought side by side. The garrison behaved with a gallantry which filled the besiegers with wonder and respect. Of the population generally such was the enthusiastic loyalty, such was the fervent affection for Venice and detestation of Milanese sway, that not only women but children were seen to join in repelling assaults and in working at the breaches. The execution of the enemy's guns, of which the smaller threw 300-lb. stones, was frightful. One shot blew to pieces seven men, and scattered their limbs so confusedly, that it was impossible to collect them for burial.⁵

The venerable Loredano, Captain of the Po, after an entertainment given to the Milanese and Venetian officers in compliment to a fifteen days' truce arranged between Gonzaga and himself,

¹ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1102.

² Candido, *Vita di Piccinino*, 1074.

³ Id. *Vita Philippi-Mariae Vicecomitis*, 991.

⁴ Platina, 816; Candido, *Vita di Piccinino*, 1073.

⁵ Candido, *Vita di Piccinino*, 1073-4.

was seized by symptoms so grave, that on the 26th October 1438, he hurriedly returned home, where he died in great suffering on the 11th November following. He was buried at Santa Elena, by his own desire, without any public demonstration. The death was variously explained; but poison was the likeliest solution; and it cannot fail to appear a strange and suspicious coincidence that, shortly after, his brother Marco, sent by the Ten to Legnago to investigate charges against Andrea Donato, the Doge's son-in-law, and governor of the place, was also taken suddenly ill, and succumbed. He had found affairs so unsatisfactory, that he arrested Donato, and sent him under escort to Venice. The Doge has been accused of having instigated both these fatalities; but there is no evidence of his complicity, nor is it too much to affirm, that fairly conclusive evidence would be indispensable. The facts were so imperfectly known, that contemporary gossip-mongers differed in their accounts; and Giorgio Dolfin, in narrating the first casualty, does not even suggest foul play. It appears more likely that Loredano was broken down by hard work and disappointment.

The Milanese main body, 20,000 strong, with between eighty and one hundred guns of the largest bore, was now concentrated before Brescia, the possession of which Visconti particularly coveted. At the same time, detachments of the enemy were penetrating to the banks of the Adige: while the Veronese March was swept and laid under contributions by the Marquis of Mantua.¹ For these evils there was, under existing circumstances and until the arrival of Sforza, no apparent remedy. But there was one object, which seemed to be in the power of the Ducal Government, and which it determined to accomplish at every cost and hazard; and this object was the relief of the faithful and suffering Brescians. The eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, by which the City is approached, was still open to the Republic; but on that lake she unfortunately did not possess a single raft. In such a dilemma, the Senate entertained a proposal, which had been submitted to the Government some time since by two foreign engineers, Blasio de Arboribus² and Nicolo Sorbolo, for conveying a flotilla across the Tyrolese Alps on carriages drawn by men and oxen into the Lago di San Andrea,³ and from the latter across Monte-Baldo into the Lago

¹ Platina, *Hist. Mant.* 816-17; Candido, 1071.

² Romanin, iv. 196.

³ *Historia Veneta Secreta*, 27, Add. MSS. 8580.

di Garda itself. The distance to be traversed was about 200 miles, and the outlay was computed at 15,000 ducats or upward. It was mid-winter, and a deep snow overspread the ground. Still the Signory, "who," to borrow the expression of a contemporary memoir-writer,¹ "could not sleep until Brescia had been relieved," did not shrink from the undertaking. For it was confidently calculated that it would develop one of two contingencies. By leaving the movement unopposed, the Milanese would enable the Republic to victual the place; by opposing it in force, they would leave the road from Brescia to Verona sufficiently unguarded to facilitate the transmission of supplies from that quarter. Immediate steps were therefore taken to carry out the scheme.

The flotilla consisted of five-and-twenty barks and six galleys; it was under the care of Pietro Zeno. Zeno proceeded by water from the mouth of the Adige up to Roveredo; from that point the passage to the summit of Monte-Baldo, over an artificial causeway of boughs, stones and other rough materials, running along the bed of a precipitous fall, furnished a spectacle which none could witness and forget. Yet the greatest difficulty even then remained to be overcome. The descent from Monte-Baldo was a perfect prodigy of mechanical skill. The whole process, which demanded an iron will and unflinching nerve on the part of those engaged in its execution, was conducted through the medium of huge cables securely fastened to each vessel, before it was launched from the almost perpendicular declivity on the other side. The galleys and barks, thus guided and checked, were allowed to slide down the mountain; and the ropes were slackened little and little by pulleys and windlasses, until the ship reached the bottom. From the foot of Monte-Baldo to Torbole, the nearest point of the lake, was between twelve and fifteen miles; and after stupendous toil, and amid almost insurmountable obstacles, the Fleet was at last set afloat on the Lago di Garda, the theatre in former times of some of the military triumphs of Claudius Gothicus, in the course of February 1439.²

This overland transport from the Adige, accomplished by a process of which modern history furnished no second example,³

¹ Soldo, *Memoria*, 808.

² Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1076-7.

³ See Platina, *Historia Mantuana*, Murat. xx. 823; Cavalcanti, *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. xii. cap. 6.

and in comparison with which the celebrated Passage of Hannibal dwindles into insignificance, was after all something like a waste of time and money. On their arrival at Torbole, where they were obliged to construct a haven¹ with such materials as they could command within the shortest possible time, Zeno and his companions found themselves confronted with a greatly superior naval force under Vitaliano and Giovanni Gonzaga.² Piccinino had collected their purpose, and had forestalled them; and the Venetian commander, after reconnoitring the enemy, had no alternative but to retire upon Torbole, and to throw out lines of palisades to save his little squadron from destruction.

The triumphs, which had down to the present time attended the Milanese arms, were undoubtedly owing in some measure to the masterly dispositions and unwearied activity of Piccinino; but they proceeded even to a larger extent from the faulty tactics of the Allies themselves. While the Lieutenant of Visconti had wisely concentrated his strength on the Venetian Provinces of the *terra firma* with the evident design and expectation of beating his adversaries in detail, the forces of the League were foolishly divided between Tuscany and the Marches; and it was a circumstance of a highly suspicious character that, although the interests of the Coalition no longer required the presence of any large body of men on the Tuscan frontier, where a separate peace between Milan and the Medici Government had temporarily suspended hostilities,³ the bulk of the confederated army under Sforza was still retained by the Florentines, and Lombardy, the principal, if not the only seat of war, was almost denuded of troops. The Venetian Government, haunted by misgivings of the integrity of Cosmo de' Medici and his countrymen, and deeply anxious on financial grounds to witness the return of peace, now made an earnest and emphatic appeal to Sforza in person;⁴ and at length, in the latter half of June 1439, that general appeared on the plains of Lombardy. The Signory was delighted at his arrival. On the 23rd, the united colours of Venice, Florence and Genoa were forwarded to him as an emblem of his mission.

The motive of the Marquis of Ancona in taking part with the Republics against the father of Bianca Visconti was sufficiently transparent. None understood better than Sforza the

¹ Soldo contemp. *Memorie*, 808; Murat. xxi.

² Simoneta, *Vita Francisci Sfortie*, lib. v.

³ Platina, *ubi suprà*.

⁴ Platina, *Hist. Mant.* 825.

fickle and pusillanimous character of the man with whom he had to deal, and the cowardly heart which was masked by those hardened lineaments; and he had begun to persuade himself that, if his dearest wish was to be accomplished at all, its accomplishment was to be procured by intimidation more surely than by any other method. On repeated occasions, Filippo-Maria had behaved to his future son-in-law with the most flagrant bad faith. In one instance, the marriage was actually fixed, and the guests were even invited,¹ when, on some frivolous pretext, the ceremony was indefinitely postponed. During the somewhat lengthened stay of Sforza in the Florentine service, the preponderance of Piccinino had increased to a dangerous extent, and the new Captain-General of the League secretly exulted in the prospect of making himself of importance in the eyes of the Duke, as well as in those of the Signory, by damaging the reputation and influence of his great military rival.

Venice and Sforza had thus become necessary to each other. By the fresh compact, dated so far back as the 19th February 1439,² into which the General had entered with the two Powers, the salary payable to him and his companies (in equal proportions) reached the exorbitant sum of 18,000 ducats a month; and the Republic herself, elated by the satisfactory aspect of affairs, is found repeating the alluring proposals which she had formerly addressed to Carmagnola. "So soon as you become master of the territory of Gonzaga," the Senate writes on the 30th July, "we will recognise you as Lord of Mantua; if you do not happen to succeed in this object, we will consent to your occupation of Cremona and the Cremonese. But if you cross the Adda, the Dukedom of Milan itself shall, to the exclusion of the actual holder, be your reward; and we will acknowledge your title."³

The junction so long and fondly desired between Sforza and Gattamelata, now second in command, having been effected at the end of June, the Captain-General found, by a return taken at Montagnano on the 25th, that he had 14,000 horse under his orders, with the best part of the year before him;⁴ and he soon shewed a determination to make the fullest use of his time. The Vicentino had been so incompletely conquered by Piccinino,

¹ Simoneta, lib. v.

² This agreement will be found *in extenso* in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* xv. 146.

³ Romanin, iv. 198.

⁴ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1102.

that in a few days it was completely recovered by the Allies; and the enemy, apprehensive of being taken in rear, repassed the Adda.¹ The theatre of war was now transferred to the vicinity of the Lago di Garda, and the Commander-in-Chief was urged by the Signory to apply himself without delay to the object which she continued to have most at heart—the relief of Brescia. The march of the army across the Alps in the footsteps of Zeno began in August, and the process occupied considerably more than two months. It was not till the second week in November, that Sforza arrived at the defiles conducting to the Fortress of Tenna; and here he found the Milanese and Mantuans under Piccinino in person drawn up in readiness to dispute the passage. With the aid of the Brescians, a large body of whom suddenly appeared on the heights and rolled down huge crags on the enemy in the gorge beneath, the Captain-General gained the day (November 9), and the position was triumphantly carried. A special messenger was dispatched on that very evening from the field of battle with a note endorsed:² “To the Most Serene and Excellent Prince and Lord our Singular Good Lord, Lord Francesco, Doge of Venice.”

“Most Serene Prince—

“This is to apprise your most illustrious Lordship that Nicolo Piccinino, being in force here to contest certain of the Passes of Tenna, we hastened to give the order to carry the said Passes. We sent for troops from Brescia; we charged the enemy, and scattered them. My Lord Carlo, son of the Lord of Mantua, has been taken; Nicolo Piccinino escaped. Our men are still in pursuit. We believe that a great many cavalry and also foot are in our hands. We write this to you in order that you may be in possession of the facts as soon as possible. We will shortly communicate with the most illustrious Signory more in full.

“From your most auspicious Camp at Arco, November 9, 1439.—Your Serenity’s servants,

“FRANCESCO SFORZA, COUNT.

“GATTAMELATA DE’ NARNI.”³

At the moment when he wrote or dictated these hurried lines, Count Francesco was not aware of the manner in which

¹ Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077, Murat. xxi.

² Sanudo, *Vite*, 1082.

³ This is the same person to whom an equestrian statue by Donatello was erected in front of the Church of San Antonio at Padua in 1453.

Piccinino had slipped through his hands. The latter, when he saw that affairs were quite desperate, threw himself in the first instance into Tenna; but from an impression that he would be unable to maintain that position, he almost immediately afterward quitted the stronghold, tied up in a sack half filled with rags, and was carried through the hostile camp to Riva di Lago on the shoulders of one of his orderlies, a brawny Teuton of gigantic stature.¹ The feat amounted to a miracle: for Piccinino himself was a tall, burly man; and even to the huge, stalwart fellow whose back he turned to such good purpose, the load was a severe strain of muscle and sinew. A belief prevailed at the time in some quarters that the Venetian Proveditor knew thoroughly well the contents of the sack, and connived at the trick. But this was so far from being the truth, that the Venetian Government offered a reward of 4000 ducats to any one who should bring Piccinino dead or alive.²

No news came of him during a few days,³ and Sforza proceeded to sit down before Tenna. But the astounding intelligence was soon brought that the Milanese General had surprised Verona, and was already master of the principal portion of the fortress. Sforza raised forthwith the siege of Tenna, and hastened to the relief of a place, the safety of which was of infinitely superior consequence to that of Brescia itself. For there was room to believe that the enemy designed to follow up the reduction of Verona by an invasion of the March of Padua.⁴

The position of Brescia was so bad that it could hardly be worse. The pressure of the siege was momentarily removed; but the distress was becoming perfectly insupportable; and deliverance once more postponed, at the very moment when it had been thought to be indeed at hand, by the diversion into the Veronese, was to many patient and longing hearts, in the most loyal of cities, a blow too bitter and heavy to bear. "Every day," records an eye-witness, "we have letters here, saying that Count Francesco has arrived, now in the Padovano, now in the Veronese; now telling us that he has beaten Piccinino; then that he has driven him beyond the Adige. In these reports there is a good deal that is true enough, and a good deal that is not. One thing is certain: the League has been renewed. Disease and hunger are at their height here. It seems to me,

¹ Soldo, *Memorie*, 814-15.

² Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 183.

³ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1083.

⁴ Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077.

that people are getting quite weary of life. Such is their sad condition, that it is only because they dread coming again under the rule of *that Duke of Milan*, that they hold out."¹ "Affairs," the author of the same *Memorials* tells us in August 1439, "have nearly reached a climax. The pestilence is most terrible, the scarcity hardly less so. Between forty-five and fifty are perishing daily: yet, under the hope that Count Francesco will soon be crossing the Mincio, we forget our troubles in the absorbing idea of the arrival of the Count."²

In the ensuing month, a frightful calamity befell the Republic and her faithful subjects. The flotilla on the Lago di Garda under Pietro Zeno, having left its tolerably secure anchorage at Torbole, was surprised by the enemy on the 26th September,³ and was absolutely annihilated. But Venice did not allow herself to be disheartened by the loss; the Senate directed the organisation on the spot of one far more numerous and powerful; and of the feverish anxiety with which each vessel was watched in its progress toward completion a graphic and animated picture survives.⁴

Some sort of help, however, was approaching at length. Sforza, having recovered Verona,⁵ and having thwarted his adversary in his plan for carrying the War into the Padovano by compelling him to retreat,⁶ retraced his steps by a series of rapid countermarches, and succeeded, in spite of Piccinino, in throwing victuals and reinforcements into Brescia. But the season was now very advanced; the weather began to grow excessively cold and inclement; and the Captain-General had scarcely afforded the sufferers this partial relief, when he found it necessary to withdraw into winter quarters. His example was imitated by the Lieutenant of Visconti; and thus ended the year 1439, in which Venice had completely won back her Provinces of Vicenza and Verona.

The supplies brought by Sforza to the Brescians furnished only a respite. Under date of the 10th April 1440, we have the following:—"Bread is frightfully dear; people are living on grass, snails, horseflesh, rats, mice, dogs, and other loathsome food. You may see, day after day, three hundred, four hundred,

¹ Soldo, *Memorie*, 809.

² Ibid. 812.

³ Ibid. 813.

⁴ Ibid. 815-16.

⁵ Candido, *Vita Philippi-Marie Vicecomitis*, Murat. xx. 993; Antonio de Ripalta contemp. *Annales Placentini*, Murat. xx. 876.

⁶ Candido, *Vita di N. Piccinino*, 1077.

yea more, children on the Piazza, crying aloud :—‘ bread, bread, for the love of God !’ There is no born creature so cruel that it would not melt his heart to witness such a spectacle. I believe that, unless Divine Providence were watching over us, we should, before this, have surrendered, or every soul of us must have died.”¹

Till the arrival of Sforza in the summer of 1439, and his assumption of the Captaincy-General, both the military and naval operations of the Republic had prospered exceedingly ill ; even the fleet on the Po was obliged by a diversion of the river from its natural channel to return home without striking a blow.

The campaign of 1439 exhibited a favourable turn, and was on the whole as productive as could have been expected : yet the loss of the Lago di Garda squadron was a severe misfortune, while the fate of the Bresciano and the Bergamasque still trembled in the balance.

In the campaign of 1440, already near at hand, the Duke of Milan was recommended by Rinaldo degli Albizzi, leader of the Anti-Medicean faction at Florence, and by Piccinino himself to attempt, in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, the diversion of Sforza from Lombardy by carrying the war into La Marca, and thence by the Maradi route into Tuscany. By this plan it was reckoned that Count Francesco, on the one hand, would be forced to provide for the safety of Ancona ; while the Florentines, on their part, reduced to the necessity of watching their own separate interests, would throw the Republic on her own resources, and leave the provinces of the *terra firma* at the mercy of Filippo-Maria. The Duke therefore accepted the strategical programme drawn out for him, and his lieutenant quitted his winter quarters in February at the head of 6000 horse. On the 4th March,² the Milanese reached Bologna ;³ Piccinino, having been reinforced by Polenta of Ravenna, Malatesta of Rimini, and other minor potentates, who gave their adhesion to Filippo under stress of intimidation, successively overcame the resistance of Oriolo, Modigliana, and Maradi ; and from the last point pursuing his course, he crossed the Tuscan frontier, and occupied Bibbiena and Romena.⁴ But Astorre, Lord of Faenza, father-in-law of Polenta, whom he had expected

¹ Soldo, 820.

² Pugliola, *Cronica di Bologna*, 664 ; Murat. xviii.

³ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 286.

⁴ Cavalcanti, lib. xiv. caps. 2 and 8.

to join him with a powerful contingent, failed to make his appearance.

So far back as February 1440, Florence, viewing with well-founded uneasiness the mysterious policy and fathomless ambition of Visconti, who had so long been a standing menace to Italy, sent Neri da Capponi the historian and another citizen to Venice, with the object of concerting measures with the Republic for the common security; and on that occasion the Foscari Ministry had afforded the warmest assurances of friendship and support, even asserting "that the Republic would do her best that Florence should receive no harm!" The seizure of Maradi, which was shamefully deserted¹ by its defenders, and the violation of their frontier in the same summer, inspired the Florentines with renewed and increased anxiety; and a requisition was made, on the plea of cogent and momentous necessity, for Sforza and his Companies. The Captain-General, whose personal aim was rather to weaken and terrify the Duke than to destroy him, seconded the demand. "The Count," says Capponi,² "comes to Venice in person, and at great length demonstrates that his going into Tuscany will be useful to the League, alleging that Nicolo Piccinino has no one to resist him either in La Marca or in Tuscany, and that if he be not opposed he will make himself Lord of La Marca and Perugia, and will increase in fame and strength. The Florentines, he states, have no means of withstanding the enemy; unless help arrive soon, one of two things will happen: they must come to terms, or be crushed!"

But the Signory knew better. "The Doge," pursues the commentator, "assures Sforza in answer, and proves it to him very clearly that if he (the Captain-General) crosses the Po, the Venetian provinces of *terra firma* are lost. His Serenity declares that the Duke, once conquered in Lombardy, is *conquered elsewhere*; and he protests that, if the Count has absolutely determined to go, they (the Venetians) have determined to *abandon the terra firma and to spend no more money!*"³

Nevertheless, Sforza took his leave for the time. He was just now in a wavering mood, and professed to be disinclined to move north of the Po. The nobleman, whose house Cosmo de' Medici had made his home during his year of banishment, was shortly sent by the Signory to use his influence with

¹ Napier, *Florentine History*, iii. 255.

² *Commentarii*, Murat. xviii. 1192.

³ Capponi, as above.

his illustrious guest. Medici and his friends made difficulties; and there were many in the city who would have refused to return to the coalition, pleading the indifferent loyalty of Venice on former occasions. But in the end it was thought wiser to give way, and Sforza was persuaded to resume the offensive in the allied cause. Neri da Capponi again presented himself to complete the necessary arrangements, and experienced an enthusiastic welcome. He wrote home to say that the trouble of the Venetians was changed into joy, that they had doffed their black robes, and given themselves up to pleasure, and that the Funds had risen several ducats per cent.

So long as he remained out of commission or in other pay, Sforza had not been reticent in his expressions about Venice, to whom he owed so much, and had taken some pains to dwell in his correspondence on its desperate position. "Her State stands as if in water up to the throat, and is almost ruined," and, again, "the troops of Venice are as if they were not, so little do the Milanese esteem them." Yet this same Venice was to outlive all the Sforze, and all the Visconti, and all the Medici.

The Signory promised the General, after some demur, 81,000 ducats to enable him to keep such a force in the field as would compel the Duke to recall his lieutenant; and under such a stimulus the result was that his genius and perseverance soon won fresh and more splendid triumphs for the cause, which it just now suited him to serve. On the 10th April, Stefano Contarini, Captain of the new flotilla on the Lago di Garda, inaugurated the campaign by shattering that of the enemy; and Sforza hastened to turn that brilliant advantage to the best account. On the 3rd of June, the Captain-General made the passage of the Mincio; Rivoltella, Lonato, Salò and other places, submitted to him; and he continued to advance until, on the 14th of the month, he encountered Piccinino between the Orzi-Nuovi and Soncino. A battle took place, in which the Milanese were utterly beaten; and thus Brescia, after a three years' siege and the endurance of incredible hardships, was finally relieved. The loss of life on either side was very trifling; but Piccinino was once more nearly captured. The old General contrived to elude pursuit, and, collecting a portion of his scattered troops, he marched with his usual rapidity against the Florentine position at Anghiari¹ on the Tiber, four miles from

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1098-9.

Borgo di San-Sepolcro. It was his hope that he might thus retrieve his fortune, and at the same time preclude the intended junction of the Allies.

The Milanese, however, harassed by excessive fatigue, and obliged to fight with a blinding dust in their faces, experienced (June 29) a second defeat; and their commander had another hair's-breadth escape from becoming a prisoner of war.¹ These successes spurred the Count to additional exertions; and the perfidy of Gonzaga of Mantua was punished by the loss of Valeggio, Asola, and Peschiera. "I have seen written with a piece of charcoal in the hand of Count Francesco," writes one,² who visited the spot about forty years after the event, "behind the gate of that Rock (Peschiera) these words: *On the . . . day of August, 1440, I, Count Francesco, entered this Rock in the name of the Signory of Venice.*" The Marquis of Ferrara, who had long been a trimmer, now knit himself once more in close alliance with Venice; Rimini³ and Ravenna,⁴ abandoning the Duke, again came over to the other side; and the year 1440 beheld the Lion of Saint Mark floating over the greater part of the fortresses of the Vicentino, Veronese, Bresciano, and Bergamasque. Trevi, Caravaggio, Soncino, Orci-*Nuovi* and *Vecchii*, Chiaro and Monte-Chiaro, and many other points, were in the hands of Sforza. Opposite Milan, he halted, and signified an inclination, perhaps a feigned one, to cross the Adda, and occupy the Capital itself.⁵

Piccinino retraced his steps, discouraged and moody. Taking advantage of the unprepared state of the Allies at the outset, he had made a few trifling conquests; but, with those exceptions, the result of the campaign had been singularly unpropitious to him; and "owing," as Cavalcanti will have it,⁶ "to the bestial contumacy and stubbornness of Astorre of Faenza, his good fortune had turned to an evil one." The word *bestial* is one on which the Florentine historian literally doats. The Lord of Faenza is bestial. Filippo-Maria is bestial. In one or two places, Sforza is bestial. On the "bestiality" of this or that proceeding the writer insists with amusing emphasis, and dwells with evident relish.

The brilliant, though somewhat short, campaign of 1440

¹ Soldo, *Memoria*, 823.

² Capponi, 1197.

³ Capponi, as above.

⁴ Sanudo, *Vita*, 1100.

⁵ Romanin, iv. 203.

⁶ *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xiv. cap. 2.

was virtually brought to an end by the setting-in of the heavy autumnal rains; all the real fighting had been done between April and July. Sforza looked upon his achievements with pardonable complacency: for he had not merely gained precious triumphs for the Republic, and surrounded with glory the flag of Saint Mark, but he had improved in a wonderful measure his own private prospects by making the Duke quake on his very throne.

The two consecutive checks given to Piccinino seriously frightened his master, and the thoughts of the latter began to stray once more in the direction of peace. For this purpose the Marquis of Ferrara exerted his rare eloquence and address.¹ A coaxing message was conveyed to the General in strict confidence. "His darling wish shall be gratified now without delay; Bianca shall be his; they shall be married directly; Cremona is to be her dower. But, *per contra*, a treaty must be arranged; Francesco shall have the management of the whole thing; Francesco shall mediate!" The Venetian Government, on its own part, entertained no sort of objection to peace on a satisfactory basis, and a negotiation commenced accordingly, which lingered through the winter months, and came after all to nothing. Perhaps the Signory was too exacting.² Perhaps it is that Count Francesco, not feeling any strong confidence in the man who has so often duped him before, has not the matter much at heart, and prefers to kill the idle hours with the bewitching pleasures of the Venetian capital. "Count Francesco," notes Soldo in his *Diary*, "is spending his time at feasts and dances, while Piccinino is spending it in slumber!" Some excuse, however, is to be found for Sforza. When he was at Venice, the city was extraordinarily gay and seductive. In January 1441, Jacopo Foscari, the Doge's only surviving son by Maria Priuli del Banco, his first wife, married Lucrezia, daughter of the patrician Leonardo Contarini.³ The ceremony was privately performed at the Palace in the presence of his Serenity, the Dogressa, and a few relatives and intimate friends. Speaking of the subsequent rejoicings, Giacomo Contarini, the bride's brother, writes under date of Tuesday the 29th January to brother Andrea at Constantinople:—"This morning all assembled at Marangona—there were eighteen of us, dressed uniformly—at the house of the Master of the Feast. We wore the stocking

¹ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 191.

² *Ibid.*

³ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1099.

of the Company (Della Calza), mantles of Alexandrian velvet brocaded with silver, doublets of crimson velvet with open sleeves, zones of the same colour, and squirrel-fur linings, on our heads caps *alla Sforzesca*.¹ We had two servants apiece in our own livery, and four in the livery of the Company; everybody was provided with a charger caparisoned in green velvet and silver; and, mounted on our beautiful and stately beasts, we looked as grand as any cavalry. Besides our grooms, we had other attendants dressed in silk, and men-at-arms, too, so that altogether there were not fewer than two hundred and fifty horses. I must tell you that the Master was attired very much like ourselves, excepting that his vest was a train, and that his cap was of crimson velvet. His lordship had twenty horses, and Messer Giacomo (i.e. himself) twenty-five. We started from the house in this order. In front marched some of the trumpets and fifes; then the youngsters in silk. Next came our horses covered with their trappings, followed by half the Company of the Stocking; then the rest of the trumpeters and fifers; then 'My Lord of the Feast'; then the other Companions of the Stocking; finally, all our remaining servants."

The procession, having made the circuit of the Piazza and of the Palace-Court, proceeded from San Samuele² over a bridge of boats thrown across the Grand Canal to Saint Barnabas, where the bride resided. The Lady Lucrezia came out of the Palazzo Contarini to meet it, walking between two Procurators of Saint Mark, and attended by sixty maids of honour; and all went to Saint Barnabas', close by, and heard mass. After mass, an oration was delivered on the open and densely crowded space in front of the sacred building, and in the presence of the Doge and the Court, commemorative of the virtues of the fair Contarini and of the great actions of her progenitors. Upon its termination, Lucrezia re-entered her father's house, while the Companions of the Stocking, again taking horse, rode through the various quarters of the City, gallantly curvetting and prancing over the Campo di San Luca, the Campo di Santa Maria Formosa, and the Piazza itself, and occasionally indulging in mock-battles and playful skirmishes. In the afternoon, a splendid banquet was given at the Palace, after which one hundred and fifty ladies,

¹ Morelli, *Delle Solennità e Pompe Nuziali*, 1793. It had been the fashion to wear things à la Carmagnola prior to that general's fall.

² Sanudo, *Vite*, 1099.

sumptuously attired, mounted the Bucentaur, and again repaired, accompanied by numberless boats and by a band of musicians, to the Palazzo Contarini. Here Lucrezia was in readiness with one hundred other ladies to join them; and from the mansion of the Senator Leonardo the huge barge moved forward in the direction of the Palazzo Sforza, where the whole party landed. The bride entered the building between Count Francesco and the Florentine Ambassador. The visit was one of the stiffest formality; the procession soon re-embarked, and returned to the Ducal residence. On the Piazza, Lucrezia was met by the Doge, for whom room was found between his daughter-in-law and Count Sforza; and on the staircase of Saint Mark's the Dogress, with a train of fifty superbly habited ladies, was prepared to welcome her. Dancing commenced almost immediately after the arrival of the guests; in the course of the evening, a princely collation was served on the tables; and after supper the ball was continued to a late hour.

The fêtes commenced on Monday, the 30th January. The principal event of that day was a tourney among forty persons for a prize given by Count Sforza of a piece of cloth-of-gold valued at 120 ducats; and the claims of two of the candidates, Taliano Furlano, an officer in the Milanese army, and of a soldier in Sforza's companies, were so equal that the meed of valour was divided between them. A grand ball was announced at the Palace in the evening, and the Companions of the Stocking provided a supper.

The next day was very wet in the earlier part of the morning; but at a later hour the weather improved, and in the afternoon a regatta was held. On Wednesday, the jousts recommenced; and during a week or ten days, Venice continued to present a scene of revel and ovation. All the shops and merchants' offices were closed, and upward of 30,000 persons regularly congregated on the Piazza to witness the sports and pastimes. The same general routine was observed throughout, with some variations in the details.¹ The day was occupied with tournaments and every other sort of diversion. At night came the balls, masques and serenades; and after dusk the Piazza was lighted with white wax torches. The whole capital whirled with excitement. Count Sforza joined with hearty zest and glee in everything. His mornings were spent in the lists and his evenings in the

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1100-1; and Morelli, *ubi supra*.

saloons. Such was the pomp which attended the nuptials of the fair Contarini with the Doge's son; it is said to have afforded a spectacle to which Italy had never beheld anything at all approaching in magnificence and costliness.

Referring to the bride, her brother says:—"And in truth the maiden conducted herself, and does behave, so well, beyond everything which might have been anticipated; I believe," her brother declares, "that she was inspired by God, and may He grant, that she may for ever go on improving. We gave her a portion of 16,000 ducats and 1000 more on loan, and her things, on which, seeing that she was marrying into the Ducal family, we could not well spend less than 600 ducats. Moreover, after all, she had only what Paula had, except that, in place of a gown for the house, there was made for her one of gold brocade with short sleeves, costing altogether 125 ducats." Her trousseau is described with considerable minuteness by the evidently very affectionate and proud brother:—"You must know that so far there have been prepared four dresses, a dress of gold and crimson, for which, that it might be as rich as possible, we gave 18 ducats by the ell, with open sleeves, and a squirrel-fur lining, and a tail an ell and a half long: another of cloth-of-gold ground and peacock blue, costing 12 ducats the ell, the sleeves lined with ermine, otherwise like the first: a third of gold brocade with open sleeves, which were lined with squirrel, and trailed on the ground, as did the dress itself, and this one cost 7 ducats the ell: and then the fourth was of damask worked in gold, the sleeves lined with ermine, and the price 6 ducats the ell. These four cost nearly 2000 ducats. She had, too, a beautiful jewel for her hair (*formacetto di drezza*); a ruby, an emerald, a valuable diamond, a shoulder-clasp with a diamond, a pearl, and a Balas-ruby, worth 3500 ducats. There were also, the necklace, which had been worn by the Queen of Cyprus, estimated at 2000 ducats, and many rings, among which were four large rubies worth 2000 ducats more."

The writer, who a little reminds us in his account of a jeweller's or dressmaker's bill, proceeds to narrate, how his sister had everything supplied to her, fit for a great queen, and had no need to look to Monsignor il Doge for any assistance in that sort of way; and he lets us know that there were three feasts altogether in the great hall, and 120 torches, and there was nothing on the tables meaner than capons, partridges, peacocks,

oysters, and sweetmeats, whereof there was an abundance. The rejoicings appear to have extended over at least five days, for on the Thursday we are permitted to understand that there was a reception at the Casa Contarini, and a grand banquet, at which the Dogaressa was not present, because her youngest son Domenico had just recently died; and the letter of the preceding Sunday states that the bride will probably represent her.

During all this time, Piccinino was very quiet, but not quite so fast asleep as some supposed. At all events, before December 1440 was far advanced, he had been awake and astir; and during that and the ensuing month he was busily engaged in preparations for the seemingly unavoidable renewal of the struggle. He took the field so early as February; Count Sforza was nowhere visible; and his opponent seized the occasion to spread a report, "that he had perished in a mysterious manner at Venice."¹ The truth was, that the Contarini affair and other attractions of the capital possessed for him an irresistible charm; and the Count was still to be seen tilting and pirouetting, while his troops were anxiously awaiting his presence, until they were obliged at last to relinquish the field, and to fall back on their fortresses.

The Venetian commander was superior in point of number to his adversary; but it did not answer the purpose of the Captain-General to press Piccinino too closely, or to damage the Milanese power to any irretrievable extent. It was not till June, that Sforza joined headquarters; and even then nothing of consequence was undertaken. On the other hand, however, Filippo-Maria, growing disgusted and alarmed at the preposterous demands of his captains, who wished him, in the absence of direct or even legitimate heirs, to apportion his dominions among them, like a second Alexander, had been, during some time, in constant communication with Sforza, through his private secretary and other confidential agents, at one moment hinting at some arrangement for the re-establishment of peace: while at another he darkly insinuated, "that a fate similar to that of Carmagnola was in store for his successor, and that the Milanese service was safer and more remunerative." Sforza, if he estimated the innuendos of the Duke and his creatures at their true value, was in a position to enjoy a laugh at their expense: yet the admonition, perhaps, was not without its use and profit. It

¹ Sanudo, *Vite*, 1101.

taught him to be discreet and ingenuous; it seasonably impressed him with the folly and danger of employing a shuffling policy, or of behaving toward the Government with the same dishonesty, which had cost Carmagnola his head; and at each successive stage of the negotiation the precise attitude of affairs with the exact progress made toward the desired result was faithfully and minutely reported to the Signory. At length, Sforza forwarded for approval a protocol, which he was authorised by a decree of the Senate (August 6¹) to accept; and, having signed on his own responsibility² an armistice for a fortnight, he proceeded to Venice to receive certain necessary instructions. It had been, in the first instance, the wish of the Republic, that the representatives should assemble at her own capital; but the Duke declared his preference for some neutral ground, and the point was waived in favour of Cavriana in the Cremonese. To this place came, in the latter half of September,³ the plenipotentiaries of the Doge; the Venetians were content to relinquish the right of choosing the seat of the conference, so long as they were left at liberty to dictate the terms; and the nature of those terms makes it an allowable hypothesis that they were, to a large extent, of their own authorship. Count Sforza, familiar with the slippery character of his intended father-in-law, insisted upon being invested with the sovereignty of Cremona, and upon being united to Bianca, preparatory to the definitive signature of the treaty; this step, to which the Signory did not think it worth while to raise any objection, involved great delay; and the Treaty of Cavriana was not published till the 20th November 1441.⁴

By the new instrument, the boundary of the Adda was restored as the frontier-line between the territories of Milan and Venice. The clauses in regard to exchange of prisoners and other details of a like kind, found in the Treaty of 1433, were reproduced without alteration. Riva di Lago was transferred from the Duke to the Signory; and the former also lost Imola and Bologna, which returned under pontifical rule, and Genoa, which regained her independence. The Marquis of Mantua relaxed his grasp of Porto, Legnago, and other Venetian possessions, which he had seized in the course of the war: while he ceded to the Republic Lonato, Valeggio, Asola, and Peschiera.⁵ The rights

¹ Romanin, iv. 201.² Navagiero, *Storia*, 1107.³ Romanin, *ubi supra*.⁴ Navagiero, *Storia*, 1107-8; Romanin, *ubi supra*.⁵ Romanin, iv. 205.

of Venice over Ravenna, which had been in her occupation since February of the present year, were confirmed; and Cremona had already become the marriage-portion of Bianca-Sforza-Visconti.

A fair statement of the chain of circumstances, under which the ancient House of Polenta was deprived of its patrimony in Ravenna, is calculated perhaps to exonerate the Republic from a charge of direct usurpation. So far back as 1406, Obizzo da Polenta, then master of this principality, finding himself reduced by the ambition of his brother-in-law the Lord of Faenza, the Lord of Forlì, and other neighbours to a position of grave peril, solicited and secured the protection of Venice. A Venetian podesta was sent to Ravenna to superintend the government: but the Polenta family still retained the sovereignty in its own hands, although the limit indicating where the authority of the podesta ceased, and where that of Obizzo began, was not perhaps very accurately defined. The conquests of Venice on the *terra firma* at that period, her wars with Hungary from 1410 to 1416, and her acquisitions in Istria, Dalmatia, Friuli, Greece, Albania, and elsewhere between 1416 and 1424 absorbed the attention of her rulers; and affairs at Ravenna remained with little or no alteration till 1430, when Obizzo died, naming the Republic the executress of his will, the guardian of his son Ostasio, a minor, and, if that son died childless, Ostasio's successor. Upon the attainment of his majority, Ostasio exhibited a tyrannical and overbearing character; and by his excesses, which Venetian organs probably did not omit to exaggerate, he incurred great odium, and made many enemies among the better classes of society at Ravenna. In the fourth war between the Signory and Filippo-Maria Visconti, Polenta, who happened to be residing at Treviso at that juncture, thought proper¹ to desert the cause of the Republic, and to go over to the Duke; but, after the successes of the Army of the League under Sforza (1440), he forsook the Milanese connection, and a Proveditor was sent to concert with him and his wife "the best means of preserving the devotion of Ravenna to the Republic." A crisis was at hand: yet Ostasio was blind to its approach. On the 24th October 1440, a letter is written in the name of the Doge Foscari to Captain Jacopo-Antonio Marcello, stationed in the garrison, as follows: "Advices have been received here, which

¹ Rossi, *Historia Ravenn.* lib. vii.

give the Government to understand, that Messer Sigismondo Malatesta (Lord of Rimini) came to the Legate, in company with two citizens of Ravenna, and told him that the inhabitants do not choose to remain any longer under the sway of the Polenta, who governs them despotically. As the Republic holds this city sufficiently dear, and cannot suffer it to fall into the hands of others, we desire you to proceed thither with troops, which you can procure from the Condottiero Michele Cotignola; the Proveditor Giovanni Leoni may act provisionally as Podesta, and preside over the administration of justice; and you yourself will take charge of the gates. It must be ascertained whether it is really true, that the people are hostile to Polenta; and, if so, the facts can be represented to his lordship, who may then be invited to pay a visit to Venice, until matters are smoother. On the other hand, if the presence of Polenta be not thought prejudicial, he may be allowed to remain where he is."

In pursuance of these instructions, Marcello marches upon Ravenna, at the head of 2000 foot; and Ostasio, abandoning his patrimony, repairs of his own accord to the Lagoons. It is Saint Matthew's day when the Venetian officer arrives at his destination. The citizens and the people rise in arms against their oppressors, and with joyous shouts proclaim *Saint Mark and the Venetian Senate*.¹ An embassy is sent to Venice, to make known the wishes of the inhabitants; and on the 21st February 1441, the Senate decrees "that the submission of Ravenna may be accepted," and proper steps be taken to suppress any revolutionary movements on the part of the Polenta faction. Ostasio, his wife, and his child are relegated to Candia, where the two latter die in the course of the same year.² The archiepiscopal see is preserved; but the salterns in the neighbourhood, which are said to be injurious to the health of the locality, are destroyed.³

The conclusion of peace was welcomed at Venice with processions, joy-bells, and thanksgivings. Count Sforza and his bride were invited to the capital; and the Princess Bianca was, upon her disembarkation, received with all imaginable pomp in the Merceria. Accompanied by the Doge, Bianca paid visits to the Arsenal and other public establishments, and was very much delighted with everything, especially when his Serenity takes her into Saint Mark's Treasury, and selects a gem worth 1000 ducats

¹ Rossi, *Historia Ravenn.* lib. vii.; Simonetta, *Vita Sfortia*, lib. v.

² Rossi, *ubi suprad.*

³ Id.

of gold, which he presents to this charming young lady of seventeen years¹ next birthday, as a slight token of regard on the part of the Republic. Bianca is the daughter of a prince who nourishes toward the Venetians a deep-rooted and deadly hatred; and she has not improbably been educated in the belief that Venice is the high-place of wickedness, and a nest of assassins in figured velvet and embroidered lace. Perhaps this visit will help to disabuse her mind of such an impression, and will make her think nothing the worse of the people, whose hospitality her husband and herself are enjoying for a little time. As she peers, on the morning after her arrival, out of the window-casement of the palace, the Countess beholds a scene pretty similar to that which delighted and astonished Petrarch nearly one hundred years before her time, and on which the eyes of Dante had previously rested: ships, as tall as houses, riding proudly on the calm surface of the Grand Canal, manned by oak-hearted and iron-thewed sailors who have visited every part of the world: crowded wharves and busy quays, where all the languages of Europe are spoken, and where every variety of dress is observable. In the forenoon, Bianca becomes a spectatress in the Lists on the Piazza, on the Campo di San Luca or di San Polo, where Venetian gentlemen vie in knightly prowess and equestrian skill with the finest lances and horsemen of the Continent. At a later hour, the saloons of the Ducal Palace throw open to her a spectacle to which no other City in the world can furnish a counterpart: three hundred ladies, regally appalled, behaving with a grace rivalled only by their decorum, and in whose veins flows blood far older than that of Plantagenet or Courtenay; and when she withdraws to her own apartments, she hears not the screech of the owl or the baying of the hounds, to which she has been familiar from her childhood in the cheerless palace at Milan; but all is quiet, except when the still air is broken for a moment by some church-clock close by, striking another hour.

¹ Cagnola, *Storia di Milano*, 57; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iii.

CHAPTER XXXI

A.D. 1441-1457

Venetian Affairs from 1441 to 1447—Venetian Policy during that Period—Death of Filippo-Maria (Aug. 1447)—His Person and Character—His Four Wills—War of the Succession—Sforza's Fortunes—Sforza, Duke of Milan (March 1450)—League between Venice and Naples against Sforza and Florence (1452)—Desultory Nature of operations—Attempt on the Life of the Duke under the Sanction of the Ten—Treaty of Lodi (April 1454)—Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453)—Treaty between Venice and Mohammed II. (April 1454)—Great Italian League of 1455—Review of Venetian Progress and Civilisation—Story of the Two Foscari (1445-56)—Deposition and Death of the Doge (Oct.-Nov. 1457)—Foscari and his Times.

FROM the date of the conclusion of the Fourth War against Filippo-Maria Visconti, which had borne some resemblance to an extended duel between the two commanders, till 1447, Italian politics continued to present a precarious and fluctuating aspect. The governing aim of Visconti in these later years of his life was to alienate Sforza from his employers by alternate threats and caresses, by insinuations against Venetian honour and magnificent proposals. Such a purpose, if realised, was infallibly fraught with extreme peril, and the Republic energetically strove to thwart it. Venice, while she judiciously refrained from hurrying into a war in the absence of any serious aggression upon Italian liberty, gave the Bolognese and Florentines assurances of her intention to support them in case of necessity; and in the autumn of 1443, a defensive league against Milan for five years was subscribed by Florence, Genoa, Bologna, and the Signory, the last Power offering to place 2000 horse at the disposal of Count Francesco, should he be attacked. In 1445, by a treaty between the Ducal Government and the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Venetian difficulties in that quarter were amicably solved, and all apprehension on the side of Friuli was temporarily removed. The arms of Visconti, who had now

(1444) lost the rare talents of Nicolo Piccinino, suffered constant reverses; but his secret negotiations with his son-in-law were more successful. Sforza, placed between two patrons, was during all this time in a state of sore perplexity. On the one hand, the Duke was for ever importuning him to espouse his cause; and his wife probably teased him to give way, and go to Milan. On the other side, the Venetians, who had laid him under obligations of gratitude, shewed themselves anxious to retain his services and his friendship. Thus two lines of conduct seemed open to the husband of Bianca, either of which he might perhaps have adopted without much hazard or injury to his character. But he chose to take a middle course, and to temporise with the Signory, while he was in treaty with Milan. Such a policy was highly profligate and unprincipled; and the Venetian Government, seeing through his duplicity, was emphatic in its expression of resentment. Pasquale Malipiero, one of the Procurators of Saint Mark, was sent to expostulate with the Count on his abominable behaviour; and the rebuke of Malipiero was hearty and outspoken.¹ In April 1447, the Senate² decreed the stoppage of his pay, the confiscation of the residence which the gratitude of the Republic had bestowed upon him, and his proclamation as a rebel; and troops were sent from Florence and Venice to close against Sforza all the passes of Lombardy. The alliance between the Pope and Alfonso of Naples had already had the effect of restoring La Marca to the former;³ Jesi alone remained in the hands of Count Francesco;⁴ and the Count was already beginning to feel himself in a critical dilemma, when the Duke, terrified by the ill-success of his military enterprises, disgusted at the mediocrity of Francesco Piccinino, a son of Nicolo, and distrustful of many of his other captains, sent a private secretary to headquarters, urgently soliciting his son-in-law to come with his wife to Milan. Alfonso and his ally, rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of Sforza and of obtaining Jesi, proposed at the same time to pay 35,000 florins of gold in consideration of his complete surrender to the Church of all rights over La Marca; and Sforza, "only anxious," as he said, "to study and obey the wishes of his father," took the money, and set out with Bianca and his companions on the

¹ Cavalcanti contemp. *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xiv. c. 56.

² Navagiero, *Storia*, 1111.

³ Bisticci, *Vita del Re Alfonso*; *Arch. Stor. Ital.* iv. 398.

⁴ Cagnola, *Stor. di Milano*; *A.S.I.* iii. 72-3.

9th August. He had only reached Cotignola, his native village, however, where he was halting to give his men rest, when the news came, that the Duke was no more. Filippo, after six days' indisposition, had breathed his last at the Castle of Porta-Zobbia¹ on the 13th of the month. It was characteristic of him, that his physicians were strictly forbidden to allow the least suspicion of his danger to transpire; and when his decease was at length announced, the greatest surprise was felt in Milanese circles as well as throughout Italy. Visconti carried with him to the grave the reputation of having been the most astute and wily prince of his time.

It is somewhat monotonous to follow all the intricacies and subtleties of the negotiations, which had been conducted during many years passed by the representatives of the Duke himself and the other Powers in the intervals between operations in the field. All these Italian chamber-strategists prided themselves on their dexterity in fence and finesse, and in reproducing their favourite game of chess in actual life. Each thought that he penetrated the craft and duplicity of the others, and was even at liberty, in private conversation at any rate, to stigmatise their conduct as deceitful. Whatever estimate may be formed of Cosmo de' Medici, for example, no one can surely deny that he was engaged throughout his whole life in those arts, by which men or States are played one against the other, yet he chafed at the absence of candour on the part of the Venetians, and asked a friend whether he ever knew such unblushing liars, because he suspected them of masking a political step under a false motive. But Machiavelli himself shrewdly animadverts on the injured innocence of his own countrymen, when they were thwarted in appropriating what belonged to others.

The character of Filippo-Maria was altogether one of the most singular, which has appeared in any age or country. Even to those who conceived they knew him best, he was an enigma. For genius and disposition he stood quite alone.

The late Duke had never been handsome or winning in his appearance; and he could never be persuaded to have his portrait painted; but a contemporary² has preserved a graphic picture of his person, his character, and his manners. In stature, he was considerably above the common height, though, from his

¹ Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 219.

² Petrus Candidus, *Vita Philippi-Mariæ Vicecomitis*, Murat. xxi.

habit of stooping, he seldom looked tall. As a boy, his figure was remembered to have been singularly lank and ungainly, his frame then being spare almost to emaciation :¹ but gross indulgence and unrestrained sensuality soon destroyed every trace of symmetry or comeliness; and long before the Duke reached middle life he grew monstrously corpulent. From a deformity in his feet, his legs had always been weak; and in later years the feebleness of his lower extremities increased so deplorably that he was obliged to support himself, whenever he rose from his seat, on a stout cane, or to lean on the shoulder of a page; but his biographer relates that, throughout his reign, he was never seen to stir abroad alone. Large, rolling eyes of a fierce, wandering expression, with pupils of a yellowish tint; projecting brows; a snub nose; a receding chin, on which the razor seldom intruded; high cheek-bones; a head which could only be described as an oblong; black hair, worn off the face, and combed and brushed as rarely as possible; a bull neck, on which the fat literally lay in folds; and short hands with dumpy fingers, made a by no means fascinating physiognomy.

Accident has communicated to this portrait somewhat minuter touches than in the case of one who belonged to a generation so remote, and has left no resemblance of himself, as he was, breathing on the canvas, are commonly possible. But even here we miss the tones of the voice, the gesture, the grimace, the rapid fluctuations of expression, which make the difference between a reality and the most vivid description of it.

Before his death, his eyesight had so entirely failed him, that he was nearly stone-blind. On this point he was so sensitive that the utmost care was taken to keep strangers in ignorance of the affliction, by warning him of their approach. The favourite diet of the Duke was quails, liver, and turnips. Occasionally, he woke in the middle of the night, ordered a calf's liver to be dressed, and until the meal was ready, paced the room with his attendants. His slumber was generally very broken and feverish; he often changed his couch as many as three times in a night; and he invariably slept in his clothes, and lay across the bed, instead of lengthwise, 'which is a fashion,' remarks his biographer Candidus, 'I have never noted in anybody else.' In his walks, it was his custom to mumble his prayers uninterruptedly, and to count his devotions on his fingers. His physicians were in

¹ Candidus, cap. 56.

constant attendance; and such was his dread of death, that he followed the most absurd prescriptions in the minutest particular.

There was no one who had been instrumental in the destruction of so many of his fellow-creatures as Visconti: yet it was more than any one dared to mention the word death, or to broach the subject in his presence; and the sight of a naked blade was enough to make him scream with terror. Though loathsomely filthy in his person, he was fond of gay clothes to a weakness: yet he strictly prohibited those about him from appearing in any but the plainest and most sombre attire. During a reign of more than thirty years, he was perpetually engaged in wars: yet he had never been present at a single battle, or seen a single siege; and he probably knew no difference between a trench and a counterscarp. When he was not sleeping or eating, or if no business was before him, he occupied himself with a book (his favourite authors were Livy, Dante, and Petrarch), or with muttering paternosters and aves, or with a puppet-show, which he kept in his bedroom, and for which he had given several hundred florins.

Visconti was of a saturnine and gloomy temperament; in his dealings with the members of his own household his manners were morose; and in himself he was supremely unhappy. Nobody enjoyed his confidence or his friendship; and hardly anything afforded him amusement. Yet, almost down to the last, he had discovered a certain lingering interest in his old passion for horses, hawks and dogs; and in or about 1422 the Doge had made him a present of some rare goshawks sent from Scutari as a homage to the Signory. His stud and kennel were by far the finest in Italy. On these pet subjects his memory never strayed; he knew all the animals which were at any time in his possession; and, before he was seized with blindness, he was able to tell at a glance the breed of a puppy or a foal.

His ancestor Galeazzo Visconti appears also to have had, in common with most of the potentates and great folks of that day, a strong liking for falconry. In a letter written by Galeazzo to Edward III. of England about 1370, he engages to send him a falcon to replace the *Cyprian* which he had presented before, but which had died.¹ The late Duke was also fond of cards, and the pack, which was painted for him, is said to have cost 1500 pieces of

¹ Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, i. 43.

gold. These cards appear to have contained figures of the mythological divinities and of birds. It is reported by the Duke's biographer that his secretary executed a considerable proportion.¹

In common with the majority of his contemporaries, the Duke was a firm believer in astrology and divination, and a fatalist; and the latter circumstance helps to explain the recklessness which sometimes marked his public conduct. To a more sceptical generation some of his superstitious foibles cannot fail to present a ludicrous and contemptible aspect.² He was terribly afraid of lightning; and the room in which he slept had a double wall, to exclude the electric fluid. When it thundered, he used to creep into a corner of his bed beneath the clothes, and desire his servants to surround him that he might be hidden. He viewed it as a circumstance of sinister omen, if his right foot was accidentally put into his left shoe. On Fridays, he shrank from contact with a bird, or with a person who had forgotten to shave himself! On the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, he could not be persuaded to get on horseback; and it was a part of his religion to wear no colour but green on the 1st May.

Filippo had been through life in perpetual dread of the dagger and the poison-cup; he was painfully aware, how universally he was an object of hatred and fear; and he always remained secluded and inaccessible. Even the Emperor Sigismund, whom he had expressly invited to Milan in 1433 to assume the Iron Crown, was denied an audience. For, at the last moment, the Duke changed his mind, and shut himself up in his private apartments; to induce him to see his visitor was perfectly impossible; and, to the infinite glee of the Venetians, a breach was thus created between the two Princes, which was never closed. Yet to such few as were fortunate enough to win his good opinion, and to gain admittance to his person, no one could be more affable, gracious, and kind, and while he treated his nearest relations with a barbarity which exposed him to universal execration he observed toward his prisoners of war with few exceptions a treatment which many better and more merciful men ridiculed as childishly generous. Alfonso of Aragon, whom the chances of war once threw into his hands, was received in a manner so considerate and liberal, that he was overpowered

¹ Chatto's *Facts and Speculations on Playing Cards*, 1848, p. 230.

² Candidus, cap. 67.

by astonishment; and the clemency of the Duke to Carlo Malatesta, after the fatal battle of San Egidio, belongs to the romance of history, and lives on the canvas of Uccello. If he had not been by nature morbidly timid, it might have been imagined that his idiosyncrasy proceeded from a keen consciousness of his ill-favoured exterior, and from a desire to contradict the first impression of a stranger, that he beheld before him the ugliest man in Europe. But if there was any point in which this unhappy Prince was less variable and inconstant than another, it was in his fidelity to his early friends and to his old servants.

Filippo left behind him four wills, made at different periods and under various influences. By the first in date he named his cousin Antonio, by the second, a distant relative, Jacopo Visconti, his successor. The third left his natural daughter and only child Bianca sole heiress: while the last, drawn up shortly before his decease, at the moment when Sforza was led by the behaviour and professions of the testator to believe himself in the highest favour, and signed by a dying man, annulled all its predecessors, and bequeathed the Dukedom of Milan to Alfonso, King of Aragon and the Two Sicilies.

The Republic which, apart from her well-founded resentment against Sforza, had no desire to witness a new dynasty established on the vacant throne, and which saw that, at all events, it was essential to oppose the pretensions of Alfonso, dispatched on receipt of intelligence of the Duke's death (August 17) the Secretary Bertucci Nigro, to offer Milan her support in its return to popular institutions, and to convince the Milanese that, in waging war against them, she had been solely actuated by a sense of the necessity of curbing the ambition of their late ruler. Conformably with these counsels, the subjects of the Duke, boldly taking advantage of the uncertainty and confusion in which his testamentary dispositions had involved his affairs, came to the resolution of ignoring all the instruments; and a Republic was proclaimed at Milan itself, Como, Alessandria, and Novara.

Had not Visconti made a fourth will, the extreme probability is that his son-in-law would have succeeded without any dispute to his possessions, and that all the Italian Powers would have hastened to recognise him, and court his alliance, even the Signory, perhaps, not excepted. As the case stood, the Count felt that he had never been in so trying a situation; he seemed

Meeting with no opponent capable of resisting his arms, Sforza added conquest to conquest. The Orleanists were worsted at Bosco, in the territory of Alessandria. Piacenza was taken and sacked. The Bresciano and Bergamasque (1448) were once more overrun by hostile legionaries; and in July the Captain of the Po, attacked simultaneously by the Milanese army and flotilla, and unsupported by Attendolo, was obliged to save his squadron by committing the vessels to the flames.¹ Quirini, who had retired with his crews and men into Casalmaggiore on the night of the surprise, returned to Venice, where he was punished for his imprudence.

The successful movements of the enemy induced the Senate to test the result of shifting its ground, and abandoning the Milanese republicans; and on the 16th August that Body resolved "that Sforza be offered the lordship of Milan, upon the cession of Cremona only to the Republic." The Count replied by fresh progresses and fresh triumphs; at Caravaggio, the Venetians under Attendolo were severely discomfited; and the victor prepared to march upon Brescia.

Since the rejection of the terms offered by the Senate in August, the Republic, displaying that wonderful fortitude which belonged to her, had been straining every nerve to check the ambition of Sforza. The Captain of the Lago di Garda, Maffeo Contarini *il Guercio*² was reinforced. Attendolo was put under arrest, and closely confined at Conegliano, on a charge of gross dereliction of duty. Pasquale Malipiero, Procurator of Saint Mark, and Jacopo Antonio Marcello proceeded to Caravaggio to reorganise the Army. Venice was unable just at this moment to command the services of a Gattamelata; but she was proudly conscious of the possession of boundless resources, of indomitable courage, and of an iron will.

Sforza was slightly awed by the new preparations and by the resolute temper of the Signory. In the course of September, Angelo Simonetta, who had found means to rejoin his employer, with his knowledge and concurrence availed himself of a momentary estrangement between Sforza and the republican party in Milan to open proposals to the Provéditeur Malipiero; and those proposals ripened into the outline of a treaty (October 18, 1448), by which the Venetians consented to aid the adopted son of the late Duke to acquire the sovereignty of Milan, and to

¹ Romanin, iv. 216.

² Ibid. 218.

pay him till the completion of the arrangement *thirteen thousand gold ducats a month*, provided that Crema and Ghiaradda were ceded to them, in addition to the territory guaranteed under the treaty of 1441. A fortnight after the conclusion of this convention at Rivoltella, an envoy arrived from Milan with enlarged powers, and, as it was believed, ampler concessions to the Republic. To his surprise, he was informed (November 3): "The Senate is no longer in a position to receive you, as it has already made terms with Francesco Sforza."

It seems rather doubtful, whether the treaty of Rivoltella was ever signed, or even whether it was put into writing. The new understanding, however, between Sforza and Venice served as a temptation to the former, coerced by the clamours of his mercenaries, to march upon Milan, and to essay the reduction of the capital by famine. The inhabitants determined to exert every effort to withstand, if not to repel, him. All the Freelances, whose services happened to be disengaged, were enlisted in their pay. Francesco Piccinino, a member of the family most bitterly at variance with the Attendoli, was appointed Generalissimo. The charge of the garrison was confided to Carlo Gonzaga, son of the Marquis of Mantua. Letters were written to the King of Naples, the Duke of Savoy, Charles VII. of France, the Dauphin, and the Duke of Burgundy, imploring succour.

There was an influential and somewhat large class at Milan, comprising the Ghibellines and certain other Nobles, who were secretly favourable to the pretensions of Bianca and her husband; and a correspondence was at an early stage opened between the Count and his partisans on the subject of a surrender. But unluckily some of the papers connected with this treasonable transaction fell into the hands of Gonzaga; and the latter, from a desire to make himself popular, revealed the plot. The Guelphs, and the people generally, were furious. Their antipathy to Sforza increased tenfold. "Rather," they cried, "than have him, we will send for the Grand Signior or for the Devil of Hell!"

The attitude of the citizens of Milan was doubly damaging to the Count. Whilst the impediments, which he was experiencing, injured his military fame, and disappointed his financial calculations, an important change became observable in the tone and temper of the Republic; and the Senate, seeing

the unexpected course of events, began to regret its premature generosity. The present exigencies of the Count, and his passed successes, which had given severe umbrage to Venice, coupled with the risk which the Signory incurred, by espousing his cause, of involving herself in hostilities with Naples, were coincidences claiming attention; and the Senate thought itself at liberty to reconsider its decision. The subsidy from Venice gradually ceased; the Government very fairly put it that it did not pay those, who did not serve the Republic. The pecuniary aid which Florence had hitherto afforded was, manifestly at Venetian instigation, withdrawn. It was known that a Milanese emissary had been admitted to an audience of the Ducal Government. These were sufficient indications, that a change was impending in the policy of the Signory; and all the facts quickly transpired. In the beginning of October (1449), at the moment when victory was within his grasp, and the enemy was reduced to the last stage of misery, the Proveditor Malipiero, accompanied by Orsatto Giustiniani, waited upon Sforza at headquarters, and signified to his Magnificence: "That the Republic, on account of the heavy outlay arising from a long series of wars, and of the prejudice, which the declaration of war received (July 8) from Naples, brought to her commercial interests, was obliged, *on the 24th of last month*, to effect a reconciliation with Milan;" and they cordially invited his Magnificence to vouchsafe his adhesion. The newest of new arrangements gave Crema and the Cremasque to Venice: to Milan, Lodi and Como, with their respective territory; while Cremona, Pavia, Piacenza and Parma were assigned to Sforza, as well as all his possessions beyond the Po and the Ticino, subject to the condition that, within six days, he should send in his ultimatum, and that within three weeks the lands belonging to the Milanese should be evacuated. The Count was, besides, to be indemnified for the expenses he had incurred in acquiring those places, which he would now be under an obligation to cede; and it was stipulated that any differences, which might hereafter arise between the Milanese and himself, should be submitted to Venetian arbitration.

Sforza announced his readiness to acquiesce; and his brother Alessandro actually proceeded to Venice to conduct the Treaty. But, the twenty days' grace having expired, and the evacuation of the Milanese not having commenced, the Venetian commander, Sigismondo Malatesta, had orders to march upon Milan, and to

attempt its relief. This plan not having succeeded from the strictness of the blockade, Malatesta directed Bartolomeo Coleoni to endeavour to open the Passes by crossing the Adda, and advancing on Como. At that point, Coleoni effected a junction with one of the Milanese generals, Giacomo Piccinino.

Meanwhile, Milan presented an awful spectacle of anarchy and disorder. The garrison and the population were famishing. Accents of distress were audible in every thoroughfare. A crisis was unmistakably approaching. It was the 25th February 1450, when a variety of discordant cries was heard in the streets. Some were declaring that they would have the Venetians; some were for the Duke of Savoy, some for the King of Naples. Others shouted the names of Charles of Orleans or of the Pope. Such was the state of feeling, when Gasparo of Vimercate, an old gossip and companion-in-arms of Count Francesco, spoke a few words well and wisely for his friend. "All those you mention," cried Vimercate, in a public address, "are too distant, or, if not too distant, are too weak to help you. Your only means of extricating yourselves from famine and war is to submit to Sforza. In him you will find every good quality. He is just, merciful and kind. The best thing you can do is to recognise the son-in-law and adopted child of the late Duke as the legitimate successor of Filippo!" This advice, adroitly delivered when everybody was in a condition of total bewilderment, and on the brink of starvation, was applauded and embraced. In the first week of March, a deputation waited upon his Magnificence, preparatory to his admission into the City, with a constitutional Capitulary, which he signed; and on the 25th, the Count made his solemn entry into the capital, and was borne in triumph to the Church of Our Lady, where a thanksgiving was celebrated for the happy event. A distribution of bread took place on the same day. On the 26th, Francesco, having presented himself in the principal square, was proclaimed with the customary forms **PRINCE AND DUKE OF MILAN.**¹

The Milanese hastened to drown the remembrance of passed griefs and hardships in every species of rejoicing; and congratulatory addresses were offered to their new ruler by all the Italian Powers, except Venice and Naples. The Florentines hailed with delight an occurrence calculated to bridle Venetian ambition; no State, perhaps, was so prodigal of its compliments

¹ Romanin, iv. 222.

and eulogy; and the breach, already existing between the Government of Cosmo de' Medici and that of the Doge, perceptibly grew wider. The Republic was naturally indignant at the pusillanimity and equivocal honesty of the Guelphs in succumbing to Sforza, when succour and deliverance were so near; and the Milanese Revolution of 1450, which unavoidably produced an organic change in Italian politics, and created a variety of new interests, had the effect of drawing two Powers, hitherto estranged by a coolness amounting to hostility, closer to each other. It was possible, that the Venetians had neither the desire nor the intention of promoting Neapolitan projects of aggrandisement; but they were aware of no better, or rather of no other, instrument for carrying out their resentment against Sforza. The Signory very probably cherished an idea that, with the assistance of Alfonso, the partition of the dominions of Filippo-Maria might be accomplished, instead of their dangerous reunion in the person of his representative. Under the influence of such considerations, the Government of Francesco Foscari entered, at the beginning of 1452, into an offensive and defensive league for ten years with the Neapolitan prince against Florence and Milan. All Florentine subjects were ordered to quit the Republic (May 16) and the Kingdom (June 11); and a war, in which Venice, Naples, Monteferrato and Siena, found themselves arrayed against the Milanese and Florentines, commenced late in the same summer.

The League, which the Signory had organised, and of which she had placed herself at the head, soon proved itself no contemptible combination. The Venetian army was divided into two sections, of which one under Gentili de Lionessa, after seizing the enemy's camp at Isola, crossed the Adda, and occupied Soncino and other points of the Milanese: while the second portion, led by Carlo Fortebraccio, a son of the famous Braccio di Montone, penetrated into the Lodesan. At the same time, the Marquis of Monteferrato, having ravaged the districts of Alessandria, Tortona, and Pavia, advanced unopposed to the very precincts of Milan; and Alfonso threatened Florence. The most curious circumstance was, that the troops of Sforza did not encounter those of the Confederacy in a single instance. In the early days of November, the Venetians and Sforzescans were once for a short period in presence on the plain of Monte-Chiaro. But an impenetrable fog enveloped both forces; and even when

the weather improved, the two commanders were so forcibly impressed by the magnitude of the interests at stake, that they separated without striking a blow. The heavy expense incidental to a campaign which had been totally without result, added to the mingled dread and detestation in which the present Duke of Milan was now held at Venice, tempted the Council of Ten to assent to a scheme of assassination laid before it by some person unnamed. But the project was either abandoned at the last moment, or it was carried out, and did not answer expectations. The Decemvirs had probably bound over their anonymous correspondent to secrecy; and the Duke remained till his dying day, perhaps, in ignorance of the danger which had at one moment hung over him.

The step was in perfect keeping with the spirit of the times. It is fruitless and unjust to depreciate the civilisation of the fifteenth century by forcing it into contrast with that of the nineteenth. It is more profitable to endeavour to ascertain, what relation the morality of the Venice of Francesco Foscari had to the morality of Florence under its Balia and of Milan under its Dukes. Venice was surrounded on all sides by neighbours jealous of her power and her grandeur; and those neighbours freely taunted her with her pride and her ambition, as if she alone had been proud or ambitious. But none soberly pretended, that her political principles breathed a low tone of morality, or that her statesmen allowed themselves to be guided in their public conduct by doctrines revolting to the delicacy of such men as Cosmo de' Medici and Filippo-Maria himself. At the same time, the attempt upon Sforza's life was such a measure as neither the Senate nor the Great Council would have sanctioned, and even such an one as the Ten themselves would scarcely perhaps have initiated. But it is easy to understand how a small conclave of men, acting under severe provocation, reconciled themselves to a proceeding, upon which they were taught to look as little more than the removal of a nuisance and an obstacle.

The Duke of Milan, destitute of money and allies, and harassed by the concurrent attacks of so many enemies, was already inclining to peace, when the final collapse of the Greek Empire, and the Conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed II. (1453), struck all Christendom with dismay. That catastrophe, which had been foreshadowed during many years passed, taught Italy, at least for the moment, a lesson of concord and union.

young gentlemen of his own country to go to Turkey to learn the art of war.

But the transfer of the seat of Mohammed's Empire did not immediately disturb the normal diplomatic relations between the two Governments. The Republic would have sacrificed much to protect Constantinople from the Osmanlis; but when the catastrophe was accomplished with the same remorseless atrocities as had distinguished the capture of the city by the Crusaders in 1204, a sense of commercial interest prompted her to be¹ foremost in ingratiating herself with the new master of the Golden Horn; and on the 18th April 1454, the Sultan, harassed by a Venetian fleet under Jacopo Loredano,² accorded to the Signory a charter for the security of her subjects and the protection of her trade.

While the Venetians, yielding to the force of events, were thus fulfilling a political maxim, that they were in the first place Venetians and in the second place Christians, they did not enter with less warmth and avidity into a proposal emanating from the Duke of Milan, and seconded by the Medici of Florence and others, for a great Italian Confederation against Germany and France. The ambition of foreigners had always presented a source of danger and alarm to the Free Governments of the Peninsula; and both the danger and the alarm had increased tenfold, since a Spanish prince took possession of the throne of the Two Sicilies, and established a claim to that of Milan. It was impossible to view without terror the prospect of a War of Succession in the Kingdom between France and Spain, and of a second in the Milanese between Spain and the Emperor. The death of Alfonso was capable of kindling the one, the death of Sforza the other. To meet such a contingency it was that, on the 30th August 1455, a little more than a twelvemonth after the Treaty of Lodi, a defensive league for five-and-twenty years was made between the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, and the Signory, against any Power or Powers which might hereafter attempt to disturb the tranquillity of Italy. The League of 1455, which Genoa and Modena were left at liberty to join, if they thought fit,³ deserves to be regarded as a landmark in the history of those troubled times and of that unhappy country. It was a glorious bond of strength, union, and peace.

¹ *Trattato di Pace con Mohammed II.*, 18th April 1454, Rom. iv. Doc. 7.

² *Commissione a Jacopo Loredano di operare contro i Turchi*, Feb. 22, 1454; Romanin, iv. Doc. 5.

³ Romanin, iv. 226.

The policy of Venice had long become, however, systematically encroaching and absorptive. To swallow up all the petty States of the Peninsula was an aim on her part which, notwithstanding repeated disavowals, it was impossible to disguise. The path, which she trod, was not always perhaps of her own creation or of her own choice. She often found herself under the irresistible influence of external agencies, sometimes even an involuntary assailant in self-defence. She yielded to the course of events, when she gratified the dictates of ambition. It is commonly alleged that, in setting foot on the *terra firma*, the Republic took a false step; but, whether false or otherwise, the step was taken, and it was unavoidable. The appearance of Venice on the mainland in the character of a conqueror was to be accepted as a political necessity. The aggrandisement of Milan, and the decline of many of the free Municipalities between Milan and the Lagoon, left her scarcely any option. If she had been less grasping, none would have gained by her moderation. It would have cost herself greater sacrifices, and what was actually a struggle for glory or honour, would have grown in a few years into a struggle for existence. The storms, which were perpetually rising in Italy, would have burst over her with tenfold violence. Not a single drop of blood, not a single ducat, would have been saved: while the invectives and reproaches, which envious neighbours were fond of showering on her, and which have been too frequently mistaken for History, would have fallen equally to her lot.

The eleven Provinces,¹ which formed the Venetian Empire on the *terra firma*, exclusively of the possessions of the Republic in Istria, Dalmatia, Servia, Austria, Albania, Greece, Syria, and the Mediterranean, represented the accumulations of fifty years (1404-54). The Patriarch of Aquileia had been dispossessed of Friuli. Roveredo had been wrested from Austria. Hungary had been compelled to abandon Zara and the other Colonies on that coast. The Count of Goritz had numbered himself since 1424 among the vassals of the Signory. The daring and successful genius of Sforza alone prevented the fulfilment of a scheme, which had more than once betrayed itself, for annexing Milan and the Milanese to the Dogado; and that scheme was postponed, not forsaken.

¹ Padua, Ravenna, Verona, Treviso, Vicenza and the Seven Communes, Brescia, Bergamo, Feltre, Belluno, Crema, and Friuli.

A city, European in situation, Oriental in nearly everything else, even in its unique national cathedral, was being impelled by inevitable destiny, with an assessable rent-roll of about four million ducats only and a limited population, to occupy a rank among Powers second only to Germany and France, and to maintain itself in readiness at any moment from year to year to send into the field or to put to sea military or naval forces, or both, to meet concurrent attacks from different quarters not on the islands, but on the vast continental and colonial possessions in Lombardy, Dalmatia, Friuli, and the Levant, while policy and dignity required an enormous expenditure on ceremonial and complimentary entertainments and oblations, and wealth and prosperity had brought with them a passionate, despotic taste for luxury and show truly eastern and compatible only with unfailing sources of supply.

Venice had left behind her in the distance her old antagonists : the pirates of the Illyrian sea, the patriarch of Aquileia, the Genoese and the Pisans ; and she was at present confronted with others, who, with the single exception of Genoa, were immeasurably more formidable and more permanently dangerous. The hostile force susceptible at any moment of being arrayed against her in various sorts and measures of combination now comprehended not merely the whole of Western Europe, but the military and naval resources of Turkey, infinitely elastic and recuperative, and the lawless inroads of Mohammedan buccaneers more troublesome than those of Narenta.

The establishment of a Lombardo-Venetian empire was a dream, which had gained ground since the accession of Foscari in 1423. The Republic had persuaded itself that the acquisition of a footing on the *terra firma* was essential to its security in many ways ; but one conquest unfortunately seemed to necessitate and justify others. It became a question of ever setting back the frontier farther and farther ; and there was the concurrent difficulty, both a strategical and a financial one, involved in the maintenance and defence of the Eastern possessions. There was no organisation of a permanent nature adequate to the support of such a double and divided burden. But, as it will only too distinctly appear, the Venetians, when they changed their city into a State, exposed themselves to a lifelong choice of evils. Inaction on the Italian side grew impossible ; if they observed neutrality, some other dominant Power would extend its landmarks within gunshot of the lagoons ; if they played the part of

- conquerors, they incurred heavy expenditure, and could promise themselves no finality; and whether they were successful or otherwise, the same fatal contingency was to be feared: foreign intervention in some shape from one or another quarter.

The Republic had acquitted herself with high credit of her Thirty Years' War (1425-54) against the Duke of Milan and his Allies, in spite of a few reverses almost inseparable from a struggle maintained, often at great odds and under grave disadvantages, with professedly military States; and she now occupied indisputably the first rank among Italian, if not among European, Powers. Her Empire was the most extensive, and promised to be the most durable, which had been formed on any constitutional principles since the days of the Romans. Her Senate was the most august assembly in the world. Her Navy was the finest which Europe had ever seen. During war, Venice employed, even at an exorbitant stipend, the best troops to be procured and the ablest generals of the age; and among her captains of companies it was not unusual to find sovereign princes. Her patricians, so far from being purely political in their education, or sordid in their tastes, prided themselves on the extent and versatility of their acquirements. They excelled in all manly exercises and in all enlightened pursuits. Not content with reading contemporary history, with mastering the intricacies of diplomacy, or with attaining the highest honours in the military profession, they studied the language which Cicero spoke, the language of the *Anabasis*, and the language of Holy Writ. They applied themselves to the liberal, mechanical and occult sciences, and to the Fine Arts. They became diligent scholiasts. They searched for MSS. with an avidity, eclipsing that of De Bure. They formed libraries, some of which were far larger than the Public Collections at Oxford or Paris. Some gave gratuitous instruction in the *Elements of Euclid*; others lectured on Ethics or Metaphysics. A Trevisano devoted ten years to the composition of a single treatise, which he never lived to finish. A Giorgio naturalised among his countrymen the literature of the Troubadours and the songs of Provence. To a Polo scientific men were indebted for the first Book of Travels in China, Kamtschatka, and Japan. In a Dandolo, who was the idol of his countrymen and their Doge in his adolescence, we admire, looking back through a vista of five hundred years, the patriotic but truthful historian, and the friend and correspondent of Petrarch.

Over such a State and such a people it had been the fortune of Francesco Foscari to preside during one-and-thirty years. But the splendour of rank and power did not in Foscari's case confer happiness or content; and the lot of the Doge was far from being an enviable one. The young Procurator of 1423 was now bending beneath the weight of fourscore years: yet the infirmities of age lay much more lightly on his head than the domestic afflictions, which had beset his path, and embittered his later days. Jacopo, the Doge's only surviving son by his first wife, Maria Priuli, had married in 1441 Lucrezia Contarini, and the nuptials were solemnised at Venice with extraordinary magnificence. The younger Foscari was wanting in none of the accomplishments, which belonged to his station. His manners were elegant. He was well versed in classical literature, a distinguished and ardent Hellenist,¹ and, moreover, a discerning collector of MSS. But he was unhappily a person of weak character and loose principles; and his unsteadiness of conduct formed a continual source of pain and anxiety to his connections. The conspicuous position, in which the husband of Lucrezia stood, rendered the slightest departure from propriety a theme for grave scandal; but the faults of Jacopo were not always confined to venial levities. From vanity, and partly perhaps from the pecuniary consequences of reckless extravagance, Foscari at length permitted himself to become the vehicle for political corruption; and in the beginning of 1445 it came to light, that he had accepted bribes from certain placemen for the favourable exertion of his influence over the Doge. A denunciation was carried by some one—a Florentine exile, it is said—to the Advocates of the Commune, who in their turn laid the charge before the Ten. On the 17th February, the latter, finding the matter within their own cognisance, and judging it to be of high moment, procured in conformity with usage a Giunta of ten Nobles, and imposed on all an oath of inviolable secrecy. On the same day, a German, named Gaspar, one of Foscari's servants, and several others, were taken into custody, on suspicion of being concerned in the charges preferred against their master. But the business, whether intentionally or not, was so clumsily performed, that Jacopo received warning of his danger; and when the order for his arrest was signed on the 18th, he was nowhere to be seen. It was not yet known that, on the earliest alarm,

¹ *Correspondence of Francesco Barbaro and Poggio Bracciolini with J. F.* (Berlan, pp. 131 5).

the culprit had filled his pockets with all the ready money at his command, and had escaped to Trieste; and the fear, lest he might take refuge in some foreign country,¹ led the Ten to issue directions next day (February 19), that the fugitive should be captured wherever he was found. They also decreed, "that neither the Doge nor his kindred shall be allowed to preside judicially now or hereafter in any case affecting those who constitute part of the Council itself or the Giunta, and that for the future, when it happens that this affair is in process of discussion, his Serenity and all other members of the family shall be peremptorily excluded from the sitting, 'in order that all may speak their mind without constraint.'" These measures, which indicated the importance attached to the subject in hand, were followed on the 20th by the grant of licences to wear arms to all members of the Committee of Inquiry. On that day (February 20), Giovanni Memo and Ermolao or Almorò Donato, two of the three chiefs of the Ten, moved as follows:—

"Considering the base, disgraceful and abominable excesses committed by Jacopo Foscari, son of our lord the Doge, against the honour and dignity of our State and Government, be it resolved that proceedings be opened against him (by default), in accordance with what has been said and read."

The resolution was carried; and numerous witnesses were examined in consequence. At a later hour, it was proposed by the remaining Chief, Francesco Loredano, "that the College be doubled, and that resort be had to torture to extract the truth more fully from the parties implicated"; but such conclusive proofs of criminality were thought to exist already, that the amendment fell to the ground, receiving only half-a-dozen votes;² and the sentence, that the accused should be banished for life to Nauplia, obtained an overwhelming majority of suffrages. All the accomplices of Jacopo were tried and convicted. The decision on his own case was read in the Great Council for the general information; the Dogaressa, who preferred her request through his Serenity, was refused permission to proceed to Trieste, and take a last farewell of the exile.

The sentence pronounced against Jacopo Foscari was marked by a severity proportionate to the declared heinousness of his offence; but no disposition was manifested by the Ten to enforce that sentence with rigour, or to lay themselves open to any charge

¹ Berlan, *I Due Foscari: Memorie Storico-Critiche*, p. 69.

² Ibid. p. 72.

of malignant persecution. On the contrary, this Body behaved toward the noble culprit with a tenderness, which positively amounted to a mockery of justice. Marco¹ Trevisano, the captain of the galley, which had been sent on the 25th February to transport the exile to his destination, wrote to his employers almost immediately after his arrival at Trieste, stating: "I have seen my lord Jacopo, and my lord treats the Ducal warrant with contemptuous levity, and declines to accompany me." In the decemviral decree on the 20th, death had been made the penalty of disobedience: yet the Ten, unwilling to insist upon this cruel alternative, contented themselves with sending a temperately worded message to his Serenity (March 11), in which "he was prayed to persuade his son to respect the law, and to spare the Republic the scandal of a resistance to their commands." All representations and intreaties, however, were lost upon the younger Foscari; and he was accordingly treated as a rebel. On the 7th April, his goods were *declared* confiscated;² the sentence upon him was solemnly confirmed; and it was decreed "that no one shall at any time under any pretence seek to obtain grace for the recusant."

Still the same delicacy remained apparent on the part of the Decemvirs in pushing the matter to extremities, and the same reluctance to exhibit unnecessary harshness toward the representative of the Most Serene Prince. The tribunal treated the offender with studied forbearance, and refrained under every provocation from chastising his insolent conduct, looking upon him rather as a spoiled and refractory child than as a contumacious citizen. Months slipped away, and Jacopo still lingered at Trieste, where he spent his time as pleasantly as his somewhat ailing health would permit. Nothing shook or roused the ostensible apathy of the Ten in this respect. Constant revelations of fresh delinquencies on the part of the Doge's son wrought no change. On one occasion (June 22, 1446) a Decemvir, scandalised and irritated by the languid indifference of his colleagues, laid on the table a motion complaining that "although so many propositions have been submitted to this Council, at present nothing whatever has been done, to the discredit assuredly of the said Council"; and a Select Committee was then appointed to report on the subject. But no practical results followed. Another term of five months elapsed; Trevisano died; and Foscari himself fell so seriously ill, that he kept his bed.³ Both these circum-

¹ Berlan, p. 77.

² Ibid. pp. 88-9.

³ Ibid. pp. 85-7.

stances were taken by the Great Council into merciful consideration; and in a House of nine hundred and eight members, a resolution passed (November 25, 1446) authorising the Ten in concert with the Giunta and the Privy Council, "to deliberate and decide on the propriety of mitigating *or remitting* the sentence of Ser Jacopo Foscari." On the 28th, accordingly, at the motion of the six Privy Councillors, it was resolved by the Ten, considering the infirm state of health of Jacopo Foscari, and the death of Marco Trevisano, who was charged to convey him to his place of banishment, that, "all laws, all equity, justice and humanity requiring that, in extraordinary and unforeseen cases, against which it is impossible to guard, allowances shall be made for every one: it not being our desire to gainsay the Divine Will: and Providence being more potent than any laws: the excuses of the said Jacopo Foscari be accepted in the name of Jesus Christ, and the cause which prevents him from proceeding to his destination, be treated as legitimate, sufficient, and honourable." A Privy Councillor, Marino Soranzo,¹ proposed that the words "in the name of Jesus Christ" be omitted, and the phrase "by grace" be put instead; but the amendment, not receiving more than two votes,² was negatived; and the original motion passed with fifteen suffrages. On the same day, the place of exile was changed from Nauplia to the Trevisan; and Jacopo obtained the privilege of an invalid, in being allowed to reside at his own house in the country, so long as he refrained from infringing his parol.

Shortly after the transfer of Foscari to one of the suburbs of Treviso, an accident led to the discovery in one of the closets at Saint Mark's of a chest containing 2040 ducats or thereabout; and from the statement of Simonetta, Secretary to Sforza,³ it was at once ascertained that the money had been sent by his master as a present to Ser Jacopo. Upon this disclosure, made April 5, 1447, Andrea Quirini, one of the Chiefs of the Ten, Giovanni Malipiero, Inquisitor, and Giovanni Giustiniani were commissioned to repair to the Palace, and to claim the box, the contents of which were forfeited to the Government by virtue of the inexorable rule that neither the Doge nor his family should receive gifts of value from any one, least of all from foreign Powers. But so little did a spirit of vindictiveness really enter into the prosecution, that the Council with consistent indulgence neglected to attach any penal consequences to the equally illegal and unconsti-

¹ Berlan, p. 85.

² Ibid. p. 87.

³ Ibid. p. 89.

tutional act. On the contrary, hardly more than five months had passed since the revelations respecting the secret-service money, when the old Doge, having addressed a supplicatory and touching appeal to the Ten, succeeded in obtaining at their hands a full pardon for his unhappy child. On the 13th September (1447), the very day on which the Ducal petition was presented, it was moved as follows:—

“Chiefs: Marco Longo; Matteo Vetturi; Vettore Cappello.

“Whereas our most serene Lord the Doge hath caused a petition to be made to this Council that grace be shown to his son Jacopo, confined at Treviso, as is set forth in the memorial laid before the Council, and (whereas), considering the condition of the times and the grave matters which occupy our State, it is necessary to have a Prince whose mind is easy and free from suffering, which cannot happen so long as his only son remains in exile, unsound in body and mind, as is familiar to all; and (whereas) it is an act of piety to exhibit toward our Lord the Doge himself, in this case of his son, that humanity and grace which this Government has been wont to use toward its other Nobles and subjects, in the times in which Our Lord God has vouchsafed to extend and amplify the dominion of this City; taking into account likewise, that the deserts of the Lord Doge demand a gracious hearing, and that it is his only son, for whom he pleads; be it resolved and ordered that, for all and every the reasons and respects aforesaid, the said Jacopo may freely return to Venice.” The motion was almost unanimously carried; and Jacopo was restored to his family.

For upward of three years neither the Archives nor the Chronicles bear any allusion to the hero of the foregoing story. Sobered a little by bitter experience and by the increased delicacy of his health, Jacopo was probably during all that time in the tranquil enjoyment of conjugal happiness. But fresh and greater troubles were in store for the Ducal family.

On the evening of the 5th November 1450, the patrician Ermolao Donato, as he was leaving the Palace, after attendance at a sitting of the Pregadi, on his return to his own residence at Santa-Maria-Formosa, was stabbed by an unseen hand; the blow did not prove immediately fatal; and Donato, having been carried home, survived till the 7th. The murdered man had filled at different periods some of the highest offices in the State; and during the months of January and February 1445, when the crimes of Foscari were first divulged, Francesco Loredano, Gio-

vanni Memo and himself were the three Chiefs of the Ten.¹ On the following morning, the Decemvirs met, at the summons of their Chiefs, Ermolao Valaresso, Giovanni Giustiniani and Andrea Marcello, to inquire into "the horrible violence and detestable iniquity committed last night on the person of the noble Ermolao Donato, our citizen"; and a Giunta of ten Nobles was formed as in the previous case. The mystery, which hung over the authorship of the tragedy, remained, however, unsolved. Exorbitant rewards were proclaimed to tempt those, who might be in possession of the secret; but no information transpired. On the 27th, one Luchino Zeno was arrested on suspicion; but his innocence was satisfactorily established, and after a short incarceration he was set at liberty. On the 9th December, a new proclamation was published, and fresh inquisition was made. But no clue could be obtained. At length, on the 2nd January 1451, on the information of Antonio Veniero, a Noble, an order was signed for the arrest of Jacopo Foscari and of several others, his accomplices. The members of the Council and of the Giunta were forbidden under pain of death to communicate to any one the informer Veniero's name.

Veniero alleged rather lamely, in support of his denunciation, that on the 6th November last Olivero Sguri, one of Foscari's servants, happened to meet Benedetto Gritti at Mestra, a few miles out of Venice, and gave him full particulars of the murder which had been perpetrated near Saint Mark's the night before. The deponent also asserted that on the 5th, at the hour when the Pregadi usually dispersed, Sguri had been seen hovering about the corridor leading to the Pregadi Saloon, as though he was waiting for somebody. The testimony of Veniero was not very lucid or convincing. There was no reason why the intelligence, which Sguri had imparted to Gritti of Mestra the day after the occurrence, might not have been imparted by any other traveller from the Capital; and unless it was to be shown that the object of Sguri and his employer was to throw the Government off its guard, it was obvious that silence would in such a case have been a surer indication of guilt than the apparently uninvited reference of Olivero to Donato's tragical end. At the same time, several points were adduced which, taken together, represented something approaching a connected chain of indirect evidence. Although Donato had explicitly declared on his deathbed, that he did not

¹ Berlan, p. 67, *et seqq.*; Romanin, iv. 273.

know who was his murderer, it was established that a personal enmity of the most violent description had subsisted between the younger Foscari and his supposed victim since February 1445, when, as one of the Chiefs of the Ten, it became Donato's duty to pronounce the sentence of the 20th; and, arguing by a negative process, it was exceedingly natural to identify Jacopo's confidential servant—the only person who was observed loitering about the scene of the murder at the moment—as the author of the crime. The proposition of Luca da Legge, Privy Councillor (February 6, 1451), and also one of the Giunta, "that the proceedings shall be suspended and the charge dismissed, on the ground that the conduct of Veniero springs from the most mercenary motives, and that his denunciation is a piece of glaring perjury," was therefore negatived with some reason as at any rate too hasty; and a motion was substituted, directing the College, to whom the Ten had delegated the task of investigation, to prosecute their labours with all possible diligence. The members of this Special Committee were—Luca da Legge, Privy Councillor; Paolo Barbo, one of the Chiefs of the Ten; Dolfino Veniero, Avogador of the Commune; Paolo Trono, Procurator of Saint Mark, and three more.

The Committee sat during the remainder of February and through the greater part of March. Andrea Donato, brother of the deceased, was asked to state "whether Ser Ermolao had let any expressions drop *in articulo mortis*, which tended to criminate Jacopo Foscari?" But Andrea could merely say that his kinsman in his last moments emphatically declared "that he freely forgave his *unknown* assassin." Several other witnesses were called. Numerous documents and oral affidavits were received and submitted to consideration. Sguri and Jacopo himself were examined under torture. From Foscari's lips no confession was obtained: for he merely muttered a few unintelligible sentences between his teeth, while his limbs were wrenched by the cord; and it is characteristic that these incoherent sounds were taken to be some form of magical incantation. On the whole, the result was not very satisfactory; and the proceedings still exhibited a very faint prospect of termination, when, on the 26th March, it was resolved:—"That it is necessary to bring to a close this trial, which has during so protracted a period been engaging the *undivided* attention of the Council."¹

¹ Romanin, iv. 279.

It was then proposed to the Ten by two of the Chiefs, Carlo Marin and Paolo Barbo, that sentence should be entered on the Minutes as follows: ¹—"Whereas, on the 3rd January last (1451), on account of the violent death of Ser Ermolao Donato, Jacopo Foscari was detained and examined, and whereas by the evidence, oral and written, which has appeared against him, it is shown that he is *clearly* guilty of the aforesaid crime, although he obstinately refuses to confess it, be it resolved that, for the aforesaid reason, the said Jacopo be relegated to the City of Canea, in our island of Crete, in such manner as to the Chiefs of this Council shall seem good, and shall be obliged to present himself once a day to the Government of Crete, not breaking his parol; and if he escape, and should at any time hereafter fall into the hands of our Government, his head shall be severed from his shoulders, and all his property sequestrated. This was carried by a large majority, as were also the ensuing resolutions:—

"That Jacopo Foscari be treated as a private citizen, and not as the son of the Doge; that the sentence be published at the next meeting of the Great Council, for the information of all; and that dispatches be sent to the Podesta of Canea and to the three Governments of Candia, Rettimo, and Sitia, apprising them of the fact, and desiring them to proclaim the decree throughout their respective jurisdictions.

"That the Chiefs of the Council shall repair immediately to the presence of the Most Serene Prince, to notify to him the sentence pronounced against Jacopo his son, and to exhort him to exercise good patience; and that this Council shall not separate, until the Chiefs return.

"That the obligation of preserving silence in respect to this affair be removed, excepting as regards the names of the informers and other third parties (*tertiorum*)."

Both the original resolution and the supplements thus became law.

On the 29th of the month, the Signori di Notte repaired to the Palace at night, and received their prisoner; and on the following morning at three o'clock they conducted him to the ship of Mistro Luca Mantello, which was employed to forward him to his destination; and in Mantello's hands their lordships placed the following warrant:—

¹ Berlan, pp. 106-7.

"Francesco Foscari, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice,
Treviso, etc.

"Luca :

"We intrust to thy ship Jacopo Foscari Our son, who will be consigned to thee by the noble gentlemen Our Lords of the Night; and We, with Our Council of Ten and the Giunta, do charge thee to keep close ward over the same Jacopo, and to deliver him to Our Government of Crete, together with the letter which We have caused to be given into thy hands, directed to the said Government, according to thy own discretion. And so soon as the said Jacopo shall have embarked, We, with the said Council, command thee on no account to permit the said Jacopo to quit thy ship, but to watch him vigilantly, and at thy speedy departure hence to pursue with all diligence and care thy voyage into Crete.

"Given on the 29th March 1451."¹

There was the strongest presumption of guilt against Jacopo Foscari. In the decree of the 26th March his criminality was even said to have been clearly established! Yet of direct or circumstantial evidence there was absolutely none; and the Decemvirs, not feeling justified in proceeding to the harsher measures, which a second offence of so black a dye might have otherwise required, contented themselves, in concert with the Giunta and the Privy Council, with banishing the accused to a spot, where the climate was delightful, the society excellent, where no restraint was to be placed on his movements, provided that he observed his parol, or on his correspondence. There was an almost universal conviction that Jacopo was fairly punished; but there was simultaneously every desire to believe him innocent. By the terms of their decree the Ten laid themselves under a disability from proposing at any future date a repeal or even a mitigation of the penalty imposed: yet it was no sooner intimated (1st August 1453), that somebody was prepared to deliver certain depositions, helping to shed new light on the unhappy affair, than the Chiefs of the Council had leave to entertain the matter by special motion. No revelations, however, followed of any great relevance, or at least of a kind which

¹ Berlan (p. 112). The superscription of this letter was the only portion really written by the Doge. The body of the composition was entirely framed by the Ten.

might have thrown a doubt into the scale on the side of mercy ; and Foscari accordingly continued to reside at his villa in Canea in the enjoyment of personal liberty and of many indulgences, but removed some hundred leagues from those most dear to him, and nominally, at least, obliged to report himself to the Governor every day. To the son of the Doge of Venice, to a husband and a father, who could say that this bereavement was not sufficiently cruel, or that that humiliation was not sufficiently keen ?

Still the temper of the Government did not cease to lean in the direction of clemency ; and there was the utmost probability that grace would have been extended to him, so soon as the flagitious nature of the crime brought home to him rendered his recall expedient, when his prospects were damaged to an almost irretrievable extent by his own desperate recklessness.

It is on the 4th June 1456, that dispatches unexpectedly arrive from the Government of Canea respecting Jacopo Foscari. On the 7th, these papers are laid before the Ten ; and they are declared to be of such gravity and moment, that the Council demands the association of a Giunta of twenty nobles. The closest secrecy is prescribed ; but members of the new Committee are allowed to speak to each other unreservedly on the subject in hand. It is collected from the parcel of documents, of which some are in cypher, that Foscari has been urging the Duke of Milan (Sforza) to intercede on his behalf with the Signory, and that, not even satisfied with this misdemeanour, he had actually addressed a letter to the Sultan, in which he implores him to send a vessel to Crete, and to convey him secretly from the Island. To the letters in cypher, which the courier delivers, the key is missing, and the worst suspicions as to *their* contents are aroused. It is stated that the intrigue with the Turkish Court has been conducted through the medium of one Jacopo Giustiniani, and of a certain Battista, both Genoese, and the latter of whom was asked to put the addresses on Foscari's letters to Constantinople. Giustiniani and Battista are able, it is imagined, to furnish a good deal of information concerning the correspondence. Upon this suggestion, the Ten determine to act ; and on the 12th June, the following dispatch is sent by that tribunal, in the Doge's name, to the Governor of Canea :—

“ Francesco Foscari, etc.

“ On the 4th inst., we are in receipt from Luigi Bocchetta
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detto Ballottino of your letter, and of notes of the proceedings initiated by you on the declarations of Giovanni Rosso of Treviso, with the result of the examination of the said Luigi, and a copy of the letter in the handwriting of Jacopo Foscari received by him. On the day after (June 5), we had your other letter, through your messenger Giovanni Musso, on the same subject, together with the authentic letter in Jacopo's hand, and the leaves in cypher. We commend you for what you have done, and for the judicious manner in which you have made us acquainted with everything. Among other points, we observe that, within the last month, some Genoese escaped from shipwreck, landing at a place called Chisamo, repaired to the house of Ser Jacopo Giustiniani, a Genoese resident of Canea; and one of them was a certain Battista, with whom Jacopo Foscari contracted a close intimacy, conversing with him daily, and giving him an account of his own affairs. Among other things, he (Foscari) begged him to address a certain letter, which he desired to send to the Emperor of the Turks, with the object of removing him from Canea, and of withdrawing him in such manner from his exile. All which facts must be familiar to the said Jacopo Giustiniani, since they were settled in his own house; and you also inform us that the letter in question was positively consigned to the said Battista, who undertook to deliver it safely, and to get an answer. We wish, then, and with our Council of Ten and the Giunta, we command you to summon to your presence the said Jacopo (Giustiniani) and to call upon him to say on oath whatever he knows on the subject; whether Foscari *had* a reply from Turkey; and, if so, whether he had it through Battista; and all other details explanatory of the steps adopted by him to violate his parol against the honour of our Government, and to the prejudice of our State. You will transmit the depositions of this Ser Jacopo with your own dispatches under seal to our Council of Ten.

"Given on the 12th June 1456."

Notwithstanding the treasonably unconstitutional nature of the charges against Foscari, two of the Privy Council, desiring that his "thoughtless and giddy" disposition should be suffered to plead in his behalf, had already, in their capacity as members of the Committee, moved (June 8¹):—

¹ All these statements are founded on the documents printed by Berlan in *I Due Foscari*, 1852, carefully collated with Romanin.

"That it seems to this Council, that instructions should be sent to the Governor of Canea to send for Jacopo, to administer to him a stern rebuke, and to signify to him that, if the offence be repeated, he will have reason to be sorry for it."

But so mild an expedient did not meet with general approval, and it was ruled instead:—

"That he shall be brought under suitable escort from Crete, and shall be put upon his trial on the high misdemeanours, of which he is arraigned."

The articles of impeachment were framed by a Special and Select Committee, appointed on the 14th July, and consisting of Zaccaria Valaresso, Privy Councillor; Marco Cornaro, Chief of the Ten; and Zaccaria Trevisano, Advocate of the Commune, Doctor of Laws, and an eminent literary man. Foscari arrived on the 21st. He avowed the whole affair unreservedly; and the process was so much simplified by this confession, that the discussion on the sentence began on the next day, when the Committee was in full attendance. The Body was composed of the Privy Council, the Ten, the Giunta (twenty), and the Avogadors (two). Opinions were various. Five of the six privy councillors, including Lorenzo Loredano, one of the Chiefs of the Ten, and the Avogadors joined in thinking that the ends of justice would be served by remanding Foscari to his place of banishment, with a warning that "on the next conviction, he would be imprisoned for life." Valaresso, the remaining Councillor, added a twelve-month's confinement at Canea. Cornaro, another Chief of the Ten, was in favour of sending back the exile without any additional penalties. On the other hand, Jacopo Loredano, the third Chief, considering the grave importance of the charge, voted for capital punishment. These several propositions were successively balloted, and the result was, that the original proposal, as amended by Valaresso, was carried (July 24).

Between the 24th July, the day of the condemnation, and the 29th, the day on which the Ducal commission¹ was handed to Captain Maffeo Lioni, master of the galley selected to carry the exile back to Crete, Foscari was lodged in one of the airy and commodious chambers of the Torricella State-Prison at the Palace itself; and there he was permitted to receive visits from all the members of his family and others, who were shocked by the scars produced on his person by the thirty strokes of the

¹ Preserved entire in Berlan (p. 180).

lash which he had endured. The spectacle was highly affecting. The agonised countenances, the tears, the sobs, the last embraces, were absolutely melting; and the final meeting between the father and son in an ante-chamber (*Camera del cavaliere del Doge*) is described by Giorgio Dolfini,¹ a kinsman of his Serenity and an eye-witness, as having been sublimely pathetic. "Father," cried Jacopo, "I beseech thee to procure me leave to return to my house!" "Jacopo," rejoined the other, "go, obey the will of the land (*La terra*), and seek nothing beyond." But the painful exertion, which it had cost the old Doge to command his feelings, had a quick reaction. So soon as Jacopo had left the *bussola* or ante-chamber, his parent sank faintly back on the nearest chair, and, the inflection of his voice betraying his intense anguish, faltered out, "O pieta grande!"

After the departure of his beloved offspring on the 29th July, 1456, Foscari neglected no opportunity of advocating his cause, and applied all the family influence to this cherished object. Vettore Cappello, one of the Privy Council, Paolo Barbo and Orsatto Giustiniani, two of the Chiefs of the Ten, and many others, sympathised with his grief, and strenuously interested themselves on his behalf; and the canvass among the leading members of the Executive was progressing favourably,² when the news came that death had done its work, and that the unfortunate man was no more. A marginal note is found to one of the Decemviral Minutes of the 24th July; it is to the following purport:—

"He (Jacopo) died on the 12th January 1456 (*i.e.* 1457), as appears by a letter of the Government of Canea."³ The deceased by his wife Lucrezia Contarini left a son Nicolo and two daughters.

This stunning blow paralysed all the remaining energy of the Doge. Surrendering himself to sorrow, he remained secluded in his own suite of apartments, absented himself from every Council, and not only declined to take any part in public affairs, but refused to see any one on business. Such a determination was calculated of course to throw the whole machinery of the Government into disorder, and to lead to the most serious inconvenience. There were cases in which constitutional usage rendered the Doge's presence or his signature indispensable; and

¹ Cronica MS. in the Marcian Museum, quoted by Romanin.

² F. Cornaro, *Quatuor Opuscula*, 1755.

³ Berlan, p. 127.

the complete withdrawal of Foscari from his duties therefore became a source of almost daily embarrassment. On the 18th June 1457, the Decemvirs assembled to discuss the question. The privy councillors were also invited to be present; but, as the meeting was of a strictly confidential character, they were enjoined not to reveal the subject of the debate, at the peril of their life, to anybody whomsoever; and the Doge himself naturally refrained from attending. The Council separated, however, after all, without arriving at any definitive resolution; the age and services of the Doge rendered the treatment of his case very difficult and delicate; and the matter was not again broached till late in the autumn. On the 19th October, the assent of the tribunal was obtained to the peculiar gravity of the circumstances, and to the propriety of sanctioning the formation of a *Giunta* or *Additio* of five-and-twenty Nobles, to deliberate upon the course of action most fitting to be pursued. On the same day, the exclusion of Leonardo Contarini, a member of the Ten, and of David Contarini, Privy-Councillor, both relations of the Ducal family by marriage, was decreed; and on the 21st, in the presence of the Ten, the Privy Council, and the *Giunta*, making an aggregate of forty persons, the ensuing motion was submitted for approval:—

“There is no one,¹ who does not thoroughly comprehend, how useful and altogether how essential to our State and to our affairs is the presence of a Prince, without which, as becomes manifest from the results, the greatest inconvenience and detriment are apt to arise to our State which, since it has, by the infinite clemency of our Creator, been bequeathed to us by our forefathers hereditary and fair to look upon, we are bound to preserve with all our power, and to hold dearer to us than our very life; and although this our City is furnished with holy laws and ordinances, it is of little avail and profit if they be not executed, if the observance of the same be relaxed. The presence of the Prince, besides, in the Councils, at audiences, in the transaction of affairs of State, how desirable it is, how glorious it is, it would be superfluous to point out. All are aware that our most illustrious Prince has vacated his dignity for a great length of time; and from his advanced age it is not at all to be expected that he will be able to return to the exercise of the functions appertaining thereto. How pernicious his absence and incompetence are is more easily understood than explained. Wherefore

¹ Berlan, p. 185.

"It is proposed that, by the authority of this most excellent Council with the Giunta (*cum Additione*), the resolution be agreed to, that the Privy Councillors and the Chiefs of this Council shall repair to the presence of the most illustrious Prince, and declare to him our opinion, 'that the government of our City and State (which, as his Highness knows very well, is excessively arduous), cannot be carried on without the constant presence and co-operation of a Prince; also, considering how long his Excellency has, for personal reasons, renounced all share in this government, and that there is no hope that he will be able at any time hereafter to discharge his duties according to the exigencies of this State; and (considering) that his absence is threatening to involve consequences such as we are assured, from his affectionate patriotism, he can never desire to witness:—on these grounds, which his Excellency, in his supreme wisdom, will readily appreciate, we (*i.e.* the Privy Council), with the aforesaid Council of Ten and the Giunta, have decided upon exhorting and requesting his Serenity, for the evident and necessary welfare of our State—his native land—freely and spontaneously to abdicate, which on many accounts he ought to do, as a good Prince and a true father of his country, and especially as we provide, that he shall have for his support and proper maintenance from our Office of Salt 1500 gold ducats a year for life, as well as the residue of his salary due to the present day.

"Also, that if it happen that the same most illustrious Prince, on this declaration being made known to him, shall demand time to consider, he may be told, that we are content to wait for such answer till to-morrow at the hour of tierce."

This determination was adopted nearly without a dissentient voice, and the Chiefs and the Councillors proceeded accordingly to present themselves to Foscari. Jacopo Loredano, being the most eloquent, spoke for the rest, and delivered the message of which they were the bearers. Loredano employed those expressions, which were least apt to give umbrage. He declared that the very great age of his Serenity was the sole motive for objecting to his continuance in office; his Highness's passed life, he said, had been an honour to his country; and he concluded¹ by asking pardon of the Doge for the liberty which he had taken. Foscari, addressing himself to Loredano, replied at considerable length, justifying his conduct, complaining of such harsh treat-

¹ Giorgio Dolfinò *contemp.*, quoted by Romanin, iv. 290.

ment at his time of life after such services, and intimating that the course adopted was at variance with the Constitution, which required in a similar case the concurrence of the Great Council, He finished by saying: "I will not decide yea or nay, but will reserve my freedom of action."

The constitutional question raised by the Doge was by no means without its importance in the eyes of the Ten. On the 22nd, the point was formally put to the ballot; but after three scrutinies it was decided to make no change. The Capi and the Privy Councillors paid therefore on that day a second visit to the Doge; but Foscari merely recapitulated what he had already said. The Chiefs and their companions then retraced their steps, and laid before the Committee, still sitting, a report of their continued ill-success. An animated controversy ensued. There was much diversity of sentiment on the course which it might be best to pursue. Hieronimo Barbarigo, one of the Capi,¹ represented the serious evils which were produced by the absence of his Serenity from the Councils. "It is notorious," remarked Barbarigo, "that Messer lo Doxe for four years passed has not only kept away from the College and from the Councils, but has refused admittance to the Privy Councillors and the Sages of Council, who came to consult him in his own apartments." On the contrary, Andrea Bernardo, one of the Giunta, spoke warmly and with striking eloquence on the Doge's behalf; and many others imitated his example, pleading for those white hairs and for those matchless services. But Barbarigo was ultimately permitted to carry a motion, "that his Serenity shall be required to retire within eight days upon the stipulated pension, with an intimation that by disobedience he will only incur in addition the penalty of forfeiture." Before the labours of the Ten and the Giunta were brought to a close, it was already eight o'clock in the evening; and his Serenity, whose frame was no longer equal to much fatigue,² was announced to have already retired. It consequently became necessary to defer till the 23rd any communication with him on the subject. On Sunday morning, the former deputation sought an audience; the Grand Chancellor read the resolution, at which the Council had arrived on the previous night; the Doge's comment was: "a trouble foreseen is somewhat less grievous to bear"; and he intimated his decision to obey, while he pointed

¹ Berlan, p. 157.

² In addition to his great age, Foscari was suffering from cancer.

out that, ever since his accession, he had exerted himself to preserve and enlarge the State, to maintain peace and goodwill, and refrained at present from being the cause of any disturbance, leaving himself and the sentence in the hands of God. He drew the Ducal ring from his finger, and saw it broken in his presence; and he was afterward uncrowned. As the deputies left the room, Foscari observed that Jacopo Memo, a Chief of the Forty, and acting Privy Councillor, lingered behind the others, and gazed fixedly at him with an air of respectful compassion. The Doge beckoned him to his side, and, as they touched hands, inquired of him—"Whose son art thou?" The Minister said—"I am the son of Messer Marino Memo." To whom, again, the Doge: "He is my dear compeer (*caro compagno*)," with a slight smile of gratification: "tell him from me that I shall take it dearly if he will come and visit me, so that he may go with me in the gondola for solace; we will visit the monasteries together!"¹ The venerable person who uttered these words was verging on eighty-five; and during the greater portion of that period he had been a public man.² Among his contemporaries he counted, indeed, many distinguished in all the paths of life, who had filled the highest embassies and most conspicuous commands, who had discharged the most important trusts, and achieved by land and by sea triumphs which made their names famous throughout the civilised globe; but there was none who could point to such a career as his own.

On the 27th October, Foscari prepared, in deference to a stern necessity, to quit the palatial abode which had been during a third part of a century his home, and where he had transacted a leading share in so many scenes of lofty and sometimes painful interest. He was attended by his brother Marco, one of the Ten, his old friend Marino Memo, and a few other connections. The Doge declined any support but the walking-stick on which he leaned. He was directing his steps toward the staircase to descend into the court below, when Marco said, "Serenissimo, were it not well to go to our gondola by the other stairs, which are covered?" Francesco sharply replied, "I wish to return by that staircase by which I mounted to the Dogate!"³ And he embarked accordingly near the Ponte della Paglia, and so

¹ Dolfino, quoted by Romanin, iv. 294.

² So far back as 1401 he had been a Chief of the Quarantia.

³ G. Dolfino, as above.

returned to his own house. There is a tradition that, as he set foot in the boat, he muttered: "The malice of others has driven me from the height, to which my own deserts had raised me." But he named no one. Who would not desire, or even surrender a day of his own life, to be able to see that party, as it passed along the Canal through the traffic, almost unobserved, to the landing stairs at San Pantaleone on the Grand Canal? The Foscari had, several years before, abandoned the ancestral mansion at S. Simone Profeta, and purchased, when a favourable occasion presented itself, a more splendid one here of the Government. While the new owner was on the throne, and until the house was unexpectedly required for habitation, it had been left unfurnished, and the windows unglazed, so that arrangements were necessary to prepare the place for the deposed Doge, before he could occupy it, and to remove the personal effects, bedding inclusive, from the palace. The noble edifice at San Pantaleone abounded in historical associations, having been the temporary residence assigned to successive personages, whom the Signory desired to honour. The reference of Marco Foscari was, no doubt, to the watergate abutting on the Rio di Palazzo, adjacent to the existing one, if not on the same site; but the Doge preferred the open stairs, which the young Procurator of 1423 ascended to take possession of the throne vacated by Mocenigo. There was no Giants' Staircase in those days, no Bridge of Sighs, no stone Rialto: all these were to come.

The Electoral Chamber, which had met to deliberate upon the succession, arrived at no decision till Sunday, the last day but one of October; and in the intervening time, Orio Pasqualigo, Senior Privy Councillor, officiated as Vicegerent. On the afternoon of the 30th, at half-past three, Pasquale Malipiero, one of the Procurators of Saint Mark, was pronounced the fortunate candidate, the right to assume the Ducal insignia being reserved, from respect to Foscari, till his decease. Malipiero took possession of the Palace on the same evening at ten o'clock. When Foscari learned the news, he declared (according to report) his approval of the selection, and his satisfaction "That the choice of the Forty-One had fallen on so worthy a nobleman." The 31st October passed without any fresh incident. On the 1st of the new month, "the Doge Malipiero," says Giorgio Dolfino, "was attending mass in the Cathedral, when Andrea Donato came up to him, and told him that Foscari had expired at one o'clock on

that morning.”¹ It was supposed, that the immediate cause of death was a sudden and violent hemorrhage from a cancer formed on the tongue.² Malipiero and those with him were struck mute; they seemed to have been deprived of all power of speech; and their looks indicated remorse for the harshness, with which the old man had been treated. His Serenity at once returned to the Palace, and the Council of Ten was convoked for the forenoon. It was ordered “that the lying-in-state and rites of sepulture shall be performed in the same manner as if the departed had died in office.” The Dogaressa Nani-Foscari, who at first demurred, saying, “this was a tardy atonement for passed wrongs, and that she had determined to bury her husband at her own expense, even if she should sell a portion of her dower to defray the cost,” was obliged to submit, and to surrender the remains. On the 3rd November, the corpse, enveloped in the Ducal robes, was followed to its resting-place at the Minorites through the Merceria by the Doge Malipiero in senatorial habit, by all the public Bodies, the Clergy, and the Arts, with an immense number of wax candles and flambeaux. The bier was supported by mariners under a canopy of cloth-of-gold; and the funeral oration was delivered by Bernardo Giustiniani the Historian, who did not omit to declare how reluctant the late Serenissimo had been to embark in the war with Milan.

The public feeling manifested, when the consummation had arrived, was so general and so marked, that the Council of Ten thought it worth while to intimate their perfect concurrence with all that had been decided and done, and to forbid any farther discussion on the subject. There was evidently a fear that the danger of a popular demonstration was imminent; and doubtless ample precautions, of which we hear nothing, were taken to meet such a contingency. When a contemporary (Giorgio Dolfinò already cited) assures us, that the city was moved to the very foundations by the event, we form our own conclusion as to the necessity for being on the alert.

The magnificent mausoleum subsequently erected to Foscari in the Church of the Frari³ still remains; we have, too, the bust at the Ducal Palace, founded on the cast of the face taken after death, and the medal⁴ with the portrait in ducal costume and

¹ G. Dolfinò, as above.

² Berlan.

³ This monument, executed by the Rizzi, is copied in *Litta in voce Foscari*.

⁴ Engraved in Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893.

the proud legend on the reverse: VENETIA MAGNA, surrounding trophies; but of the group from the chisel of Bartolomeo Buono of Bergamo, in which the Doge is represented praying before the Lion of Saint Mark, a fragment only,¹ the head and shoulders of the principal figure, outlived the French Revolution.

The Doge Foscari belonged to a family which was among the poorest as well as the most ancient in Venice. The successor of Mocenigo had raised himself by his own merits from comparative obscurity to the throne; and during five-and-thirty years it was his destiny to remain First Magistrate of the First Commonwealth in the world. Circumstances unhappily rendered that distinction scarcely one to be greatly coveted. The Republic was doomed to experience in his time every species of calamity. The pacific policy which she had previously pursued was in an evil hour abandoned; and her prosperity suffered an instantaneous and continual decline. Trade languished; great firms collapsed; celebrated banks broke. Among other commercial disasters, Andrea Priuli the banker, his Serenity's father-in-law, failed for 24,000 ducats. The funds which, at the commencement of the Milanese War, stood at 59 or 60, had sunk before its conclusion to 18½. In 1453, Constantinople had been taken by Mohammed II., and Venice was a loser to the extent of 300,000 ducats. The domestic troubles of Foscari, and the sad end of all his sons, especially of Jacopo in 1457, brought his misery almost to a climax. This bereavement, coupled with the painful circumstances attending his abdication, probably produced the hemorrhage, which proved fatal on that November morning.

He left his country wonderfully great. Was Venice ever to be greater?

¹ In the Marciano.

CHAPTER XXXII

A.D. 1457-1501

Venice in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century—*Dominio Veneto* substituted for *Commune Venetiarum*—The Turks at Constantinople—Their increasing power and aggressive tendency—A new Crusade organised and relinquished (1464)—The Duke of Milan warns the Venetians (1466)—Succession of Doges (1462-1501)—Fire of 1479—Quarrel with the Holy See on account of Ferrara—Interdict—Indifference of the Government—Financial pressure—Peace with Milan (1484)—Floating batteries employed in the late war—Relations with the Porte and Persia—Acquisition of Cyprus—Last Days of Caterina Cornaro—Geographical Discoveries—Solicitude of Venice—Affairs of Italy—The French in the Peninsula—Holy League against them—Ludovico Il Moro, Duke of Milan—Vicissitudes of the War—The Venetian share in the operations—Affairs of the Levant—Battle of Sapienza (1499)—Defeat of the Venetians.

THE course of the historical narrative, when we leave behind us the very important and brilliant reign of the Doge Foscari from 1423 to 1457, develops into the annals of that Empire City, which he lived to see so powerful, so glorious, and so rich, in spite of many errors and many vicissitudes, from having been during several centuries little more than the political biography of a long series of sovereigns, whose influence in the councils and in the policy of their country largely depended on their own personal character. The State, which has been always known as a republic, was never such in reality. We have beheld it a federation of townships under consuls, tribunes, doges; we have next recognised it as a virtual monarchy under a magistrate by name a Doge, who was in principle only the chief of his fellow-citizens; and we have long since reached the point, where the supreme authority has passed from the hands of one, who was a king except in title, into those of a syndicate, who were his ministers merely in form. Yet we are very far from being face to face with an unbroken or irresistible oligarchical preponderance; and the story, which remains to be told, will draw near to its finish, before we shall part with the element of political and even

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romantic individuality as a contribution to the governing force, and as a barrier against an earlier fall.

The career of Venice from the middle of the fifteenth to the close of the eighteenth century abounds in attractive episodes and picturesque illustrations; but it is apt, as it progresses, to fail in that sustained interest, which it continued to possess, so long as, occasional reverses of fortune notwithstanding, there was the inherent elastic energy and the inexhaustible resource, which made losses the stepping-stones to augmented aggrandisement. We feel that the study, in which we are engaged, has become that of a declining and retrograde Power, even while our senses are dazzled, and our admiration and respect are enlisted, by the latter-day triumphs of a few great commanders or statesmen by sea and land; but when the grave closes over the hero-doge Francesco Morosini in 1694, we are almost tempted to avert our eyes and close the record. The subsequent remnant of independence might be compressed into a page, and we begin to ask ourselves whether Venice, so far from perishing too soon, did not live too long.

We have to confess astonishment, not that Venice was unsuccessful in holding together its vast possessions with financial resources which, so far as the State went, were at no time large or adequate, but that in the face of a constant twofold demand for funds and material supplies it was so long able to withstand collapse. On the one hand, its rulers had to reckon with that new factor in European politics, the Turk, who promptly grew into a Power both by sea and land, and on the other, with an Italy totally different from the Italy of earlier days—one in which first France, and then Spain, became active elements of hostility and formidable sources of peril and expenditure.

It was perhaps at an inopportune juncture that the correctors of the Ducal promission formally introduced in 1462, on the demise of the Doge Malipiero, a clause, which substituted the Dominion or the Signory for the time-honoured designation *Commune Venetiarum*. The latter had sufficed through all the long period which embraced the highest prosperity and glory of the Republic.

The transfer of Constantinople and the command of the Levantine waters from the weak hands of the unscrupulous Greeks to the strong hands of the not less unscrupulous Sultan speedily made its influence sensible in a protracted, costly, and

undignified struggle both by sea and land—one largely characterised on either side by the features of privateering warfare. With the exception of an unfortunate expedition against Siena, where malaria swept away a large number of troops, the affairs of the peninsula furnished the Republic for the moment with no ground for direct or armed interference; the Tuscans were evidently beginning to decline in power and influence, and in 1464 they lost Cosmo de' Medici; Milan seemed unlikely to constitute hereafter any serious occasion for trouble, so far as the dynasty of Sforza-Visconti was concerned; and the Turkish difficulty, attended by fluctuating success, and by no means undistinguished by honourable efforts on the side of the Republic to maintain its ground in the Morea against stupendous odds, occupies (with intermissions) the greater part of the annals during the fifteenth and indeed two following centuries.

The military and naval energy of the Porte represented a combination of force and danger, for which Venice was at first not altogether prepared. But it was not long before authentic advices reached the Government from at least two quarters, that the preparations of Turkey were on a very large scale, and that an Arsenal was in course of rapid formation at Constantinople. The new enemy, which had thus arisen, apparently proposed to emulate the Republic on its own element, and to acquire in such a manner an ascendancy over the Western Power, always more or less crippled by the absence of a trustworthy military arm, which afforded such an additional source of strength to a ruler, as reckless of life as he was regardless of treaties. Looking back, we are at liberty to criticise and condemn the Venetians, because they failed to provide against this mischief, or, when it occurred, failed to adopt, in the face of their religious catholicity, a different line of policy. For even some thinkers of that day were inclined to the view, that the Republic might have acted more wisely for itself in making common cause with Turkey, and arranging a partition of Eastern Europe between the two Powers, which no other combination then possible could have gainsaid. Or, again, it is open to us to inquire, why Venice, with a full official knowledge of the facts, neglected to organise a general coalition of the minor States of Greece and Asia Minor against the Porte, and support it with ships and money. The Government, hindered by financial embarrassments, a legacy from the Foscari regime, and always apprehensive of fresh Italian complications, hesitated to take

steps to meet the occasion on a sufficiently ample scale, and in some measure through inadequate resources, and in some through incapacity, the Venetian commanders gave way at several points before antagonists, whose lives their employers had no scruples in sacrificing by thousands and tens of thousands. One signal cause of weakness on the part of Venice was an undecided, vacillating policy, the product of circumstances; at one moment the Republic endeavours to create a diversion on the side of Hungary and on that of Persia, which proved only temporarily and feebly effectual; at another, it approaches the Porte with diplomatic proposals, which are repulsed with insult; and then we come to a holy alliance between Hungary, Burgundy, the Holy See, and Venice, against the Mohammedans, of which not only does the entire burden fall, as usual, on Venice, but which is completely abortive beyond the eventual and indirect boon which it involved, through Cardinal Bessarion being employed by Pius II. as his envoy to the lagoon, and there making many pleasant acquaintances, of the splendid bequest of the library of his Eminence a few years later to the Republic. The true interests of the Venetians would have been, perhaps, to have drawn, if possible, close to Turkey, and have combined the strongest navy with the most powerful military organisation of the day; but, although they affected to be first Venetians, and then Christians, there was always a strong Catholic instinct, deterring more than formal diplomatic relations with the Porte; and had it been otherwise, the Papacy might have found itself once more at Avignon.

The Doge Cristoforo Moro, who had succeeded Malipiero in 1462, and who is described by a contemporary as an ill-conditioned man of short stature and penurious habits with a squint, had volunteered to lead the Crusade; and his proposal was accepted by the Great Council almost unanimously in a House of 1634 members. But his Serenity changed his mind, and begged to be excused on account of his age and infirmities; he was bluntly informed that he would be compelled to adhere to his offer. It is said, that there was a scene, and that one of the Privy Council, Vettore Cappello, went so far as to assure the Most Serene that his person was less dear to them all than the public good. Moro, whatever his personal blemishes or faults might be, had seen much service; and even at this advanced period of his career the fervency of his piety made the notion of helping to exterminate the infidel at first sight not unpalatable.

The Venetians were browbeaten not by the Porte only, but by the new Duke of Milan, who succeeded Francesco Sforza in 1466, and who seized two successive opportunities of rating the representative of the Republic for the greedy and grasping temper shown by his principals, and in the opinion of the Duke bound to entail ruinous consequences. The main ground of the anger of the Duke appears from the reply of the Senate at the end of November 1467, to have been the inroads of Bartolomeo Coleoni on his territory with the presumed collusion of the Republic; but, as the Senate pointed out, Coleoni had quitted its service, and could do as he chose, yet it had sought to dissuade him from these proceedings. But, setting aside all that, the Senate desired peace; and if the Duke would become more explicit, it was willing to listen to him. In tendering his views and advice, Gian-Galeazzo declared to the secretary Gonnella that the Signory had better look to itself, for he knew, by God, what he was saying. He observed that when his father died, he left him a fine estate, and he thought he might spend his time, as he chose; but that Bartolomeo of theirs (the Venetians) had obliged him to make friends with Ferdinand of Naples. Had he, however, laboured to maintain the Treaty of Lodi, and to promote Italian unity, he might have done himself a better service. On the other hand, Venice, after enormous difficulty and discouragement, at last carried to a conclusion the treaty of 1468, partly declaratory of that of Lodi, and so closed external troubles on one side. But elsewhere the Republic sustained the first heavy blow from the recent political changes in the East by the loss of the valuable island of Negropont, which at an enormous sacrifice of life on their side the Turks took in 1469. The Government at home ascribed the neglect of the Venetian fleet to relieve the place to the fear of the commander, lest his son, who was on board one of the ships, should run too great a risk; and admirals were henceforth prohibited from taking with them their relatives—an injunction which was constantly transgressed.

To the Doge Moro (1462-71) succeeded Nicolo Trono (1471-73), Nicolo Marcello (1473-74), Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76), and Andrea Vendramino (1476-78), four reigns powerfully contrasting in their brevity with the prolonged public career of Foscari. Trono, unlike his immediate predecessor, was a tall, big personage of unprepossessing features, and with an impediment in his speech, but rich and liberal, having made a fortune at Rhodes.

He stands out in the series of Venetian sovereigns as almost the only one who succeeded in transferring his actual effigy to the coinage, an innovation which the Executive resented and promptly discontinued, and in the sumptuous and superb monument subsequently erected to his memory in the church of the Frari by Antonio Bregno, architect of the Giants' Staircase and of other public works. Pietro Mocenigo was a man of totally different antecedents, and had won distinction as captain-general in the Turkish war. After his elevation to the throne he did not relax in his energetic exertions; and it is an incident worth commemorating that when dispatches arrived very late on the night of the 6th January 1475, while Mocenigo was present at festivities in honour of Frederic of Aragon, his Serenity at once quitted the room, and closeted himself with his advisers. The matter, however, occupied two entire days. The Sultan proposed an accommodation, and forwarded a safe-conduct for a representative of the Signory; but ultimately the overture was not accepted. Vendramino was a descendant of one of the families ennobled after the war of Chioggia, and was said to be worth 160,000 ducats, although, in order, as he himself said, to have sons-in-law to his liking, he had given to each of his six daughters dowries of from 5000 to 7000 ducats. His people in the old days had been store-keepers or provision-dealers. He was personally an enthusiastic antiquary and the owner of a museum, of which the catalogue filled sixteen volumes.

The year 1479, which supplied a respite from hostilities in the Levant, involving the farther loss of Scutari after a long and strenuous defence, witnessed a calamitous fire on the night of the 14th September at the ducal palace, due to a candle left burning in the chapel. The flames consumed the private apartments of the Doge, the portraits of all the anterior sovereigns, and the *mappa mundi* of Antonio de' Leonardi, and was with the utmost difficulty prevented from extending farther. The loss was greater than it would have been, had not his Serenity insisted on keeping the doors shut from his fear of lawless spoliation. The next morning the Doge and the Signory installed themselves in the Casa Duodo on the other bank of the Rio di Palazzo. Years elapsed before the building was completely restored, owing to diversity of opinions as to what should be done, and troubles with the architect. The Republic marked its appreciation of the patriotism of Scutari by allowing such of its inhabitants as chose

to do so to settle at Venice, and granted them pensions and allotments of land.

The Doge Vendramino had been replaced in 1478 by Giovanni Mocenigo, who remained in office till 1485, when Marco Barbarigo and his brother Agostino successively rose to the head of affairs, the former reigning only a year, the latter till 1501. The administration of Mocenigo was unhappily marked by a war immediately arising out of a disputed claim by Venice in respect of certain salterns and customs dues on or near the Po (May 1482), and it involved hostile relations with Milan and Naples, and ultimately with the Holy See and others. It appeared as if the sword was sheathed in the East merely to be drawn again elsewhere, and such was now likely to be for ever the experience. Some successes gained by the Venetians, who instantaneously mitigated as far as possible the burdens of the liberated and recovered cities and territories, inspired the Duke of Milan with alarm, and in the beginning of November he tried to negotiate a reconciliation; but the Senate dismissed his envoy with a virtual refusal (27th November 1482), couched under the usual circumlocution and compliment. On the 22nd June 1483 Sixtus IV., who had commenced as an ally of Venice, abruptly demanded an abandonment of the attack on Ferrara, and on being apprised that such a thing was out of the question, launched an interdict against the Republic, with a grace of fifteen days to allow full opportunity for repentance and submission. The Venetian *locum tenens*, in the absence of the ambassador at the Vatican, declined to forward it; and it was sent to the Patriarch, who pleaded illness, and privately informed the Council of Ten, which commanded him to observe strict silence, and to allow religious rites to proceed as usual. The Republic prepared an appeal to the next general Council, and contrived to have a copy of it nailed to the door of San Celso in Rome.

This bold stroke did not save the operations connected with the Ferrarese quarrel, which the Duke of Milan did his part in secretly fomenting and aggravating, from becoming an unsupportable burden. For although the Venetians gained many advantages in the field, the area of hostilities had gradually extended, till nearly the whole of Italy took one side or the other. The wealthier classes in Venice had responded with unusual alacrity to a call for fresh subsidies, and partly by loans and partly by donations half a million ducats were collected. The popular

enthusiasm was immense, and numbers followed the troops without pay. The money did not last very long under the conditions rather unexpectedly developed. A contemporary (Marino Sanuto or Sanudo) paints in dark colours the state of affairs at this time. All taxes and dues had been collected; the plate of private persons had been compulsorily sold below the value; women had taken their gold chains to the mint. The public revenue was falling short; there were no able-bodied men left to man the ships; that Arsenal, which once commanded admiration and dread all over the world, was empty; they had spent 1,200,000 ducats; and if they made peace they would be obliged to give back all that they had taken. This was all, no doubt, true enough and sad enough, while it betrayed a share of pessimism worthy of Sanudo; and it in no manner helped to improve the prospect, even if Venice, in reprisal for the attitude of Milan and Naples, and the openly avowed intention of the former to instigate the Sultan against the Republic, really, as it has been represented, offered Charles VIII. of France and the Duke of Orleans its co-operation in acquiring those two States. The Holy See, however, was the first to give way;¹ the Papal delegates met those of the Republic at Cesena in May 1484; and in July the Duke of Milan followed, and sent his lieutenant Trivulzio to the Venetian camp to see if an amicable arrangement could be achieved. In July a suspension of arms was signed, and it was succeeded on the 7th August by the treaty of Bagnolo, which left Venice much in the same position as she occupied under the treaty of Lodi, with the addition of the Polesine and Rovigo. The settlement was esteemed by the Republic, under all the circumstances, a ground for congratulation and rejoicing. There were three days of bell-ringing, festivities, and tournaments. Sanseverino, the present condottiero, who had served the Signory well in these recent operations, was presented with two feudal lordships in the Padovano and Veronese, and a house on the Grand Canal; his wife received an annuity of 100 ducats a month for life; and his daughter, on her marriage with Guido de' Rossi (January 1485), had a dowry of 10,000 ducats. So the Venetians studied the art of drawing toward them all who could prove themselves at once capable and faithful. No Power before or since has been so royal a paymaster.

The use of cannon and gunpowder goes back to a much earlier

¹ The interdict was not officially withdrawn till the end of February 1485.

year in the century; but the war just terminated appears to have witnessed the first employment of floating batteries, of which two, each carrying two guns, were constructed in the Arsenal for service on the Po, and were propelled by sails and oars.

The splendid defence of Scutari and Negropont manifested to the Porte that it had in Venice no insignificant foe. Both places were heroically held against the Turkish forces, the former with success in two separate instances, the latter unsuccessfully through the misconduct of the Venetian commander, and his neglect to co-operate with the garrison and inhabitants, who strained every nerve to resist the siege. The dearth of funds was the grand obstacle and problem; and private generosity, even including the noble legacy by the famous condottiero Bartolomeo Coleoni, of his entire fortune of half a million ducats in 1474,¹ was less capable than formerly of meeting an incessant drain on the exchequer. The demand for money and material had never been greater; the sources of supply threatened to fail. The leading Venetian families began to lean less exclusively on commerce than in former and better times, and to acquire real estate and funded property, from which the income was necessarily more limited; and there was no middle class or general body of citizens from which an appreciable and permanent amount of revenue was to be drawn. We have traced the fortunes of Venice through about a thousand years, and when we critically examine its financial system we discover that it was still based on quasi-feudal principles, and had no national or popular groundwork in spite of the most elaborate bureaucratic mechanism ever beheld.

A farther attempt was made to come to an amicable settlement with the Turks, and the Sophi was again approached, the Venetian envoy to his court meeting with a sad mishap on the way, and reaching his destination only (through the fleetness of his horse) after having been stripped by thieves or bandits of almost everything which he possessed. But these efforts, no less than those made to induce the European Powers to second the Republic in what the latter pronounced to be a general cause, but which others affected to treat as a purely Venetian one, were fruitless, and in 1479 it was thought best to conclude a treaty, even under disadvantageous terms, in the presence of renewed

¹ The grateful Republic raised an equestrian statue to him in marble and bronze, still a familiar object in the Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

difficulties nearer home. The sole consolation and indemnity to Venice was the gain of a protectorate over Cyprus, and perhaps the assurance that, in a conflict with a Power, which studied neither human life nor any other impediment to its ambition, the Government, contending with many drawbacks, had done its best to stem the crisis.

Italian affairs, after the succession of Innocent VIII. to the pontificate in 1484, still continued to be unsettled and disquieting; and peace and war always hung in the balance. Diplomacy fulfilled its part in seeking reconciliations, adjustments, and compromises; but the foreign element in the peninsula was beginning to grow more and more a germ of political distemper and disunion. Even Sanseverino, whom the Signory had so generously treated not so long ago, finding himself out of commission, and pressed by the Neapolitan forces, planted some of his troops without permission on Venetian territory, and begged to be taken back into service; and he had to be informed that the Signory could not afford such expense. All the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, loved peace, and were nearly always at war—each through the perfidy of the rest. Machiavelli was of opinion, that the Venetians erred in not forming a steadfast alliance with Milan, instead of joining the French; but the practical actors on the scene hardly knew from week to week what to do, or whom to trust.

The island of Cyprus had been under the protection of Venice since 1473, and was finally incorporated with the Dominion or Signory in 1488 under circumstances, which amounted to a *coup d'état*, inasmuch as the Government of the Doge found it necessary to intervene, on the death of Jean II. de Lusignan in 1432, to whose house the territory had originally fallen at the partition of 1204, between Carlotta, daughter of the late king, and her husband Louis, subsequently (1439) Duke of Savoy, and a natural son of Jean, Jacques de Lusignan, whom the rival party expelled from his home. Venice espoused the cause of Jacques, who in 1472 was married by proxy to Caterina Cornaro; in the succeeding year the Venetian candidate died, leaving Caterina *enceinte*; on the 14th November, assassins burst into the palace and murdered several persons, probably intending to include the pregnant Queen, who escaped, her uncle and cousin being cut to pieces. The Venetian admiral arrived to protect Caterina, whose authority was curtailed by the presence of two

proveditors ; in 1474 her child died ; the family of the late king was deported to Venice, and the upshot of the whole business was that Caterina herself was persuaded by her brother in 1488 to renounce her sovereignty, and to settle on an estate at Asolo, assigned to her as the daughter of Saint Mark. The ex-queen was met on her arrival by the Doge in the Bucentaur with all imaginable honour ; her Majesty had a house in the capital, besides the delightful residence in the country. She spent the rest of her life in works of piety and benevolence, in cultivating her gardens, and in the enjoyment of literary society. She survived till 1510, and subscribed herself to the last *Queen of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia, and Lady of Asolo*. She was a short plump woman with a handsome countenance and sparkling eyes, of genial conversation, yet dignified in her manner, and never forgot those who had done her service. She did not study finery or grandeur in her own dress, and was not pleased, if her attendants paid too much attention to such matters. The ex-queen is said to have been particularly fond of the company of Cardinal Bembo, and to have appreciated the erudition of that distinguished man, whom she must have often visited in his elegant villa at Murano.

The Venetians, as we have already perceived, found themselves, about the middle of the fifteenth century, between two grave sources of peril, a chronically perturbed Italy and the irrepressible Turk ; and so far it had fortunately happened that both did not make a concurrent call on their attention and resources. Hitherto, although commerce had found certain new channels, and had lost the character of a monopoly to some extent, the Republic had continued to enjoy a preponderant share of the rich fruits of European intercourse with the East, and, combined with local industries and the multifarious business transacted by land and water throughout Lombardy and along the Dalmatian littoral, her subjects had no reason to complain of a failure of prosperity or of a check to their profitable function as middlemen between distant markets. But the periodical Crusades, apart from even anterior experiments in geographical exploration, counted among their results the rise and growth of a permanent spirit of enterprise ; and it is not only no ground for wonder, that this movement eventuated in 1486 in the discovery by the Portuguese of the Cape of Good Hope and a revolution in the whole system of Oriental traffic with the West, but it seems strange that such an

event was so long retarded, when we have under our eyes successive and iterated narratives of intelligent and observant navigators, who must have approached very near the point. But such has been the incidence of many revelations in all branches of science. During centuries men of all nationalities sailed within a day or two's journey of some coast or headland, and penetrated no farther from an unconsciousness of what was before them; and this is perfectly the case with several of the Venetian trading expeditions, as well as even with some Portuguese adventurers before Diaz. They just failed to steer on the true track. The opening of the Cape route led to the subsequent approach to India; and the intermediate achievements of Columbus and Vespucci laid open a new continent and farther promises of wealth. All these movements, however, were naturally adverse to the old-established and conservative policy and plans of the Republic, which instantaneously appreciated the importance and gravity of the intelligence, when it first reached Venice. It was not the discovery of the Cape itself in 1486, but the pursuit by Da Gama in 1497 of the clue furnished by Diaz, which caused uneasiness. Information of the ulterior event was received at Venice, before the second Portuguese explorer returned home; for in May 1501 we see that Pietro Pasqualigo was dispatched to Lisbon to institute inquiries, and was very graciously received by the king, who offered to do his utmost to serve the Signory. Pasqualigo wrote to his Government, so soon as he had collected all the particulars, which he judged likely to be useful, and among other points mentioned that the Florentines were already on the ground. His dispatch, for the sole text of which we are indebted to Priuli the Diarist, reached its destination on the 24th July 1501. Venice perceived the dilemma, yet hesitated how to act. Priuli speaks of the feeling produced on the first reception of the tidings as one of consternation, since the classes affected could not fail to see, that Lisbon would rob them of all their trade by degrees, and be in a position to sell at a cheaper rate the goods brought by sea than those transported overland under the old system, where dues were levied at so many points, and an article, which began by costing a ducat, ended by costing from 70 to 100. Then, again, the Republic could not buy in the Portuguese market for resale, because the Spaniards would naturally levy arbitrary tolls in the Straits of Gibraltar, while, if they concluded new treaties, there could be no reliance on their durability, and they would be at

best on a parity of footing with other Powers. Opinions on the subject were not unanimous, as some doubted whether the Portuguese could successfully manage the trade, and cited a recent instance, in which seven out of thirteen caravels bound for Calicut perished. Nothing definitive, at any rate, was done; the mercantile treaty with Egypt was renewed in 1504, and some of the new artillery shipped out to enable the Sultan to hold his ground against the Portuguese; and in 1505, on reflection, the Signory reappeared at Lisbon as a negotiator, but only to find that the Florentines had forestalled them.

The addition of America to the map, in which the two pioneers were Columbus and Vespucci, did not so immediately and fatally affect Venice; and the fruits in a commercial sense were at first unascertained. Columbus and the two Cabots were alike of Genoese origin, and when that Republic sank into insignificance as a naval Power, it made reprisal on its ancient antagonist and rival in a different way. For, of course, the time was bound to come, when the creation of channels for traffic between the old and new worlds would disturb the balance, and change the centres, of trade. The elder and greater Cabot had resided during a long term of years among the Venetians, and had enjoyed ample opportunities of acquiring information and experience from a State, of which he was a naturalised subject. Efforts were made to win over his son Sebastian; but they were of no avail. Notwithstanding the optimistic view of the situation, the effects of the altered conditions soon became more or less sensible. Old and deeply-rooted systems die hard; but the climax had been reached and passed.

The tangled thread of public transactions brings us once more back to Italy, whither Charles VIII., a young man of four and twenty, had at last found his way, and had more than once tried to tempt the Venetians to become his allies. On the 9th of September 1494 he entered Asti, and dispatched Philip de Commynes to renew his overtures to the Republic. In February 1495 he was nominal master of the two Sicilies. The Holy See, the Emperor, the kings of Spain and England, and the Duke of Milan, now Lodovico il Moro, formed a holy league against him; Venice signified its adhesion to it, and, as a matter of fact, Venice and Milan were the only effective members.

The Republic used some exertion to win over Henry VII. of England, who evinced a favourable and friendly feeling toward the Signory. The Venetian negotiators were two merchants

resident in London, Contarini and Valaresso, whom the Diarist Sanudo terms quasi-submandatories. One of the most singular circumstances connected with the treaty was the publication at Venice of a broadside with woodcuts of the contracting parties, each accompanied by a rhyming couplet. The Doge Barbarigo represented Venice, and the lines appropriated to his country were:—

Potente in guerra et amica de pace,
Venetia el ben' comun sempre le piace.

It has been elsewhere pointed out that the system of accrediting a representative to foreign courts, England included, did not commence till 1508; and the committal of the diplomatic details in respect to the Holy League to two unofficial personages in 1496 may argue the scepticism of the Signory as to the practical issue.

Communes is reported to have asked the Signory what would happen if his master returned home. He was assured that no one would prevent him. It was no such matter. On the 6th July 1495 was fought the Battle of Fornovo, in which the French only saved the king from capture by the activity of the Cardinal de Bourbon and a desperate charge of cavalry, under cover of which he escaped on his horse Savoy and succeeded in crossing the Taro, and eventually in reaching Asti, whence he expected to be able to relieve Novara, invested by the Milanese and Venetian troops. But 2500 French fell; all the baggage and artillery were taken, and the Venetian commander would have pursued Charles, and taken him, as the Senate recommended, had not the swollen waters of the river, according to the account, precluded the passage. Possibly the allies were deficient in cavalry.

The intelligence was received at Venice with frantic delight, and the crowd ejaculated *Marco! Marco!* and when it was rumoured that the king was either dead or a prisoner, they shouted *A Ferrara! A Ferrara!* even under the windows of the Ferrarese envoy, thinking to punish the duke for siding with the French. Eight Savoyards on the Rialto were pelted with eggs and lemon-peel for the same reason; and the authorities had to interfere.

Operations by sea were simultaneously carried on against Naples. The Venetians took several places on the Apulian coast; and their proveditor with the fleet gave them hope, that the Republic might soon reduce the whole littoral to submission, while the French were rendering themselves masters of the towns

the cruel and bitter necessity of accepting the conditions dictated by the Sultan, with some slight modifications obtained by the tact of the Venetian emissary Gritti, and of losing, while the negotiations were dragging slowly along, many places in the Morea, which had been left with insufficient defences, owing to so many concurrent demands on the public service and purse.

The trial of Grimani was before his peers in the Great Council, and lasted nine days. He seems to have been ably defended by his counsel, and to have spoken on his own behalf in a manner which favourably impressed and even moved the august assembly. On account of his broken health the Government assigned him three medical attendants. When we compare the relative lenity of the sentence with the ignominious character of the return home, we are disposed to trace in it the obligation of the offender to the tribunal, before which he (most unusually) appeared.

Thus, however, it once more happened that the Republic was released with singular opportuneness from all immediate pressure in the East of Europe, not only after stupendous expenditure and losses, but in the presence of a threatened and chronic shrinkage of commercial prosperity, through the recent geographical discoveries. For a crisis, such as the Republic had not yet experienced, amid all the dangers which its rulers had successively overcome, was impending over it, and seemed likely to complete the ruin, which the knowledge of the Cape route and America on the one hand, and the interminable Turkish difficulty on the other, had gone so far to promote.

CHAPTER XXXIII

A.D. 1501-1509

Leonardo Loredano, Doge—Formation of an European coalition against Venice—
LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI—Friendly feeling of Henry VIII. toward the Republic
—His diplomatic offices at the Vatican—Offers of help from Scotland and
Spain—Henry VIII. and the Venetian Ambassador to the Court of England
—Cardinal Wolsey—His interviews with the Venetian envoy.

No change had occurred in the Government since the elevation of Agostino Barbarigo in 1486; but on the 13th September 1501, the Doge, now eighty-two years of age, intimated to the Privy Council his strong desire to abdicate. He even removed the ring from his finger, and handed it to the senior councillor, saying: "I will leave the palace, and go to my own house at San Trovaso, and there end my days, and I pray you to be as good as to accept my resignation." The demand was gently refused, and his Serenity was exhorted to take medical advice, and trust to God to restore him to health. But on the 20th all was over. Barbarigo and his brother, the antecedent holder of the dignity, had been spectators of extraordinarily rapid changes in the political and commercial world, and they probably foresaw, in common with many and many others, greater in store.

The departed prince had been applauded as a personage endowed with all the excellent qualities belonging to his station; but on his decease, and previously to the choice of a successor, his public life was more freely canvassed, and it was found that he was chargeable with favouritism, corruption, and other foibles. It had been decided to institute an inquisition, on each vacancy of the crown, into the acts of the deceased; and it was done on the present occasion. The most noteworthy point seems to be, that presentations of female patricians to his Serenity on their marriage were no longer to be made; it was a method of

official recognition which here devolved on the Doge, since the Dogaressa had no constitutional standing; and its motive was to satisfy society that the bride was a person who might be properly visited and received. The new inquisitors did not supersede the old established Correctors of the Coronation Oath; they represented a fresh refinement more directly aimed at the Doge in his personal relations to the State.

These preliminaries occupied nearly a fortnight, and it was not till the 2nd of October that the decision of the electors was known to be in favour of Leonardo Loredano, already a veteran of sixty-six, in infirm health, and of whom the personal aspect, handed down to us by a contemporary, corresponds with the portrait from the hand of Bellini. He was a tall, spare man, with massive features; very kind-hearted, but passionate; an able public servant, but by no means rich, his fortune being estimated only at 30,000 ducats. Loredano, thus stricken in years, has to accompany us nevertheless through a fairly protracted period yet fuller of dramatic and impressive scenes, and comprehending events unparalleled in gravity and European importance. It is perfectly characteristic of Venetian institutions that his promotion to the dogeship was more or less fortuitous; for while the Forty-one were engaged in deliberating on the question, there was a popular clamour in the streets, calling for the elevation of Filippo Trono, a son of the former Doge Nicolo. He was Loredano's senior by ten years, without a family, and worth, it was said, 80,000 ducats. But he was excessively corpulent, and on the night of the 26th September he succumbed to an apoplectic fit.

Since 1396, when the Genoese gave themselves to Charles VI. of France, there had been repeated occasions in the course of the internecine wars in Italy during the fifteenth century, when the invocation of help from the French or the Germans seemed to be a question almost of weeks; and then, when the marked preponderance of Venice itself, seconded by its natural unwillingness to interfere beyond the promotion or protection of its own interests, awakened a general distrust and jealousy of the Republic, the talk among statesmen took a somewhat different turn, and they began to speculate whether they should not send for the French to co-operate with an Italian league against the Venetians. They appreciated the superior position and resources of the latter, and disliked them accordingly; but they did not look much farther, or they would have come to the conclusion

that a strong independent Venice was better for Italy than a ruined or humiliated one. So early as 1501, the Republic had some reason to suspect that the Archduke Maximilian and Louis XII. were intriguing together at Botzen in the Tyrol with a view to the partition of the Venetian territories; but the danger was not supposed to extend farther; the movement was not thought at that date to comprise any Italian State; and the Republic at first experienced no serious difficulties in the peninsula after the death of Charles VIII., until the time arrived when the succession of Julius II. to the pontificate, and the not unreasonable umbrage given to that impetuous and resolute personage by the Venetian seizure of a portion of the States of the Church, lent to the already unfavourable feeling toward the Republic, and to the predisposition to unite against it, a new cohesive force.

The complicated and almost bewildering intrigues of the Italians, and the short-sighted, suicidal course in inviting foreign alliances or protectorates as make-weights to readjust the balance of power, proved in the long run one of the two causes, which combined to enfeeble and exhaust Venice. The Republic was no willing party to this transmontane policy; but it was unable to frustrate it. One precaution and counterpoise it steadfastly kept in view; and that was the maintenance of amicable relations, so far as possible, with the Holy See, which might almost be said to be a traditional policy handed down from the visit of Alexander III. in 1177. Rome was, as it were, neutral ground; and it was, as it proved, of immense value to be in a position to throw the influence and voice of the Papacy at any critical juncture into the scales in its favour. Nor did the Republic fail to do all in its power to secure at least the neutrality of England; and it in fact achieved a good deal more by enlisting the active diplomatic offices of Henry VIII. in its favour at the Vatican.

The League of Cambrai, which covered altogether the years 1508-1517 from the date of its clandestine organisation to that of the virtual return of the intended victim to the *status quo ante*, may be regarded, apart from its political character, as a diplomatic drama, in which the actors took up different positions, like the figures on a chessboard. Had the original members been united and prompt, they could hardly have failed to crush the Republic. The Allies enjoyed the advantage of numbers and military leadership; but they were jealous and distrustful of each other,

and the most nominally powerful, the Emperor, was also the poorest; while it entered into the calculation of the Papacy, that the removal of Venetian influence would endanger the Roman frontier, and England was throwing itself into the scale so far on behalf of the Republic as to exhort the Pope to cross over to that side, and was offering financial assistance. So blind, and almost puerile, had been the rancour of the assailants, that Florence, toward which the Venetians had never manifested an unfriendly bias, followed the course previously pursued by the Milanese, and incited the Turks, without the cognisance of the rest of the confederacy, to seize the opportunity of despoiling their arch-enemy, now that Venice was helpless. The Sultan, it is to be surmised, was capable of judging for himself, and valued this silly counsel at what it was worth. The Porte had just now need of rest, and might cite the treaty of 1503. Henry VIII., then just newly come to the throne, a young prince of frank and chivalrous temper, appears to have viewed the coalition with disfavour from the beginning. He not only agreed to lend the Republic money to a considerable amount on adequate security, having recently succeeded to the full coffers of a thrifty father, but professed to be partly induced to attack both France and Scotland by way of creating a diversion and weakening the League; and his representative at the Vatican, Archbishop Bainbridge, strenuously exerted himself, of course under instructions, to detach the Holy See, and draw it and Venice together. The Republic neglected no opportunity of studying the foibles of those, whom it was an object to propitiate; and just about this time we find it shipping a magnificent team of eight horses for the acceptance of the King, from a knowledge of his Highness's passion for such objects. It may be questioned, whether Henry was not the most sincere and active of the Republic's allies, and his good offices at Rome were obviously of immense utility, as the loss of the moral support of his Holiness was calculated to be a grave blow to the rest of the Powers joined with him. But the Pope scarcely knew what to do or whom to believe, for, after the death of his father, one of Henry's earliest acts was to renew the peace with France, when Julius II. had hoped to keep the two Powers apart by a variety of stratagems, among which was the choice of Henry as the recipient of the consecrated Golden Rose in 1510. It was the impossibility of divining what was going to be the

next move, which provoked his Holiness into the exclamation to the English ambassador; "Vui siete tutti ribaldi."

Not only did Bainbridge, prompted and authorised by his sovereign, speak for Venice, but a second voice and head were at hand to assist in lending a favourable turn to the policy of Julius. For Antonio Grimani, disgraced in 1499 for his loss of the Battle of Sapienza, had escaped from his Dalmatian prison, and was doing his best as an unofficial diplomatist at Rome to help his country, and retrieve his position; and he is said to have importantly contributed by his exertions to accomplish the first breach in the coalition. He was an avowed anti-Gallican, and maintained that Venice should have upheld the Milanese alliance.

The entire business was a tissue of reciprocal deception and duplicity. The Venetians were certainly the most excusable, for in their case it was a fight for life. But they soon discerned, that the want of concert among their enemies was to be more efficacious than any direct efforts on their own part.

They did not lack offers to serve them in the field and even at sea. Their representative at Madrid reported that Gonsalvo de Cordova, the great captain, was dissatisfied with his present master, who paid him indifferently, and was ready to come over to the Signory. He was sounded; but the proposal was not entertained—probably from a diffidence in Spanish good faith, or a suspicion that the affair might be a piece of collusion. James IV. of Scotland at the head of 10,000 of his countrymen, with 150 vessels for coasting work, expressed himself prepared to assist the government of the Doge, and to mask the movement of troops under a plea, that he projected a crusade against the infidels. This doubtless somewhat surprising communication was rejected, presumably on more than one ground, yet in the first place, lest its acceptance might have given umbrage in London.

The overtures of Henry VIII. to Venice were attended by an edifying episode. The Venetian envoy, Andrea Badoer, in a dispatch to his Government of December 3, 1510, wrote that the King would lend even twice the amount asked, if proper security in jewels was forthcoming¹; and he recommended that

¹ The second Tudor in these palmy days, when cash was plentiful, was far from averse, it appears, to a transaction, which promised a fair turnover. There was something of the Earl of Richmond in him, after all, and he might have succeeded as a pawnbroker, had other vocations failed. But he was just here dealing with

the Signory should send his wife over with the necessary bonds, and begged them also to remit her, before she started, at least 400 ducats, since he desired her to make several purchases for him. At the same time he sent word to his son-in-law Francesco Gradenigo to procure the command of the galley on which the lady would sail for England. The acquaintance of Badoer with our language promoted perhaps his success in his post; the King and he were friendly; and Henry, falling in with him one day about the court, said: "Ambassador, there's good news for you; you will have better anon." His Majesty, Badoer tells us, was anxious that the signora his wife should also reside in England. The amount which the King proposed to advance was a million ducats. It does not appear that the negotiation was completed. The English monarch must have begun to grow tired of this class of transaction, for his brother Maximilian came to him, too, just as he borrowed troops from Spain, and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian in 1516 candidly told the King that his subsidies to the Emperor principally operated in enabling Maximilian to hold Verona against the Republic.

The language of reproof must be read side by side with the communication of Wolsey about the same time (1516), and while Italy and Venice were still labouring under the troubles which the Court of Rome had principally contributed to organise, to the same Giustinian. The Cardinal, through that medium, advised the Venetians to form a general European league against France, which he (the Cardinal) judged to be the most dangerous enemy of Italy, and he flattered the Republic with the expectation that, the French beaten, it might acquire the whole of the peninsula for itself. But his Eminence could tell Venice very little which it did not already know, and both he and his royal master were usually outwitted in their negotiations with the subtle and reticent Italians. The great and true worth of this expression of opinion on the part of Wolsey for our purpose is, however, its apparent indication of the complete rally in seven years from the heavy blow sustained through the potent league formed against her. The Cardinal saw no reason in 1516, why a State, supposed to have been all but crushed in 1509, in a conflict with the greatest princes of Europe, supported by the

folks at least his match, and the countrymen of Shylock and his Highness did not come to terms.

spiritual prestige and active succour of one of the most capable and strenuous of recent pontiffs, should not become mistress of Italy—if it followed his advice. But in fact the Republic in 1511 positively contracted a league of this kind with the Holy See and the Spaniards, and very little came of it, partly owing to the successes of Gaston de Foix, and partly to the pecuniary straits of Venice itself.

The King personally informed Badoer that in the treaty with France, which gave such umbrage to the Papacy, Louis XII. had engaged at his instance not to molest the Republic in its own territories or in its legitimate commercial relations; but he subsequently complained that Louis or somebody else had tampered with the clauses or had omitted them.

But at the same time Henry and Wolsey were alike frank and brusque enough in their strictures on the rapacious temper of Venice, and the former warned Giustinian, the successor of Badoer, as the Duke of Milan had done in 1467. His Majesty said, among other things: "It is really time for you to cease any longer to molest the Emperor about Verona; you will not be easy till you provoke the whole world against you." Giustinian quietly but firmly urged that the Venetians desired merely to regain their own. The King: "If you persist in this opinion, you will spend twice as much as Verona is worth." Giustinian was obliged rather later to be the medium for endeavouring to mollify the cardinal in respect to certain grievances on the part of his countrymen in England; and he had an appointment to see his Eminence, and introduce the complainants, who brought as a present seven Damascus carpets. At first Wolsey was very irate, and would not even see the deputation, but, becoming calmer, he sent for them, and addressed them graciously. Apart from that immediate matter, the Ambassador had a few words to say about the French treaty then in course of negotiation, and objected to a particular clause, roundly intimating that he was a better judge than the Cardinal what Venice wanted; whereupon the other closed the interview abruptly with, "Enough, enough! matters shall rest as they are."

When the arrogance alike of Henry and his minister toward foreign Powers, when their humour or zeal inclined them, is considered, the Republic might have deemed itself fortunate and flattered in being on the whole so amicably received. As a proof that Wolsey did not confine his insolent bearing to what

he might have treated as a secondary State, it is shown that in the same year (1516) the dispatches of the French ambassador, who accompanied Giustinian, were, under the plea of infection from the plague, detained and opened at Canterbury, the contents read, and the bearer reprimanded on his arrival in London. The correspondence of Giustinian with his government and brother, so far as they are available in an English form, shed a most valuable light on contemporary European politics. A few of them, owing to the prevalence of the plague in London, were addressed from the village of Putney, whither the writer had retired for the time.

CHAPTER XXXIV

A.D. 1509-1529

Progress of the League of Cambrai—Vigilance and activity of the Republic—Preliminary operations—Defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello—Arrival of the intelligence at Venice—Launch of the interdict by Julius II.—Profound impression—Accounts of eye-witnesses—Fortitude of the Government—The Doge sends his plate to the Mint—Attempt to detach the Holy See from the League—Measures for protecting the provinces—Recovery of Padua (17th July 1509)—And other places—Repulse of the Emperor Maximilian—Defection of Julius II.—His death, and succession of Leo X. (1513)—The Venetians resume the offensive—Reconciliation and alliance with France—Defeat of French and Venetians at Novara (6th June 1513)—Distress at Venice—The Doge delivers his views—Generous response to a call for pecuniary aid—Louis XII. is succeeded by Francis I. (1515)—The Republic adheres to its French alliance—Battle of Marignano decided by the Venetians (1515)—Charles V. becomes king of Spain (1516)—Truce with Maximilian (1518)—Charles V. becomes Emperor (1519)—Venice and the Lutherans—Religious troubles of Germany—Battle of Pavia (1525)—Charles V. and the Signory—Italian League against the Emperor (1526)—Difficulties of political parties—Fall and sack of Rome (1527)—Angry feeling in Europe—Treaty of Cognac—Efforts of Venice to relieve Rome—And to assist Milan—Peace of Cambrai (1529)—Obstacles to Italian unity.

THE scheme, the initiative of which was taken at Blois in 1504, if not at Botzen in 1501, had left to the Republic nothing outside the original insular dominion. The Pope was to take or resume Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Cesena. Maximilian proposed to appropriate Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Roveredo, Friuli, and Istria. The French share comprised Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, and Ghiaradda. Brindisi, Otranto, Gallipoli, and Trani fell to the Spanish dynasty at present seated at Naples. If they gave their adherence to the coalition, the King of Hungary was to be recompensed with Dalmatia and the Duke of Saxony with Cyprus. Candia, the Ionian Islands, the Morea, and the possessions of Venice in many other parts, appear to have been left out of the schedule, either as too distant or too problematical. As we regard it in retrospect, this movement and scheme offer

the tolerably distinct aspect of an arrangement on paper; it was essentially empirical, and its duration was to be discounted. Yet in the meantime the coalition obviously possessed sufficient numerical and material stamina to inflict a horrible amount of damage, and to necessitate a heavy addition to the already oppressive national burdens. It was a league between all the leading Powers of Europe, England excepted, against a State peculiarly situated, and in conflict with several professedly military countries at the same moment, and incapable of bringing into the field any adequate means of resistance or even protection from blockade on the side of the mainland. The Republic had more than once shown itself more than a match for each and all of them singly; but the new position was indeed embarrassing and alarming.

The Republic had been no stranger to the rapid course of events. Its couriers, the trustiest and quickest in the world, brought information from day to day from the representatives at the different courts, regardless of expense and of the horses killed under them by overriding. The treaty, finally ratified at Cambrai on the 4th December 1508 by the plenipotentiaries, the Duchess of Savoy, Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, representing her father, purported on its face to be a defensive alliance of the contracting parties against "the insatiable cupidity of the Venetians and their thirst for dominion"; yet ten days after Louis XII. informed the representative of the Signory that, though there was a treaty, it contained nothing detrimental to his employers. Assuredly on the score of ambition his employers might fairly and easily recriminate.

The latter were far better informed; and the Council of Ten in the same month assumed the supreme direction of affairs, "owing to the rumours," as it was officially set forth, "of evil practices and intentions toward us and our State."

The plan of campaign was arranged at home in concert with Count Pitigliano, commissioned as captain-general, and Bartolomeo D'Alviano with the title of governor-general, assisted by two civil proveditors. It was decided to assume the offensive; and a variety of proposals were laid before the Government as to details. Some one suggested that on crossing the Adda the Venetian troops should unfurl a standard bearing on it *Defensio Italiae*, and should adopt as a war-cry *Italia e Libertà*. But the latter was not even put to the ballot. The army, meanwhile, was con-

centrated at Pontevico, about seven leagues from Brescia, and was reported to be in excellent order and spirits. These preparations so far seemed to promise well.

Julius II. launched his bull on the 27th April; and in the middle of the month the French under Trivulzio forestalled the Venetians by crossing the Adda, while the papal forces, without waiting for the interdict, invaded Cervia and Ravenna, and committed the most barbarous outrages, which were aggravated by the circumstance that the term of grace accorded to the Republic did not expire till the 21st May. The Ten would not permit the interdict to be published, and (as on a previous occasion) caused an appeal to a future council to be attached to St. Peter's. Letters were at the same time addressed separately to the Pope and the Curia, in which they were reminded of the loyal services of the Republic to the Church and Christianity, and of the cession of Rimini and Faenza to it by the Duke of Urbino, vicar-general of the Holy See, while Cervia had long formed part of its territories.

Pitigliano was in favour of acting on the defensive; but his colleague, younger and more impulsive, urged an immediate advance. A French detachment was, in fact, repulsed to the cry of *Italia e Libertà*, and the Venetians took and sacked Triviglio, and disarmed the French garrison. But this success made Alviano still more sanguine; and a general engagement took place on the 14th of May, in which he, unsupported by Pitigliano, was completely routed, with a loss of 4000 in slain alone, at Agnadello. There seems good reason to conclude that, had the two corps or divisions acted in concert, and time had not been sacrificed by the civil proveditors in waiting for instructions from Venice, the issue might have been different; and Alviano, who subsequently shewed ability, protested that he should have gained the day, had he been left to his own discretion. The result was that all Lombardy, except two or three places, was in the hands or grasp of the French by the 1st June without striking another blow. "All is lost," writes the diarist Sanudo, "without unsheathing the sword. All is lost by treachery and disloyalty." He should have rather made in his diary the entry, that the disaster was due to mismanagement and officialism.

News from the front was anxiously expected at Venice. Sanudo tells us that on the 15th May he was in the Senate house, where the Sages were in consultation, and that he and

others had been looking at the map of Italy painted on the walls of the hall, when at ten o'clock at night a courier arrived, bearing dispatches from Brescia to say that all was lost.

He admits us behind the scenes to let us see how acute the crisis was, and how the bravest and stoutest hearts quailed before the storm, which had burst upon the city and State from so many directions. On the great festive anniversary, which preceded the national fair of *La Sensa* (Ascension Day), when tens of thousands usually congregated here, the capital was plunged in grief and despair; there were no preparations, no visitors, no company on the Piazza; the Fathers were prostrate with trouble; and the Doge was like a dead man, disconsolate and speechless. All this was rather overdrawn and hyperbolic; and hardly more is predicable of his idea, that it would have been a good plan to ask the Sultan for help. The Diarist, before affairs had much improved, most characteristically notes under 17th July 1509—precisely two months later—how, as he was going home, he met a man, who offered him a fine Hebrew Bible, worth twenty ducats, for a marcello, a coin representing a few pence; and he took it, he says, to place in his library. Cannot we forgive him?—especially when we know, apart from his communications, that there were yet in that emergency many cool and clear heads devising methods of dividing the coalition, and that in its small upstairs room the plenipotentiary Council of Ten sat day and night, ready to avail itself of every turn, every mistake on the part of the enemy, and every proposal laid on the table. The Decemvirs wept not, but worked and watched.

Sanudo was not the only one who gave way to his emotions. Paolo Barbo, an ex-procurator and valuable public servant, but superannuated, began, when he heard the news from Agnadello, to shed tears, and said to his wife: "Give me my cloak, for I wish to go to the Pregadi, and say four words, and then die."

But the Government was unshaken by these manifestations. It wrote to the authorities at Brescia and elsewhere to assure them of its determination to strain every nerve to protect and assist them; it directed Pitigliano to cover and, if possible, occupy Verona, and not to move, as he had proposed, toward Vicenza and Padua, to both of which proveditors were at once sent to devise measures of defence (May 25, 1509). Stores of grain were laid up; floating mills to grind corn were improvised on

some of the tidal water-ways; and all suspected persons were expelled from the capital. Steps were taken to guard the passes of Chioggia, the road by Piove di Sacco, Lizzafusina, and Malghera, and the mouths of the Silis, over all of which were placed persons of the most trustworthy and capable character. The Doge Loredano publicly announced the danger and the need of taking all possible means to avert it. He sent his own plate to the mint;¹ and we know that he was far from being a rich man. He referred the Council to his sons, who said: "The Doge will do what this land shall desire." A movement was set on foot to send Loredano to Verona with a picked corps of 500 patricians, to be equipped at their own expense, to encourage the city and help the cause; but nothing was resolved.

The Ten never for a moment, however, relaxed in their labours and vigilance; for they were fully aware of the heavy stake which the country had in the preservation of the *terra firma*, where it had gradually acquired such valuable interests. For amid the perpetual distractions of Italy wealthy Venetian families—the Pisani, the Memi, the Morosini, and others—preferring real estate to trade, had availed themselves of all favourable opportunities of buying landed property on both sides of the Adriatic, and particularly in the districts more or less contiguous to the lagoons; and their preservation and security were immensely important, inasmuch as their owners came forward on all public emergencies to assist the State. Overtures were also addressed to the Pope through the Venetian cardinals, and to Maximilian, offering certain concessions, with a view to breaking the coalition.

Alviano had been wounded in the face, and eventually taken prisoner. He was sent first to Milan and thence to Loches in Touraine, where he was treated, he lets us know, with fair consideration, and from which he was after an interval released. On his liberation he drew up for the information of the Signory an account of the battle; it served what was probably its immediate purpose in reassuring his employers, or at least in persuading them, that he was as eligible as any other just now at their disposal. Nor was Pitigliano, to whom the disaster was certainly in large measure owing, discarded; he had at any rate saved his corps, and his capacity was not called in question. But the two

¹ As Louis XIV. did a long time after, and had a service of earthenware made to take its place.

Condottieri were never again associated in the field. That was a fatal blunder superadded to the proveditorial mischief. To the apology (as it were) of Alviano it might have been farther added, that the soldiers before the fight were demoralised by the rich booty which they had secured at Triviglio; and many of them had deserted in order to go into the neighbouring towns and convert their shares into money.

There was an unceasing effort to recover the cities of the *terra firma*, which had every predisposition to meet their old masters. Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, were equally ready to embrace the earliest opportunity of throwing off their foreign yokes, and Padua was to be the first to become once more Venetian. On the 17th July, the very day on which the excellent diarist Sanudo purchased his Bible in the street, it was taken by a *coup de main*. Some short time before, two unknown persons had arrived by boat from Fusina, muffled up in white cloaks, and had been conducted to the palace, where they remained till a very late hour closeted with the Doge and the Ten, when they returned as they had come. On the night of the 16th there was a busy movement of armed barks in the direction of Fusina from Murano, Chioggia, and other parts of the Dogado, under the command of Nicolo Pasqualigo, master of the Arsenal; and the proveditor Andrea Gritti, having left a sufficient force to defend Treviso, advanced on that side to co-operate with the troops sent from Venice. An entrance was cleverly effected by sending forward three waggons loaded with corn, for which the drawbridge was lowered, and the gates were thrown open; the last waggon lingered on the bridge long enough to permit the forces of Gritti in the rear to come up and pass into the city shouting *Marco! Marco!*—the Germans were overpowered, and the victory was complete. Among the troops which the Government had sent by way of Fusina were the sons of the Doge and two hundred noble youths who enrolled themselves as volunteers.

Maximilian, meanwhile, had been doing next to nothing. He reached Padua only to discover that it had, under the able and energetic direction of Alvigi Porto of Vicenza, been put into a posture of defence; and he was obliged to retire. Legnago and other positions were successively regained. The defence of Padua was heroic; the army of Maximilian, computed at from 80,000 to 100,000 men, Germans, Spaniards, and French, failed to effect

an entrance, even when a breach had been made. It was a disheartening and discreditable defeat of the imperialists and the league, and the Republic might now breathe a little more freely. It appeared only to be requisite to profit by the natural course of events. The league, loosely knit together without any master-mind to lead it, was beginning to betray symptoms of dissolution. Before the year had expired the Pope had virtually seceded, although terms were not settled till the February of 1510. Julius had obtained all that he sought and somewhat more, and he had nothing to gain from helping the others to weaken Venice. He very naturally studied his own temporal interest as an Italian prince.

The *Sensa* of 1510, according to the diarist Priuli, was observed with all its customary splendour and gaiety, as if nothing had happened or was anticipated out of the ordinary way, and at the marriage of a Foscari and a Veniero the Company of the Stocking gave a magnificent entertainment at which all the ambassadors, including those of Powers just then united in arms against the Republic, were present, and a pantomime, where figures, representing various countries, danced together. It was the branch of the company called the *Eterni*, which found the money for this pageant, and the Executive did not lift a finger. Let us allow that it knew with whom it had to deal. The cost might have disappeared in a less useful manner than in keeping the people quiet; and perhaps these same *Eterni* had funds to spare for more practical purposes.

The defection of the Pope and the languor of the emperor did not prevent the League from winning successes, or savage cruelties from being perpetrated in its name; a large number of persons who had taken refuge from their French assailants in a disused quarry near Vicenza were deliberately suffocated; and the French soon derived a new advantage from the brilliant talents of Gaston de Foix. The war lasted all through 1510 and the seven succeeding years, with fluctuations of fortune. It was so difficult to foresee what was going to happen that after the Battle of Ravenna, in which the French gained a costly victory and lost their commander on the field, the Republic approached Louis from the feeling that he was the least formidable opponent; and the treaty of Blois was signed in March 1513. On the 21st of the preceding month an important change had taken place in the prospect and the relation of political parties by the death of

Julius II. and the succession of Giovanni de' Medici as Leo X. The Republic hastened to send its congratulations, not only to his Holiness, but to his brother Giuliano at Florence, where it might not now be undesirable to strengthen and improve relations. It was hoped that the change at Rome might help the Italian cause; but at the same time the Venetian representative had to make known to Leo the renewal of the French alliance, which, it was stated, was rendered necessary in order to prevent a league in course of formation between France, Spain, and the Emperor against Italy. The French were commanded by Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzio and Louis de la Tremouille; the Venetians took Alviano once more into employment, and he was invested with his marshal's baton at Venice on the 15th May with every mark of ceremonial splendour and flattering confidence.

A special service and mass were held at Saint Mark's, and the patriarch blessed the standard and baton, before the Doge handed them to the marshal with the words preserved by Sanudo, possibly an eye- and ear-witness: "Most illustrious Signore, we, continuing in the paternal affection which we have ever borne toward you, and knowing your singular virtue, experience, and inviolate faith, have chosen your lordship to be Captain-General of all our forces, and that all may be aware of the dignity upon you conferred, we consign to you this standard and this staff, both signal emblems of such a rank, supplicating God, with the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the glorious evangelist Saint Mark, that He, as of His goodness and clemency we hope, will put it in our power to recover and preserve our State to the praise and glory of His Divine Majesty, and the repose, comfort, and amplitude of the Christian religion." The brilliant assemblage quitted the church, and Alviano proceeded, followed by a great throng of people, to the Ponte della Paglia, whence he went to his own residence, and presided over a sumptuous entertainment. The dresses worn on this occasion by all the actors in the scene are described by Sanudo as unsurpassed in beauty and costliness.

Thus it is to be augured that the Signory had not lost its trust in Alviano, and accepted his explanation of the circumstances under which Pitigliano and himself were defeated at Agnadello; and the Marshal, in conjunction with the French, speedily regained Cremona and a large portion of the Milanese. The Senate did not cease to inculcate on its general the necessity

of prudence, and of avoiding, if possible, an open engagement. The unexpected happened. On the 6th June 1513 his allies were surprised and utterly defeated at Novara by the united German, Spanish, and Swiss forces, when Alviano was on the point of effecting a junction with them, and when it had been thought that Cardona, the general of the League, was too weak to attack. The French retreated across the Alps, and nothing intervened between the conqueror and the lagoon but the Venetian corps, which hesitated to act on the offensive. Cardona advanced, burning Fusina and Mestra, and from Malghera firing defiant shots toward Venice; he then retired by Castelfranco, and defeated Alviano in an attempt to cut off his retreat. The rest of that and the whole of the following year were occupied by desultory and harassing operations both in Lombardy and Friuli. Alviano was obliged to limit himself to the defence of Padua and Treviso, of which he occupied the former, and successfully repulsed an assault on the walls by Cardona.

The anxiety and distress at Venice were naturally extreme. In the Senate on the 2nd October (1513) the Doge, mounting the tribune, painted in lurid colours the crisis all around. "There is no one," said Loredano, "who does not know the cause of our taking on ourselves to speak in the presence of so great a peril." His Serenity pointed to the destruction of places so near to the city, and the threat to make little of them, "since," said he, "we are but 2500 flies. Yet I have to announce that to-day our troops have left Padua in good strength, and what we chiefly want is money; the public treasury is unequal to such expenses. Therefore all debtors to the State are exhorted to pay their arrears, and every one must contribute his fourth. Had it not been for such as the councillor Zaccaria Gabriele, we should have fared still worse. We ought to do as was done when Antonio Contarini contributed 60,000 ducats, and when Federico Corner, seeing the necessities of the country, sent fifteen bars of silver to the mint. And in this way, mere fishermen as we were, aided by our own people, we have arrived at such a height of greatness and pride that it pleases God to humble us." Loredano urged all to help with their services and purses, to discharge their obligations to the Government, and to curtail their private expenditure. It may be recollected that he had already sent his sons to Padua and his silver plate to the mint, and that Padua and Treviso had been relieved by Alviano after Novara; and Sanudo,

as a pessimist and a member of the opposition, must be treated with caution when he expresses such keen sorrow at the immediate omission of his countrymen to respond to the ducal appeal. He tells us that he had a strong inclination to get on his feet and express his own views on the subject, but that he was debarred from so doing because there was no motion or resolution before the assembly, and also, perhaps, because he was disheartened by finding that his speeches carried little weight.

This notable scene occurred a few days before the defeat of Alviano in his effort to intercept Cardona on his retirement from the precincts of Venice. The Marshal seems to have done his best for his employers, and he was shortly afterward sent to Friuli to co-operate with Savorgnano in arresting the progress of the Germans under Count Frangipani and the Duke of Brunswick. The former had been checked in his victorious advance by the stronghold of Asopo; and, the Venetian forces effecting a junction, he commenced his retreat toward Germany. But he was taken prisoner and conducted to Venice, where he was received on landing by a chief of the Ten and the secretary to the Council. They introduced him to the bureau of the Signori di Notte, and put various questions to him. He is described as a young man of two-and-thirty, of handsome appearance, dressed in the German style, and of a haughty and frank demeanour; but as a soldier he was relentless, and had committed the most atrocious barbarities. He was confined in the Torricella prison, where his wife joined him; and both resided there some years in a tolerably comfortable manner, until, by the armistice between the Republic and the Emperor in 1518, the Count at any rate was deported to France, and exchanged a Venetian for a French dungeon. Frangipani had deserved ill enough of the Republic, and he was certainly not too severely punished. The sole benefit which he conferred on his antagonists was to afford the subjects of the Signory in that quarter sufficient experience of other masters to make them too glad, the moment the opportunity arrived, to return under their former domination. Those who had the comparative facts before their eyes were better judges than we can pretend to be of the merits of Venetian rule; but it is safe to assert that it was the only one in the sixteenth century which offered and engaged after a costly war to indemnify the citizen and the farmer for all their losses, and honourably fulfilled its pledges.

The Government does not seem to have elicited from

Frangipani much to the purpose. He merely told the Decemvirs that they would get back Marano in a few days, because the place was running short of provisions. But Savorgnano kept his employers well informed of the course of operations in a series of dispatches which have been printed.

The Signory remained true to the French, and regarded with pleasure the restoration of amity between Louis XII. and England on the one hand, and Spain on the other, in the autumn of the year. Pietro Bembo, secretary to Leo X., was sent in December to endeavour to wean Venice from the French alliance, and to induce her to rejoin the League; but the negotiation did not succeed. A week or two later Louis died, and was succeeded by the Duke of Angoulême as Francis I., who left no room for doubting his sentiments and intentions by assuming the title of Duke of Milan in his dispatches and on his coins. When the pernicious results of foreign intervention are weighed at this distance of time, it is at once instructive and surprising to find that the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara, referring, in conversation with the Venetian envoy, a fortnight after the death of Louis, to the new king, regarded with satisfaction the readiness of the latter to interfere in Italian affairs; but it is evident that here at all events the Spaniards were viewed with the largest share of dislike.

The Signory was enabled to render substantial service to the new King. Alviano succeeded in holding Cardona in check under Verona, and thus left Milan, which was in possession of the Swiss auxiliaries, open to the French. The battle of Marignano, fought on the 13th and 14th September 1515, between the Swiss and the troops of Francis, was decided by the opportune arrival of a Venetian detachment brought by Alviano; and in October Milan was once more recovered by the Allies. The victory was sufficiently important to induce the Holy See to come to terms with Francis, and to lead Cardona, who had displayed throughout great military talents, to seek protection under its clauses, and withdraw from the field. Events followed each other with striking rapidity. In 1516 Charles V. became King of Spain, and as it did not just at present suit him to attack the French, he concluded a treaty at Noyon in August, which was confirmed by the Peace of Brussels in December. To the latter the Republic was made a party. It was obliged to cede Verona, Roveredo, and Friuli to Maximilian. In October, Alviano died, and Trivulzio came

over to the Venetian service. He had previously commanded the French troops, and was an efficient officer. Alviano had left a widow and children without provision; the Signory granted them an annuity.

A contemporary letter, written by the Venetian proveditor from the field of Marignano, under date of the 14th September, to the Doge, furnishes copious particulars of this historical fight. He testifies before God, that Cæsar never shewed such valour and greatness of soul as Alviano on that occasion. The approach of the Venetians was notified by the cry, heard in the distance, of *Marco! Marco!* Contarini used his best efforts to incite Trivulzio to lose no time in regaining Brescia, held by the Spaniards; and in a dispatch to him of the 19th November the Senate approves of his conduct. But Trivulzio failed in his attempt to recover Brescia, which the Venetians had greatly at heart, although he had the valuable assistance of the great engineer Pietro Navaro; and his success in other directions did not save him from being superseded by his relative Teodoro. It was not a juncture where time was to be lost. But diplomacy achieved more than military operations in the next stage of progress; for the tedious negotiations with Maximilian, with the object of detaching him from the league, at length culminated, partly through the good offices of Francis I., in a truce for five years (31st July 1518), the Emperor surrendering all the Lombard possessions awarded to him under the treaty of partition of 1509, and the Republic consenting to subsidise his Majesty during the term to the extent of 20,000 ducats a year. In the exchange of prisoners Count Frangipani was especially reserved, and was to be sent into France under guard, possibly to Loches, which appears to have been a favourite destination for important captives. Maximilian, released from other cares for the moment, tried to do the Pope a good turn by publishing a circular message¹ to the Italian Powers, inviting them to join in a crusade promoted by Leo X. against the Porte. But the Italians had their hands and minds full enough of other matters. Assuredly the Republic had; and, Maximilian dying in 1519, the contest for the succession between the Kings of Spain and France tended to lend a new direction to affairs, and to change the state of parties in the peninsula. A rumour had gained currency, two years prior to the decease of the Emperor, that Maximilian proposed to

¹ This manifesto was printed at Bologna, 4to, 1518.

simplify the political problem by marrying the widow of Louis XII. It was either premature or unfounded. Leo X., on it being mentioned to him, is said to have remarked, that he hardly thought so clever a woman would do so foolish a thing.

The French alliance was thus partly instrumental in securing an interval of repose and tranquillity, and the Republic tried to induce Francis to prevail on the pontiff to transmit the investiture of Charles in the form of a bull, in order to keep him out of Italy, where his presence could scarcely fail to be mischievous, even if he was not directly aggressive. But when it was seen that Charles resolved to come to Rome, the Signory began to listen to a proposal, that France, the Holy See, and Venice should enter into a new league for mutual protection and also against his Majesty the King of the Romans. Charles was very soon at Verona, instituting inquiries about frontiers, and renewing the old question of the Venetian title to the possessions of the *terra firma*. The immediate difficulty was parried, after some negotiation and parley, by a renewal at Worms of the five years' truce (3rd May 1521), the Republic ceding Aquileia and other places, and retaining or recovering a large portion of Friuli and Istria.

The cross-threads of diplomacy at this time almost defy our efforts to follow them. Venice had the new understanding with France, yet it was continually discovering that the French were totally faithless; and the Doge had complained one day to the German envoys that the exertions of his country to observe treaties with the most Christian King had been its ruin and that of the whole of Italy. The Pope would have gladly seen both French and German driven out of the peninsula; and his Holiness did not know to whom he should turn as an ally. The able condottiero Trivulzio, who had served both the French and the Venetians, and had so far shown an unpatriotic indifference, before his death at Chartres in 1518, expressed his regret that he had ever had anything to do with the French. He was an excellent soldier, and was 77 years of age; of a robust constitution, short stature, and big frame; accomplished and cultured; and in his conversation agreeable and even facetious. He was fond of fortifying his remarks by some classical quotation. His descendants preserved their social, if not their political, importance down to 1767, and struck their own money, as he had done; on one of his own coins he is described as a marshal of

France. The sad end of so eminent a man in a foreign land animated Milan with a still stronger distaste for the French yoke. Charles V. was caressing the Venetians, telling them how much he liked them, and praying them to come over to him. The invention of printing, the diffusion of literature, and the development of independent thought, were bringing blessings to mankind; but they were also bringing troubles. Already the writings of Luther were proscribed and burned all over Catholic Europe; even the tolerant Republic did its part; and the Council of Ten permitted an agent of the Holy See to seize some book of the great reformer at the place of business of a certain German at San Maurizio. "However," notes the diarist Sanudo with no slight complacency, "I got a copy, and have it in my study." The Lutheran books were destroyed; but a certain Fra Andrea di Ferrara preached in the campo San Stefano against his Holiness and the Curia, and sought leave to print a book, which he had written in support of Luther. The Pope complained to the Signory, and asked them to refuse their sanction, which they did. But both then and later he spoke of the Venetian Government as too lenient to heretics, and of the infection, which certain German scholars had caught from their Venetian teachers at Padua University.

So the religious element arose to embarrass relations, and so the Republic, when all direct péril from the league of Cambrai had ceased, and it had leisure to put its affairs and finances in order, found itself in a fresh kind of difficulty from the competition between the Emperor and France for its friendship and support. At the present stage of his career, Charles did not exhibit all those commanding qualities, which are identified with his name in the mind of posterity; and the Republic perhaps naturally and prudently hesitated to abandon France, in case it might be necessary to check hereafter the imperial power. The French King soon appeared to justify such caution by once more marching into Italy, to assert his claims to the imperial crown; between 1523 and 1525 the struggle continued; and in the latter year the position of Charles was established by the Battle of Pavia. The Republic, however, espoused the weaker cause, and joined Francis in what was known as the league of Cognac (22nd March 1526), which cost it 1,500,000 ducats, and was resultless, so far as any benefit to Venice went; and in the succeeding year the imperial general, the Duc de Bourbon, sacked the

Eternal City—a fate which might have been that of Venice in 1509, had it not had in the lagoons a fortification more impregnable than any ever built by human hands.

The confederacy, which ratified the treaty of Cognac, agreed that Francis should renounce in favour of Sforza the duchy of Milan, the Duke paying an annual tribute of 50,000 ducats, and that the King should retain Asti and Genoa in full sovereignty. It was an *ex parte* arrangement concluded without reckoning the view to be taken of it by Charles.

The battle of Pavia, one of those which has been consecrated by its political fruit and its romantic incidence, broke the power of Francis I. in Italy. The King shewed great courage and energy in the field, and it was not to any failure on his part to inspire his troops with a good example, that the calamitous issue was to be attributed. Charles had returned to Spain, and thither followed him a letter from Francis, sent through his mother, Louise of Savoy, queen regent, and a Venetian embassy, to congratulate the victor. The letter, written at Pizzighettone, where the captive monarch was first incarcerated, was to beg his Majesty to decide what he proposed to do in regard to him personally; and the result was that he embarked at Genoa for Spain under strict guard, and was there during some time kept a close prisoner. The representatives of the Signory experienced a friendly reception, inasmuch as Charles was probably conscious, that recent events would stir up against him many enemies in Italy; and he had paid the Republic so much homage as to make no concealment of his solicitude to preserve its friendship. But his Majesty is reported to have expressed distrust of the sincerity of Venetian professions, and to have declared that, if they sent him all their lawyers, they would not be able to convince him that they meant what they said. At any rate, he asked for 80,000 ducats in lieu of the military contingent which the Venetians had omitted to furnish; and he added, laughing: "My necessities swallow up a great deal of money; you are rich, and have no occasion to spend so much; it is therefore only fitting, that you should help me." The successor of Maximilian resembled him in one respect—the constant dearth of funds. It was in reality this financial weakness, which deprived him of the benefit of his triumph over the French by preventing him from following it up. He possessed the military organisation which the Republic lacked, and envied the resources which it was con-

strained to squander in order to remedy the deficiency, and too often remedy it imperfectly enough.

But the Emperor rightly judged that the crushing defeat of the French on the field of Pavia was likely to awaken a keen and dangerous animosity. So far back as March 1525 the Milanese minister had had a confidential interview with the Venetian secretary of legation, and this matured into the league of 1526, professedly to secure the liberty and safety of Italy, between the Republic, Milan, the Holy See, and the Queen Regent of France, with power reserved to Henry VIII. of England, who began to waver in his devotion to his imperial cousin, and at one time probable brother-in-law,¹ to join. A central and essential point in the new coalition was the acknowledgment of Francesco Sforza, and, failing him (as his health was indifferent), his brother Massimiliano, as Duke of Milan. For it perhaps correctly discerned in an independent and friendly Milan under an able government a valuable barrier and resource in the not unlikely event of Charles V. developing still more ambitious and dangerous pretensions. While, however, the Republic and its confederates were engaged in these negotiations, the successor of Adrian VI., Clement VII., was without the cognisance of Venice concluding an almost simultaneous compact with the Spanish viceroy of Naples, to which Milan was equally a party, and in which Florence and the house of Medici were included, with liberty to the Republic to signify its adhesion within twenty days. The intelligence of these collateral and conflicting arrangements, initiated by the Pope more immediately for his own protection, reached Venice just when an emissary from the Queen Regent of France had arrived to enlist the active sympathy of the Government, and to announce that, notwithstanding the enforced absence of the King, all was well and quiet. The Doge condoled with the envoy, and begged him to intimate to his royal mistress that the Government would do all that was possible; while to the Holy See, as regarded the treaty with the Emperor (1st April 1525), his Serenity explained somewhat in detail, how the Venetian troops had been prevented from operating in concert with his Majesty, by the need of defending the frontier of the Republic against attack by the imperial forces. The Doge farther stated that it was impossible to decide anything about the proposed League without seeing the articles, as his

¹ Charles, when archduke, was betrothed in 1507 to Mary, the king's sister.

country was reluctant to associate itself with any movement hostile to the Ottoman Porte; and, finally, this opportunity seems to have been taken to tell Charles, through his Holiness or the viceroy, that as a matter of special favour to his Majesty the Signory would consent to pay the 80,000 ducats lately demanded. If it be true that Venice promised Francis, when he should be crowned Emperor, 100,000 ducats for his expenses, the result of the day of Pavia was perhaps a saving of the difference. But in the summer of 1529 the money had not yet changed hands.¹ These financial clauses in early treaties seem to have been to a certain extent on paper only.

The Government found itself in a perpetual dilemma between the two courses of policy open to its adoption: an alliance with Charles against France, and an alliance with the French and certain of the Italian States against the Emperor; and every step was vigilantly watched and freely canvassed in the Senate, to which the representatives of the Signory at the courts and in the field, at an always pernicious and sometimes fatal sacrifice of time, referred for instructions. We have probably before us the most complex and embarrassing juncture which had yet been experienced in Venetian affairs—a tension more prolonged, a greater outlay, a wider area of operations, more frequent changes of sides, than in the League against the Republic some years previously, and an absence of the apology and consolation, that it was a struggle for existence. The financial resources and the diplomatic tact of the Republic were strained to the utmost to make up the shortcomings of the armaments in a struggle almost exclusively military, and conducted under the leadership of a general solely recommended by his papal sympathies and ties. The deliberations of the Senate during this crisis were often stormy; and speakers, who differed from the Executive, delivered their sentiments with freedom and acrimony. In a debate, which ensued in January 1525, before the battle of Pavia, there was a conflict of opinion consequent on the receipt from Charles of an expostulatory communication, in which he reproached the Signory with not actively supporting the Duke of Milan and helping him (the Emperor) to exclude the French from Italy. A senator even charged four members of the College with carrying all the rest with them, to the destruction of the State. He told his hearers that they were between the anvil and the hammer, and that they were by their bad

¹ Romanin, v. 555.

management alienating their friend and confederate Cæsar. He repeated a conversation which had taken place between their orator at Rome and his Holiness, where the latter intimated a similar view. But, as we have seen, the arguments for abandoning the French connection did not prove persuasive; and the Republic doubtless gravely erred, if it was to join any foreign Power in establishing itself in Italy, in not preferring the Emperor, whose dominions were more extensive and scattered, and who was less apt to exercise vexatious interference.

We are here witnesses to a struggle with professedly military States, of which the chief burden practically fell on a State which was professedly not military. Apart from Venice, which had important interests outside the peninsula and Western Europe to consider and protect, the Italian States represented an aggregation of incoherent units without centralising force, and always susceptible of being used one against the other. The duplicity and courtly artificiality of the Italians, the product of local conditions, were sufficient, in essaying to help a particular Power to surmount an immediate difficulty, to demoralise and ruin the whole group. Even when the monstrous abominations accompanying the fall of Rome in 1527 awakened the wrath and disgust of Europe, and prompted such a lukewarm Catholic as Henry VIII. to proffer his assistance to the Holy See, the pusillanimity of Clement VII. prevented the rally round him of the other Italian communities to drive the German, Spanish, and French out of Italy; and the Venetians, with an army within a short distance of Rome, were obliged, by the want of succour and the misfortune of having committed their troops to the weak hands of the Duke of Urbino, to relinquish the project seriously and honestly entertained of occupying the Eternal City on behalf of his Holiness.

Under the terms of the treaty signed at Cognac in 1526 the Republic engaged to supply a third of the estimated force by land and sea judged sufficient to expel Charles from northern Italy and from Naples. The whole consisted of 2500 men-at-arms, 3000 light horse, 30,000 infantry, and a fleet of thirty-four galleys for the conduct of naval operations on the coast of Apulia. The land troops were placed under the command-in-chief of a new captain-general, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. As on so many anterior occasions the choice proved unfortunate. The Duke was injudicious and irresolute;

he made himself master of Lodi; the pontifical contingent advanced toward Piacenza; and the united flotilla of the Holy See, France, and Venice forming a junction, blockaded Genoa. But the Duke lost the opportunity of taking the citadel of Milan by assault, and liberating Sforza from a state of siege. Fresh German reinforcements poured into Italy, and threatened both Tuscany and the Papal States. They reached Arezzo on the 20th April, and on the 5th May were before Rome. No steps had been taken to repair and strengthen the fortifications; on the 6th, at daybreak, the Constable de Bourbon planted the first ladder, and the city was given up to pillage and bloodshed. Clement took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. The Constable was among the slain, and Benvenuto Cellini, who was an eye-witness of the indescribable horrors and cruelties, and who speaks of the scene as beheld from the top of St. Angelo as something frightful, tells us that he and two friends contributed to give him his death-blow.

Meanwhile, the Allies were following the imperial army with great circumspection, and when the peremptory orders of the Council of Ten reached the Generalissimo, to hasten forward to the relief of his Holiness and the city, they found him some days' march from Rome. Even then he hesitated to move, and the pontiff was obliged to sign a capitulation, subject to the approval of the Emperor, agreeing to pay 400,000 ducats, to surrender himself a prisoner either at Gaeta or Naples, to cede Piacenza, Parma and Modena, and to receive imperial garrisons at St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita - Castellana, and Civita - Vecchia. These onerous and humiliating conditions were proposed or accepted in a reckless spirit of concession at any cost; but they did not bind any one but his Holiness.

The utmost abhorrence and indignation were manifested against Charles on the receipt of the intelligence from Rome, nor was the resentment allayed by the order of his Majesty to offer public prayers for the deliverance of the pontiff from his danger and affliction. There was no attempt to arrest the movements of the troops, and the Signory made the most strenuous efforts to save farther excesses and to relieve Clement. The Venetian troops pushed forward within a short distance from the capital, and might have accomplished beneficial results, if there could have been an arrival at unanimity on the line of operations, or if the Signory had not been so unfortunate in their general and in their

impecunious and dilatory French allies. At the same time, some of the places ceded by Clement, instead of falling into the hands of the imperial troops still quartered at Rome, where malaria was decimating their ranks, had been recovered by Venice or Ferrara, the former assuming possession of Ravenna and Cervia to take care of them for the Pope; and at Florence the popular party, stimulated by the fall of Clement VII., a member of that family, expelled the Medici and proclaimed a Republic (May 15, 1527). The temporary inaction of the imperial army facilitated communications between Venice and Milan and the arrangement of financial aid in recruiting the forces of the Duke.

The ill-founded and audacious claims of foreign rulers to the sovereignty of parts of the peninsula were thus producing results subversive of welfare and security, and incompatible with the progress of healthy national life; and Venice, although it was no longer the direct object of aggression, found itself drawn into the war without the means of foretelling, even by the employment of the best machinery for acquiring early intelligence of movements and changes, the ultimate issue of a struggle, where the ability to collect and mobilise military forces was on the side of the Emperor, and the French connection seemed to be of uncertain and equivocal value from the inexperience of successive rulers and their want of money. The deplorable situation of Rome, however, continued to inspire a powerful interest, and France induced Henry VIII. to subsidise a fresh movement, in concert with Venice and Florence, for the protection of the Holy See from sacrilegious despoilers. The Emperor or his lieutenant, the renegade Duc de Bourbon, had introduced the religious element into the question. There was a cry of the Catholic Church having been insulted and polluted by barbarians. A pontiff who had shown himself wholly unworthy of sympathy, as well as of the illustrious name which he bore, became an object of general respect only when he became the victim of brutal oppression.

The unflinching courage and perseverance of the Republic continued to warrant and explain the desire of Charles to gain it as an ally. But unfortunately the vigour and liberality of the Executive at home and the address of diplomatists were poorly seconded by the army; and the expenditure was very heavy, with the certain prospect, in case of any accommodation with the enemy, of a large pecuniary call. The French and Venetian troops took Lodi and Pavia, at which latter place the proveditor

of the Republic was instrumental in rescuing from violence the monasteries and churches, the women and children, as the French, he says in his Report of 19th September 1528, had no regard for anybody or anything. There was a thought of once more endeavouring to liberate Milan and reinstate the Duke; but it was thought by the Generalissimo, with his habitual timidity and half-heartedness, to be unfeasible; and, again, the Republic contemplated an approximation to Florence and the abandonment of Lombardy as a hopeless enterprise.

The Tuscans, as they had done a hundred years before, when they were attacked by Milan, then at the height of its power under Filippo Maria Visconti, accused Venice, itself so secure in its position, of forgetting and forsaking them, now that this new great danger impended; and they begged the Republic to consider that, if the Emperor became master of Florence, its position would not be a very safe one. The Republic advised the Florentines to be prepared to defend themselves, and promised to help them if it became necessary, which put them in better heart. But the hands of the Signory were rather full. It was solicited by France to provide troops and money to assist it in vindicating its Italian claims against Charles. The Emperor invited it to do the same for him in maintaining his ground against the French. Florence and Milan sought protection and succour against both the intruders; while the resources of the common object of appeal were growing inadequate even for the simultaneous safeguard of its own interests in Lombardy and the Levant. There is therefore no cause to wonder that the ablest men at the command of the Venetian Government were just now unceasingly occupied in Europe and Asia in endeavouring to neutralise or weaken these political combinations, the gravest feature of which was the frequent and arbitrary changes of relationships.

So passed the winter and spring (1528-29), the troops continually wanting and receiving their pay, for which the new currency of gold *scudi*, now struck for the first time, and of a somewhat lower standard than the old ducat, was made to serve. There were indications that diplomacy was going to have its turn; both sides were sensible of the drain on their finances; and it soon appeared that secret negotiations were proceeding at Cambrai under the auspices of the Queen-Regent Louise and the aunt of the Emperor, Margaret of Austria, for the conclusion of peace between France and Charles V. These ladies sent their

representative, the Bishop of Tarbes, to notify the circumstances and the conditions on which the Republic might become a party (29th July 1529). Charles had already (29th June) come to a settlement with the Holy See on a basis which made Francis additionally desirous of a reconciliation at any cost, and which left Venice to enter on the cession of the Apulian ports to Charles, and Cervia and Ravenna to Clement, and the payment of an indemnity. This pacification, however, had its favourable aspects in the eyes of Venice, inasmuch as it restored the Medici at Florence in the person of Alessandro, natural son of Lorenzo, and (by secret clauses) assigned a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues to the conduct of operations against Turkey.

The Signory declined the propositions submitted by the lady-plenipotentiaries at Cambrai, and tried to obtain a modification; but while they were parleying, the articles were signed on the 5th August, and the Republic was left outside. This was of no substantial consequence, especially as in the treaty of Barcelona in June with the Holy See Charles had indicated with tolerable clearness the lines to which he expected Venice to agree. The usual power was reserved, however, to the Republic, Florence, and Ferrara, to adhere within four months. This provisional conclusion of Italian troubles, which the French by a loyal union with Venice might have rendered at once more favourable and more lasting, and which should have taught the Republic at an earlier stage the inexpediency of the alliance, was succeeded by the Peace of Bologna on 23rd December 1529, by which the Signory retained the frontier of the Adda, made restitution to the Pope of Cervia and Ravenna on certain conditions, and of the Apulian and Neapolitan possessions or claims to the Emperor, and engaged to pay the balance of the 200,000 ducats stipulated under the treaty of Worms (1523) by instalments. An independent treaty followed between the Emperor, the Republic, the King of Hungary, and the Duke of Milan, to which the republics of Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, the Duke of Savoy, the Marquises of Monteferrato and Mantua, and, again, the Duke of Milan were made parties.

The restoration of Sforza, if not that of the Medici, was largely due to the peremptory insistence of the Signory, which treated Milanese independence as a *sine qua non*; and it also appears that the sovereignty of the Gulf was tacitly recognised. It was described as a title which "our Republic had won with the blood

and money of our forefathers." A good deal of difficulty had been experienced in bringing over Clement VII., when his immediate danger was removed, to the conditional cession of the ecclesiastical dominion held by Venice. The interview between his Holiness and the ambassador of the Signory (Gasparo Contarini), prior to the ratification of the treaty of Bologna, is very characteristic. When Contarini opened the conference by speaking of Ravenna, Clement said: "This is not a good beginning toward peace. The Signory took these cities when I was under treaty with them, and was prisoner in Castle St. Angelo; and there was a promise to restore them, as soon as I was out of the hands of my enemies. Now they refuse to surrender the lands of the Church." Contarini pleaded in vain that his country had in fact owned Ravenna a long time, and adduced as a parallel case the desire of the Medici to regain Florence, because it had belonged to their ancestors. He admitted that the troops had taken possession of these places to save them from falling into the hands of others; but, he added, this plea was advanced without the authority of the Senate. *The Pope*: "How many years have you had Ravenna and Cervia?" *Contarini*: "Perhaps a hundred or rather less." *Pope*: "From whom and where did you get them?" *Contarini*: "From the Polenta." *Pope*: "The Polenta? Whence did they get them? Did they not owe them to the Apostolic See?" *Contarini*: "Beatissimo padre, if the property of States was to be traced back to its beginning, no one would find himself truly entitled to what he has." *Pope*: "Come now, my lord orator, this is not the way to make peace. You may rest assured that it is our intention to recover Ravenna and Cervia for the Church." Contarini smiled, and said he should not like to take back to his Government such an unkind message; and he was eventually dismissed, he tells us, "con parole amorevoli."

In the negotiations, first with the ministers of the Emperor and finally with Charles himself, Contarini met with considerable opposition on some points, especially in regard to the reinstatement of Sforza and the admittance of the Duke of Urbino as a contracting party. Charles allowed that the Venetians were quite justified in consulting their own interests first of all, and next, said he, "you have ever loved the person of the Emperor." Referring to the Duke of Milan, he wanted to know why they could not be satisfied with having an Italian friendly to them in

that State?¹ He proceeded—"I do not seek a foot of land in Italy save such as belongs to me, and I wish all the world to know that I have no desire to establish a monarchy, as some try to defame me by reporting; but perhaps there are others [this was a thrust at Venice] who do aspire to such a thing." Then he reverted to Milan, and expressed the opinion that Alessandro de' Medici would be a better man than Francesco Sforza for that position. Contarini ventured to combat this view, and declared his confidence that such a change would not be conducive to the tranquillity which his Majesty had so much at heart. Charles was eventually persuaded to grant a safe-conduct for Sforza to come and see him. He received him well, and proceeded to consider the question farther. These episodes speak for themselves.

A few points in the course of these rather intricate and mysterious transactions during the momentous years 1523-29 command attention. The value of the independence of Milan has obtained recognition by both sides as a factor in preserving the balance of power; and on the other hand the marquis of Pescara, imperial commander in the battle of Pavia, who contracted a peculiar antipathy to Venice, openly declared that he should wish to devise means of diverting the water from the lagoons, and reaching the city on causeways. It was a threat which had never yet been made, nor was the experiment tried; but that it was far from being an impossibility with improved mechanical powers, cannot be doubted. The sentiments of the Marquis might be so far interpreted as a compliment to the Republic, since they seem to reflect an opinion on the part of Charles and his advisers or instruments, that the presence of the Venetians formed the most serious obstacle to the new imperial policy—an obstacle which the Emperor finally met by a liberal compromise. How far the contributions stipulated at Worms in 1523, and at Barcelona and Bologna in 1529, were actually paid, is uncertain. But whatever the terms might be, they were less severe than those with which the French regency had to comply, mainly through the inability or unwillingness of France to uphold the Venetian alliance with sincerity and energy. The part played by Henry VIII. was never a prominent one, nor did the King lend himself to the cause so energetically

¹ "Perchè non si contenterebbero i Veneziani che in quello Stato vi posse un Italiano loro amico e non mio fratello?"—Romanin, v. 468.

and usefully as he had done in befriending Venice in its extremity during 1509. The latter, Florence, and Milan, even without external co-operation, were strong enough together, through their local advantages, to resist the Emperor and the most Christian king; but they were all jealous and distrustful of each other; and all were injured, if not ruined, by the constitutional and moral deficiency which, in spite of splendid personal and intellectual gifts, was in the end to reduce Italy to a political cypher.

CHAPTER XXXV

A.D. 1521-1573

Death of Leonardo Loredano (1521)—Interregnum—Splendid funeral of Loredano—Cereemonious inauguration of his successor—Brief reign of the latter—Unsuccessful popular movement in favour of Antonio Trono—Andrea Gritti, Doge (1523-38)—Turkey and Egypt—Reception of the Venetian envoy by the Sultan of Egypt at Cairo—Absorption of Egypt by the Porte—The Porte and the Signory—Aggrandisement of the Turks—Venetian political difficulties increase—Italian and Eastern affairs—Germany still occupied by Religious Wars—Domestic troubles at Venice—Plague and Famine—Convalescent Homes—Popular discontent—Threatening notices attached to public and private buildings—Death of Gritti (1538)—Some account of him and his private life—His servant Marta—His scheme of Architectural Improvement—Invasion of France by England and Germany (1544)—Council of Trent—Protestantism and Elizabeth of England—Apprehended rupture with Turkey—Explosion of the Venetian Powder-Magazine at the Arsenal (1569)—Loss of Cyprus (1570)—Battle of Lepanto (1571)—Rejoicings at Venice—Peace with Turkey (1573).

THROUGHOUT these years of trial and change the Doge Leonardo Loredano had remained at the head of affairs, and had acquitted himself of his functions to the general satisfaction and approval. Arrived at his eighty-fourth year, the Doge had lived to see his country pass, without such severe sacrifices as might have been anticipated, through the worst crisis in its entire history, and he had seen this result accomplished by the errors of its enemies, the sympathy of its subjects, and its own alternate action and inactivity, always seconded by its situation. There had scarcely been a blow exchanged on the water; to its commanders in the field it owed little; but the Council of Ten is probably entitled to the honour of having most largely contributed to extricate the Republic from the formidable combination against it with the least possible surrender of dignity and dominion. The death of the Doge occurred between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd June 1521, and the obsequies were celebrated with unparalleled magnificence. A full description is left to us by the

diarist Sanudo, who was probably present; and it sheds light on certain aspects of contemporary life and feeling.

The Signory was summoned to assemble, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the bells of Saint Mark's gave out nine peals, followed by all the other churches. The signet-ring of the departed was removed from his finger, and broken, agreeably to usage; the senior privy-councillor, Battista Erizzo, was nominated Vice-Doge; a seal cast in wax with his family arms was delivered to him for temporary use; and, with the rest of the Privy Council and the Chiefs of the Forty, he installed himself at the palace during the interregnum. A detachment of marines from the Arsenal having arrived, sentinels were stationed at all the entrances, and letters were dispatched to the representatives and governors of the *terra firma* and colonies, apprising them of the occurrence. The embalmed remains of Loredano lay in state in the Sala del Piovego, guarded by two-and-twenty gentlemen in scarlet, indicative of the death of the Doge, not of the Signory.

The members of the Great Council assembled, and were soon joined by the Vice-Doge and other high officials, and by several of the diplomatic corps, while in the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo the relatives and friends of the family were gathering to accompany the two sons of his Serenity to the palace. The procession ascended the wooden stairs, and on reaching the door of the Hall of Pregadi, the eldest son, Lorenzo Loredano, his head draped in black, took his place by the side of the patriarch and the Vice-Doge; and all proceeded to the Piovego to hear the Vigil of the Dead. There they found deposited on a bier the coffin covered with a splendid pall, the ducal berretta laid on a cushion, the spurs at the feet, and the gilt sword on the left hand. Round the bier were burning lights, and eight-and-twenty patricians in violet sat on benches close by. On the conclusion of the service the procession began to move toward the cathedral, preceded by all the schools and religious fraternities, bearing banners and lights, including the Scuola della Misericordia, to which the Doge himself belonged, and which came last in order, and bore staffs with the arms of Loredano; next marched representatives of the municipal government and fifty seamen, each carrying a flaming torch; then came the bier, carried by mariners beneath the umbrella of the Misericordia, supported by silver batons; and a large number of patricians, doctors, and others, both officials and private persons, brought up the rear.

offices of the State, and had acquitted himself honourably and successfully of his functions, till, in 1499, he met with a reverse at sea, and was imprisoned. He escaped from confinement, rendered signal services to his country in the Cambrai crisis, was forgiven and recalled, and became a procurator of Saint Mark. At present he was eighty-seven. Of two sons, one was the Cardinal Domenigo, an eminent book-collector and owner of the Grimani Breviary. A nephew was Patriarch of Aquileia; and the family was altogether in the front rank.

But the patriarchal age of Grimani afforded slight expectation of his long enjoyment of the Dogeship. He in fact held the office scarcely two years, dying on the 7th May 1523. He is said by Sanudo to have lost some of his popularity by reason of his advanced years and the disadvantages attendant on natural infirmities. He had desired to resign; but his sons dissuaded him, because the step was inimical to their interests, and they tried, after his decease, to obtain pensions of 2000 ducats each and a funeral for their father at the public expense. The above-mentioned authority introduces, *apropos* of their pecuniary keenness, his favourite elegiac formula: *E cossi va le nostre cosse*. The popular candidate was Antonio Tron or Trono, probably a grandson of the former Doge of the same name, and a son of the nobleman who was a competitor for the office in 1501. But on the 20th of the month, Andrea Gritti, who had distinguished himself as proveditor-general of the forces in the war of Cambrai, was elected to fill the vacancy. He endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the majority by the distribution of largesse, and by directing the sale to the poor of a large stock of flour at the lowest possible price; yet there was a cry of *Um! Um! Trum! Trum!* among the throng, which assembled to witness the inaugurative ceremony. Gritti, however, tried to conquer those prejudices, and to win general esteem. He was a man who had enjoyed opportunities of gaining varied experience, and who had a strong relish for life and its pleasures.

During several years subsequent to the treaty with Turkey in 1503, there had been no disturbance of amicable relations between Venice and the Porte. Solyman the Magnificent had ascended the throne in 1520, and his foreign policy, while it threatened to be more aggressive and acquisitive than that of his predecessor Bajazet, did not immediately affect the Republic, until the Sultan made himself master of Rhodes in 1522. The

Signory meanwhile, watching the course of events, continued to maintain their advantageous commercial relations with Egypt; and the treaty of 1504 was renewed in 1512. The Venetian ambassador has left an interesting account, written by his son, of his journey from Alexandria to Cairo by road and river with his retinue, and of their reception by the Sultan. The latter assigned to his visitors a house adjoining his own, with a floor of variegated marbles, like those, the narrator says, at Saint Mark's, only superior. The splendour and wealth everywhere manifest powerfully impressed even the Venetians, accustomed to the lavish display of courts, and to luxury and magnificence at home. We are told how Trevisano, complying with Oriental usage, doffed his velvet bonnet on entering the presence, and performed lowly obeisance, and how he took from a breast-pocket his credentials written in letters of gold secured with a gold seal, and kissing them, and raising them above his head, handed them to the turcoman, who delivered them to his sovereign. The latter asked for a penknife, and cut open the letter, which was read to him; he then gave the seal to the turcoman, and the ambassador spoke a few sentences of congratulation and compliment in the name of the Signory. The Sultan rejoined by demanding news of the health of the Doge and the Government, and of the sort of journey which Trevisano and his party had had. The diplomatist assured his Highness that it could not but be well with him, since God had conferred on him the supreme happiness of beholding his Highness's countenance, which was to those of the other lords of the earth as the sun is to the stars. When these words were interpreted to him, the Sultan waved his hand graciously; and, the public audience concluded, Trevisano retired. The private and practical interview took place in a garden resembling, it is related, an earthly paradise, with its fountains, singing birds, and other delights. But the scene between Trevisano and the Sultan was less agreeable. For his Highness, harassed by increasing political difficulties, and by nature of a choleric temper, complained with great vehemence of certain proceedings on the part of the Venetian consul at Damascus, Pietro Zeno, unfriendly to him and detrimental to his power. Trevisano had to palliate the behaviour of his countryman as best he could, and even ascribe it to ignorance, while he emphasized the sincere affection of the Signory for his Highness. He undertook to conduct Zeno back, and cause an investigation into

his transactions to be made. His Highness insisted that he should see his head cut off, or that he should die in prison, or at least be banished for life; but Trevisano explained that it would be necessary to look into the case. The Sultan, at first in a paroxysm of fury, was gradually tranquillised; but he kept Trevisano on his feet, cap in hand, three hours, and he had to assent to receive a chain, which he himself was to put round the neck of Zeno, and so take him home. At two later interviews the envoy succeeded in mollifying the eastern potentate, who dismissed him with a complimentary speech. "Thou art," he told him through an interpreter, "a messenger of truth and a most wise man; thou art one of those who govern the State; see that thy Signory ever remains of this good mind toward me, and God will give it every prosperity and every blessing: otherwise he will avenge me." There was a final conference with the ministers; a treaty was arranged on a satisfactory basis; and Trevisano returned home, accompanied by Zeno.

Egypt was, shortly after this remarkable episode, absorbed by the Turks, and the Republic directed its efforts to the maintenance, in the face of such engrossing affairs in the peninsula, of pacific relations with the Power which seemed to be gradually reducing the whole of Eastern Europe to its irresistible and paralysing arms. It is characteristic of subtle Italian methods that when in 1521 an envoy was sent to Constantinople to felicitate Solyman on his accession, and solicit new guarantees, and it was found, on arrival at the Porte, that the Sultan was at the head of his troops in Hungary, instructions were forwarded to his Excellency, Marco Minio, to plead indisposition and temporise in every possible way, till the result of the operations was known. The loss of the special privileges long enjoyed in Egyptian ports, followed by the fall of Rhodes, were not merely serious blows to the welfare and prestige of Venice, but presented the aspect of portents of greater calamities to come. The Turks offered to consideration in modern history the earliest instance in which military and naval preponderance seemed likely to be combined; and although the Republic would not have shrunk from meeting the forces of the Sultan on that element which was so peculiarly its own, the simultaneous resistance on land, while military operations throughout Italy were demanding such constant attention and such vast outlay, was a perplexing problem even for the Venetians labouring

under the chronic drawback of a feeble economic system. The recent geographical discoveries and the unsuccessful efforts of the Government to counteract them by enlisting the services of Sebastian Cabot, and other expedients, which similarly failed, tended to demonstrate that the course and bias of events all over the world were adverse to the system under which Venice had risen and prospered. There must have been—there were—many statesmen who discerned the drift of their beloved country downward, and felt an uncertainty how long after their time it would keep its independence.

Yet during the next few years, by an Italian policy as nearly approaching neutrality as possible, the Signory was able to hold the Sultan in check, and even to obtain some substantial advantages at sea without the assistance of the Imperial squadron, nominally acting in friendly concert, but of no practical service. The French, not satisfied with their disloyalty to Venice in Italy, had entered on a new method of displaying their political obliquity and fatuity, and had formed an alliance with the Porte, which was tantamount to a declaration of war against their best ally in their Italian schemes; and this suicidal step really gave the death-blow to the influence and prospects of France in the peninsula, for Venice at last discerned the hollowness of the connection, and went over to Charles, in honour of whose coronation it sent to Bologna a splendid embassy and sumptuous presents. If the friendship of the Emperor was of slight substantial value, his friendly neutrality was worth much.

The aggrandisement of the Porte was everywhere manifest in the overbearing insolence of the Sultan and his ministers, and the necessity, which Hungary, Austria, and Transylvania, no less than Venice, experienced of adopting toward the master of Constantinople an attitude more or less deferential. The Republic itself just now profited by the influence at court of Luigi Gritti, a natural son of the Doge by a Greek lady; he had been employed in a diplomatic capacity at Constantinople, and was directly instrumental in shielding both the Hungarians and Austrians from a worse fate than would have awaited them; for the Grand Vizier explicitly told the emissary of the Waiwode of Transylvania, that had it not been for the good offices of the Doge and his son, both States would have been swallowed up, but, at the instance of the Venetians, his sovereign had stayed his hand. This goodwill continued more or less down to 1529,

when, on his return from the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the Sultan, to dissipate the ill-humour of his soldiers and his own, prepared to celebrate with extraordinary pomp the circumcision of his two sons, and invited to the solemnity the Doge himself, who sent in due course a representative loaded with gifts, and in the meantime congratulated Solyman on his victories in the field, and thanked the Grand Vizier for his condescending goodness.

To hold the balance between the conflicting forces in Italy, and between East and West, formed no light task; and the Republic found that diplomacy alone was inadequate to the necessities of its arduous position. From 1529 to 1540 there was a series of hostilities, in which the Turks gained no decisive advantages, and the Venetian fleet behaved with all its old intrepidity. But the expenditure was ruinous without any result, and at length Luigi Badoer was commissioned to negotiate a peace on the conditions dictated by the Sultan, except that he was to avoid, if possible, the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia. This alternative reservation was of course to be kept strictly secret; but it was divulged by certain members of the Government to the Bishop of Montpellier, French ambassador at Venice, who communicated it to the Porte; and the Turkish terms were reluctantly accepted. They safeguarded life and property, and afforded mutual pledges and guarantees, so far as such engagements were worth anything; and they comprised a payment to the Porte by instalments of 300,000 ducats as satisfaction for damages real or alleged. The other Western Powers, the Germany of Charles V. inclusive, were immersed in their own internal troubles and commotions, political and religious, and were unable or unwilling to lend any solid assistance to Venice in stemming the torrent of Turkish conquest, which some, again, considered to affect in principal measure the Venetians themselves; the Signory in vain recommended the Emperor to refrain from involving himself in the polemical discussions and schisms of the Fatherland, while he was enabling the Sultan to demolish all obstacles between the Turkish and German frontiers, and was preparing the way for his own downfall; the Holy See and the Italian States turned a deaf ear to appeals for succour; and we must not blame the Republic if it not only concluded the Turkish war on such a basis as it could arrange, but if it perceived with complacency the triumph of the Crescent, where no direct loss accrued to itself.

Domestic affairs during the administration of Andrea Gritti

might have been said to preserve a tolerably even tenor, had it not happened that in 1527 and 1529 Venice was visited by plague and famine, in spite of all the sanitary precautions adopted to meet the constant danger in regard to the former of infection from the East. The distress among the poor seems to have prevailed in May, for the Doge, paying his yearly visit to one of the churches, was met by groups of men, women, and children crying, *Abundantia! abundantia!* and some died of hunger and cold under the very portico of the palace. The Fair of the Sensa had been suspended; but the richer people held masquerades and balls in their houses, while so many were starving in the streets. Want of food and shelter assisted in bringing a pestilence, which swept away nearly 4000 persons out of an estimated population of less than 200,000, although every exertion was used to provide for the sick and convalescent, and to check the spread of infection. Funds were raised to supply necessities to the inmates of the houses set apart for those who recovered—about 1000. The churches were closed, and service was celebrated in the street amid the bustle of affairs, and even by torchlight. Every one was directed to give immediate notice of cases, that the dwellings might be isolated, and the patients might be removed to the lazaretto. The Board of Health woke from a lethargy, and began to look into the state of the thoroughfares and poorer dwellings, and the sale of unwholesome provisions. These facts and revelations shew the distance at all times between institutions on paper and in practice. It was the case of a city ostensibly in advance of its contemporaries in hygienic principles, yet at the same time necessarily so to a great extent from its perpetual liability to contact with Oriental life; and now in the sixteenth century the plague evidently finds it unprepared, and the masses exposed to its grip by the neglect of the authorities, the dearth of necessities, and the malaria proceeding from fetid dwellings and filthy kennels. Two years later the lesson was so imperfectly learned, perhaps in the presence of foreign distractions, that we hear from Sanudo of a return of the scarcity with even graver symptoms, for threatening notices were placed on the walls of mansions and of the palace itself—an incident most unusual, if not unprecedented, at Venice. It consequently appears that it was not only in the fiscal system that the constitution failed, but in so ordinary and essential a point as the regular supply to the city of common victuals adequate to the support of the main

body of the people. Whenever a crisis arrived the Government and benevolent individuals came forward and met it; and then affairs relapsed into their former condition. The theory and the sentiment were there; but the official machinery was, after all, an Italian one, and an Italian one, moreover, not far removed from the mediæval type. These periodical experiences betray faulty methods of agricultural production, accompanied by an imperfect distributing agency.

The Doge Gritti left behind him, when he died on the 17th December 1538, many striking and varied personal recollections. He was an old public servant, a man of the most charming and affable address unless he was put out of humour, a generous friend to the poor, whom he regularly relieved from his own purse once a week, and a lover of good living and magnificent display. In his relations with the members of the Government he was self-opinionated and imperious; he disregarded the constitutional restraints placed on his authority; and when the privy councillors were not present, or had not arrived, he at critical junctures opened dispatches without waiting for them, and had his views ready. He was a great eater, and rather too fond of articles of diet, including garlic and onions, which did not, as his family told him, suit his advanced years. But he paid no heed to any one except an old female servant, named Marta, whom he suffered to take away any dish which she thought that her master ought not to taste, when he was supping in his own apartments. He lived, however, to be eighty-four, and to preserve to the last traces of that handsome and graceful figure which had once recommended him to the fair sex and gained general admiration, notwithstanding his inattention to his health and his voluptuousness of temperament; and, judged by the testimonies of his contemporaries, he was a personage of undoubted eminence and patriotism. In the funeral discourse upon the Doge, the orator held up his example to the Venetian youth; and while we listen to anecdotes of his amours and gourmandise, we must not forget his highly valuable services to his country. He spent so freely on objects of public utility that he impoverished his estate, and his last thought and project were the amplification and embellishment of the ducal palace by acquiring all the land and property between the Rio di Palazzo and the Calle dei Rasse, a portion of which he proposed to lay out as an ornamental garden; and he was actually in treaty with the owners, possibly without

consulting his ministers, when death overtook him. His portrait in the Sala de' Pregadi justifies the assurance which has reached us, that he was the handsomest man of his day; but it stands alone in representing two remarkable incidents in the career of the Doge—his imprisonment at Constantinople and in France, on both of which occasions he was intrusted with important diplomatic duties by his country. On one side of the painting are fetters and the crescent, and on the other fleurs-de-lis and gyves. His was a reputation which could afford to treat those passages of a prolonged, honourable, and illustrious life as historical landmarks.

Here comes to the surface once again an illustration of the irrepressible force of individual character, more particularly in the case of one who carried considerable military experience to the throne, and whose very frailties had proved of such signal service in the management of the Turkish business. His successor, Pietro Lando, a distinguished naval commander and a nobleman of cultivated understanding, who as podesta of Padua had conferred great benefits on that university, was not elected till the 19th January 1539. The intervening month was probably occupied in deliberating on the question of precluding a repetition of the arbitrary proceedings of the last reign, and with the almost habitual result; and in fact the choice of Lando was hardly that of the Forty-one, for the majority of suffrages were in favour of Francesco Donato, who gave way to him. One of the natural sons of Gritti by the Greek lady was still employed at Constantinople in collecting information and turning to account his maternal influence.

During the next few years the Republic is not found actively interfering in Italian or European affairs. Its Government at home and representatives abroad are carefully watching the progress of courts and the continual changes of scene; the friendly approach of Francis I. and Charles V., and the visit of the latter to his brother at Paris; the renewal of the war between Turkey and Hungary, its duration for seven years, and the consequent political embarrassments of Austria; the estrangement of France and Germany over the old Milanese question; friction between France and Spain by reason of the tragical death of the French envoy on his way to Constantinople under circumstances pointing to Spanish instigation; independent amicable overtures by France and Germany to Venice; the deplorable expedition of Charles V. to

Algiers in 1541; the alliance between France and the Porte; and the invasion of France by Germany and England in 1544. The Venetians used the most strenuous efforts to observe neutrality in the face of these transactions, by which other Powers seemed to be exhausting their strength, and impairing their reputation. A representative of the Signory on board one of the vessels, which conveyed the forces of Charles to Barbary, wrote to his Government (10th Nov. 1541), giving an account of the defeat and imprudence of the Emperor, of the disembarkation of the troops without provisions and artillery, and of the disgraceful and signal retreat from Algiers. The losses of the Germans in men, ships, and material must have been enormous. The step appears to have been a mere piece of foolhardihood or infatuation.

An episode, which owed much of its importance to its indirect bearing on the sovereignty of the Gulf, was the proposal by an Udinese, Beltrame Sachia, to recover, nominally for himself, but really for the Republic, Marano on the Adriatic, a small place, which had been acquired in 1420, and subsequently ceded to the empire. Sachia made himself master of the position; but the Signory did not find it convenient at the moment to unmask themselves, and their agent eventually surrendered his acquisition to one of the King of France. Hereupon the Imperialists invested Marano by sea and land; the French directed attention to the infringement of Venetian rights in the presence of a foreign flotilla in those waters; the Republic called upon the German commander to withdraw his force; and 2000 French were shipped in Venetian bottoms to defend the town.¹ The Emperor himself began to appreciate the insignificance of the point involved, and consented to waive his pretensions on payment of 35,000 ducats, subsequently increased by 75,000, payable under the treaty of Bologna on the restitution of the Friulan territory. Pecuniary settlements proceeded in these excellent days at a very leisurely pace; and it is perfectly possible that the whole of that sum never reached its destination. That treaty was fourteen years old.

The simultaneous invasion of France by England and Germany in 1544 was principally distinguished by the ruthless plunder of the country by the troops of Charles on their line of March through Lorraine, spreading the same horror and detesta-

¹ On the 31st October 1542 the French Government was informed that certain galleys sent by its order from Naples to the relief of Marano had been stopped by the direction of the Venetian Senate.

tion of the Emperor and his methods as his instruments had already done in Italy. The Republic might have viewed these internecine and improvident wars with complacency, had it not been that they disabled the two western Powers from assisting to keep the Porte in check; and Venetian diplomacy was set at work to procure the peace of Crépy (1544), of which the most ominous feature was the stipulation that Milan should be a marriage-portion in a contingent alliance between the houses of Germany and France. The event, however, was regarded with some inquietude at Constantinople, since it left the imperial army disposable for service on the Hungarian frontier. But the Imperialists themselves, continually harassed by the internal divisions of the Fatherland, took the initiative in approaching the Sultan, and after protracted negotiation concluded a truce for five years, in 1547, on payment by Francis and Charles of 30,000 ducats a year to the Porte. The Venetians had been solicitous of becoming parties to the arrangement, when it was in its incipient stage, and instructed their resident at Constantinople accordingly, feeling that if France and Germany were at peace with each other, they might operate in some direction against the Republic; and the Venetian representative was advised to use his influence with Vizier Rustem to exclude, at all events, any clauses calculated to disturb Italian tranquillity, or to augment the imperial power.

While the soldier was becoming the curse of the Continent on land, and the corsair in the pay of various nationalities and states—the Holy See not excepted—was the scourge of commerce, notwithstanding all the efforts of Venice during centuries to extinguish the evil, religion was kindling in Germany passions more destructive to happiness and life than either, and the Emperor and his relatives were beginning to find that in the new opinions on matters of faith and doctrine they were face to face with an enemy, which was proof against the sword and the cannon. The intrusion of a Mohammedan empire on European soil might be, and was, a grave disturbing influence; yet that was to make a less durable impression on the western world than the revolt from Romanism, which was just at present perplexing the Spanish dynasty in Germany more than all its other cares.

The severity of the religious crisis, which soon spread beyond the German borders, and the odium in which the Protestant name was held by all true Catholics, even in Italy, rendered the

Venetian ecclesiastical policy still more obnoxious than it had been before. The pontifical scheme for holding a council at Vicenza in the territories of the Republic was opposed on the ground that the Porte might misconstrue the step; the meeting was transferred to Trent, where it required nearly twenty years to come to any definite conclusions; and a second incident occurred which made the resolute purpose of Venice to hold her own course in Church affairs additionally clear. The Protestants refused to send their delegates to Trent, and adhered to the League of Schmalkalden, which was under Saxon protection, and even struck its own coins; Charles V. and the Holy See collected troops to enforce their submission, and the Republic was invited to co-operate. It returned a negative answer on stated grounds, and when the other side made advances in their turn, they were met in a similar manner. The religious indulgence of Venice had been somewhat over-estimated, when the Lutherans preferred such an application. A visit was paid to the city in October 1546 by an Englishman named Balthazar Archer,¹ who brought letters for the Senate, and demanded leave to stay as Resident on behalf of his own country. It appeared, on his dispatches being read, that he was a Lutheran acting for the League, and that he came to obtain assistance and money for the Protestants. There were naturally various opinions. Some did not think that it was becoming to allow a Lutheran to serve in a public capacity at Venice, "*citta religiosissima*," where he might, moreover, disseminate his views, and distribute heretical literature. Others held that it was purely a political question. In the end Archer failed to procure the help solicited; but he remained in some secretarial capacity to represent, not the League, but his Court, and when the Holy See remonstrated, the Senate tendered explanations, with an assurance of unalterable devotion.

Pius IV., between whom and the Republic there had been a short time since one of those momentary ruptures to which the stiff-necked attitude of the latter in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction gave a periodicity, manifested his appreciation of the acceptance of the principles embodied in the Trentine bull in an unequivocal manner. He presented to the Signory the palace of Saint Mark at Rome, in a letter which exalted the religious piety and the distinguished offices of the Venetians toward the Apostolic See. Nowhere was the power of the Republic more

¹ Romanin, iv. 214, calls him "*certo Baldassare Archiew inglese*."

palpably demonstrated than in the willingness of the Papacy to entertain friendly relations with it on its own rather exacting terms.

The bitter religious discord between Catholicism and the Protestant secessionists was reducing Germany and the rest of Europe to misery and poverty. The insatiable ambition of Charles V. and the ceaseless longing of the French for their lost Italian possessions seemed to postpone indefinitely the hope of rest and the possibility of progress, while the depredations of the Uscocchi and other pirates on Italian waters were growing so troublesome and costly, that the Venetian trading houses began to turn their thoughts to securer investments even at a lower rate of profit, and to withdraw from maritime adventure. A comparatively brief term brought to its climax the long and dramatic, but selfish and unprofitable, career of Charles V., who abdicated in 1555, and apportioned his vast dominions between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip; and in 1559 Venetian mediation facilitated the peace of Cateau-Cambresis between France, Spain, and Savoy. At the close of the preceding year the accession of Elizabeth Tudor to the throne of England lent a sensible impulse to the Reformed faith, which from its original settlement at the hands of Luther was constantly to receive fresh developments, before it answered to the postulates of modern Protestantism. The English espousal of the movement eventually stimulated the Low Countries to revolt against the Spanish yoke; and from all parts, even from Spain, Venice continued to admit refugees and their families, and permit them to make a home either in the city or on the *terra firma*.

The anxiety of the Republic to maintain neutrality and to husband its resources became more and more intelligible. In 1562 the Turks recommenced desultory naval operations, in which the Venetians gained some advantages. In one engagement off Capo Maria, in the Ionian Sea, they won the day, but their commander fell. His son, a youth of twenty, who stood by him, covered his father's body with his shield, on which he received a cloud of arrows; the last words of the dying man to the boy were an exhortation to study virtuous conduct, and devote his life, when the call arrived, to his country. The Republic treated the young hero, on whom it bestowed the command of a galley, and the bereaved family, with profuse generosity, and paid the remains splendid funeral homage; but it is highly

characteristic that the order of 1470, that naval commanders should not be accompanied by their sons or brothers, was reaffirmed. It was certainly wise under existing contingencies to afford every encouragement to meritorious members of the service; and in 1564 an extraordinary commission or board of twelve officials was constituted to hold a hundred galleys with full equipments ready to take the sea at the shortest notice. In the early part of 1568 the Porte concluded peace for eight years with Maximilian II., his brothers, and his allies, and thus left itself at liberty to turn its attention elsewhere. His Majesty the Sultan ostensibly possessed boundless resources alike in men and in material.

There had been during some time only too good a reason to surmise that the Porte designed an attack on Cyprus. In February 1567-68, a runaway slave gave information to the Government that there was a plot to betray the island into Turkish hands; and immediate instructions were transmitted to institute a searching investigation, to arrest any suspicious characters, to strengthen the defences, and take in ample supplies. The authorities at Famagusta were unable to gain any clue to the alleged conspiracy, and thought that the rumour originated in certain merchants, who had removed from Constantinople thither; and the Senate hesitated how to proceed, from an apprehension of displeasing and alarming the Porte by an appearance of distrust. The Sultan was just at present engaged in a war against the Arabs, and nothing so far occurred to confirm the suspicion, or to influence the prospect, till the autumn of 1569. On the 13th September at midnight the city was suddenly thrown into the greatest consternation by the outbreak of a fire at the Arsenal and the explosion of the powder magazine, shooting into the air the leaden turreted roof and the watchmen, forcing open and breaking all the windows in the vicinity, and causing a vibration through the whole city. The shock was felt in the adjoining places on the mainland, and the flames were visible at Verona. An eye-witness,¹ Francesco Molin, who resided near the spot, and was lying in bed with a slow fever, has recorded his impressions and experiences and his narrow escape from being buried under the ruins; but he proceeds to tell us, that when crowds went at daybreak to view the scene, it was found that it had pleased God by the very violence of the

¹ Romanin, vi. 267-69.

shock to save the shipping; and the damage and loss appear to have been comparatively limited. Exaggerated reports reached Constantinople of the disastrous and crippling effects, and the Sultan approached the Republic with a demand for the redress of sundry grievances and the cession of Cyprus, which would otherwise be taken from its present possessors by force. The claim was met by a declaration that the Signory preferred war to dishonour.

The idea that the disaster, which was repaired with the least possible delay, was imputable to Turkish agency, seems to have no other basis than the prevailing sentiment of dislike and dread toward the Porte. But affairs were steadily drifting at Constantinople in a warlike direction, and might have reached such an issue even sooner, had not the Grand Vizier opposed the policy. A Portuguese Jew, named Joseph Nassi or Manasses, who governed the Sultan Selim by gratifying the passions of a sensualist and a sot, was an advocate for immediate hostilities, for which pretexts were constantly arising, and for which none was too slender. This adventurer depicted to his master the rich and luscious vintages of Cyprus and all the commercial advantages likely to arise from an acquisition of the island; he was already Duke of Naxos, and Selim promised to confer on him, when he had won the prize, the crown of the Lusignans and the Cornari. Under the date of January 31, 1570, the bailo at Constantinople wrote home to let his Government understand how things were going; and among other points he mentions that the Sultan had been recently inquiring how far Cyprus was from Venice. He was told it was about 2000 miles. Then his Majesty desired to know why the Signory should covet a place so far away, and the cause of so much trouble to them. He was reminded of the vast benefit which his empire derived from the Venetian trade in the way of duties and otherwise; but it was more and more evident that war was a foregone conclusion; and the Government made its preparations. There was such a solicitude to consume no time in secondary matters that, the Doge dying on 5th May, the Great Council dispensed with all preliminary formalities, and four days later chose as his successor Luigi Mocenigo. The best men whom the Republic had at its command were dispatched to various stations to play their part in the approaching struggle. There was a public muster of 2000 volunteers on the Piazza, brave and noble youths, who had

enrolled themselves for the expedition to Famagusta. An appeal for financial assistance experienced a generous response.

In a war, which by their own admission in former instances concerned all Christian Powers in common with Venice, the latter should have been able to rely on a certain share of substantial support in its new effort to stem the tide of Mohammedan conquest and invasion; but Spain was almost the sole exception to a general chorus of refusal or excuse; and Philip II. very hesitatingly consented to furnish a contingent of fifty galleys. This aid, again, was so tardy and so perfunctory, that the Venetians successively lost Nicosia and Famagusta after the most heroic resistance, the work, according to a contemporary, "not of men, but of giants," partly because the fleet was waiting first at Zara, and subsequently at Messina, for the Spanish and a few Pontifical ships to effect a junction, and when the allied squadron was at last concentrated, time was lost in debating what course to pursue. Famagusta accordingly capitulated on the understanding that it was to be spared the horrors which might have attended a storm; but the commandant Bragadino, the garrison, and inhabitants were treated with the grossest treachery and brutality. The defenders numbered scarcely 8000, and the assailants had 50,000, which, through the failure of the fleet to intercept reinforcements, were capable of being indefinitely recruited. It was another instance, and one of the most serious nature and import, of the futility of dependence on other countries to second the Republic in enterprises, where, from the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, there was always an undercurrent of jealousy and suspicion as to Venetian motives and ulterior intentions. The Signory was credited with the ruling instinct of self-advancement, even when it ought to aim at nothing more than self-protection; but the action of its contemporaries toward it at any rate evinced a flattering sense of the survival at this point of time of a considerable share of the old vital energy.

Although Famagusta had fallen on the 3rd August, the arrival of the intelligence at Venice was strangely retarded; for on the 17th October orders were being given on the assumption that the place still held out. This delay may be attributed to the difficulty of running the blockade, so long as the Turks commanded all outlets. The united fleets were still at Messina; and it was decided to bring the Turkish squadron to an engagement. The enemy was in the Gulf of Lepanto, and on the morning of

the 7th October 1571, the day of St. Giustina, the Allies found themselves at sunrise off the Curzolari. The battle did not begin till the forenoon was far advanced; the six Venetian galeasses, carrying heavy guns, were ranged in front; and the whole allied line extended over nearly four miles. Don John of Austria, who commanded the Spanish forces, behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity considering his youth; but he was rather overbearing and headstrong; and the Venetian Admiral, Sebastiano Veniero, tells us that the troops under the prince were so insubordinate before going into action that he trembled for the result. The victory was largely due to the execution done by the artillery on board the galeasses in the van; and it was a signal one. The losses on the side of the Allies were not inconsiderable; but those of the Turks were enormous. Among the combatants in the Spanish service was a volunteer who fought with great distinction and lost his left arm; but his life was spared, and he returned home to meditate on the *History of Don Quichote*.

It was on the 18th October 1571, at six o'clock in the morning, when the Republic was plunged in grief and despair by the news from Famagusta, that the galley of Giuffredo Giustiniani reached the city with intelligence of a very different character, having made the voyage in ten days. The vessel was seen to approach with the Turkish colours trailing behind it in the water; and the auspicious event and opportune consolation were more than surmised, before the bearer of the precious tidings could set his foot on land; for a salute was fired, and the spectators could distinguish the cry of *vittoria! vittoria!* The multitude shouted *libertà! libertà!* and ran to the prisons to release the inmates; but only those confined for debt were allowed to go at large. The shops were closed, and notices set up "per la morte de' Turchi." The effervescence of delight was such, that men ran up to each other in the streets and exchanged kisses. A *Te Deum* and a funeral service for the dead were celebrated; and it was with difficulty that a path could be cleared for the Doge, when he went to Saint Mark's to attend the ceremony. An anti-Semitic agitation, originating in a notion that the Jews were responsible for the Cypriot war, went so far as to produce a decree of expulsion which was never carried out. The day of the victory of Lepanto was declared to be for ever sacred to St. Giustina; and coins were struck to commemorate the associa-

tion. A hundred poetasters committed to the press effusions more remarkable for their loyalty than their genius. During four days, in Venice and throughout the Dominion, religious processions paraded the streets, playing music and chanting hymns; and at night there were illuminations, masquerades, and other rejoicings. The Fondaco de' Tedeschi was so splendidly decorated and lighted, that it resembled an enchanted palace. The Turkish residents prudently kept their own quarters, till the popular excitement had subsided.

But these demonstrations had not affected the prompt and vigorous attempt of the Government to induce its Allies to prosecute the war and complete the salutary work commenced at Lepanto by thoroughly crippling the Porte. The most flattering and complimentary messages were sent to the commandant of the fleet, Veniero; and the Spaniards were urged to preclude the enemy from gaining time to repair his losses and replace his shattered navy. The Turks, ignorant of the resources and views of the victors, were at first dismayed by the blow; and it is said that during three days the Sultan refused to take food, and humbled himself before God, praying him to shew compassion to his people. But his Majesty took the Koran in his hand, and derived from that holy volume consolation and courage. Don John, however, to the infinite displeasure and chagrin of the Venetians, insisted on retiring into winter quarters, Philip II. having no desire that his brother should win any farther laurels, and being more intent on the operations in the Low Countries, which were to render his name even more infamous than it would otherwise have been. On his son Don Carlos the king could not rely for sympathy in that direction, as the prince was inclined to favour the unfortunate people whom his father made the special victims of his sanguinary bigotry. The heretics within the Christian pale appeared to Philip II. to be worthier objects of attention than the common enemy of all Christians; and that prince henceforth devoted much of his time and thought to the project of stamping out the reformed faith in Holland and England, and thus unconsciously preparing the way for the ruin of his own country.

Deserted by Spain, and seeing its appeals to other countries to be ineffectual, while Turkey was indefatigably engaged in preparing for a renewal of hostilities at sea, the Republic came to the determination to conclude peace on the best obtainable terms;

and those terms were not, on the whole, extravagant. They were framed in the sight of the victorious Venetian fleet and with the vivid remembrance of the conspicuous part which it had played in the battle. The comparative moderation of the Sultan was the best homage to the efficiency and gallantry of Veniero and his forces. On the 7th March 1573, the Bailo of Constantinople, Antonio Barbaro, concluded a treaty, by which the Signory surrendered only the fortress of Sopoto, retaining all its other possessions, and paid 300,000 ducats in three years, besides a supplementary annual tribute of 1000 ducats for Zante. But the 8000 ducats a year on account of Cyprus were of course discontinued. These arrangements awakened both at home and among certain of the European Powers, especially the Holy See, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction. The Government had afforded ample time and opportunity for concerted action both before and after Lepanto; and its exertions and advice had been spurned. The fleet might even single-handed have pushed forward to the Dardanelles, while the Porte was prostrated by the recent crushing defeat; but it would have been a stupendous risk, looking at the arduous task which it proved to take the city nearly 400 years since, even while it was in the feeble hands of the Greeks; and the Venetians themselves were brought to the conclusion, that the peace of 1573 was a wise step, as it enabled them to pay to their internal affairs the attention which these so greatly required. They so little repented the step, that they crowned it by sending an embassy to the Sultan to congratulate his Majesty on so happy a consummation.

It is useless to speculate on the possibility of a different issue, had Venice started alone and made commensurate arrangements. Some at home thought that that course would have been preferable. One of the naval officers, Giacomo Foscarini, who was at Lepanto, bitterly complained of having been hindered by allies who only injured his country; and he laid down some military maxims for future application, which were unquestionably of the soundest character: a prompt seizure of opportunities, an abstinence from co-operation with princes to whose views you have to defer, a distrust of the strength of your confederates, and the choice of a commander-in-chief amenable to court-martial. He argued in general that, if you cannot destroy the enemy, you had better leave him alone, and that if you commence operations, you should attack, rather than defend. If Venice was partly by

policy, partly by taste, a spendthrift, its arch-enemy the Porte surpassed it in the extravagance of its sacrifice of life and treasure, as well as in its undefined, wild system of conquest; and unless its resources were miraculous and inexhaustible, it seemed to be burning itself out like a volcano. Yet we find a contemporary saying that the wealth and power of Turkey were such, that, if it had been needful, anchors might have been made of silver, cables of silk, and sails of satin. On the contrary, with the exception of a few minor troubles, the Republic, during the next fifty or sixty years, was fortunate enough to preserve a pacific and neutral attitude, and to stand aside, while other Powers wasted their strength in dynastic and religious struggles.

The acquisition of Cyprus by the Porte was a severe misfortune to that island and its inhabitants. Under the Lusignan dynasty, and still more under the Venetian rule, this ancient Greek site preserved much of its original character and aspect; and the Republic bestowed great attention on the fortifications of Famagusta; but wherever the savage and fanatical Turk set his foot, neglect and destruction followed; and, as was the case when the Republic abandoned the Illyric provinces, the condition of Cyprus from 1571 to the present day has been steadily retrogressive. Venice exerted itself to recover Candia, Negropont, and the Morea; but the idea or hope of returning to Cyprus does not appear to have been openly entertained. Unless the hand of the spoiler is promptly arrested, a once flourishing kingdom under a succession of dynasts and a prosperous colony in the hands of Venice will become a heap of desolate and shapeless ruins and the home of the beggar and the locust.¹

¹ The *Egyptian Gazette* has been lamenting, with good reason, the destruction of Famagusta, in Cyprus, one of the most wonderfully preserved of mediæval cities. Except Rhodes, there is no town which can be compared with it. "Famagusta," says the *Gazette*, "is fast disappearing, thanks to the enterprise of the few natives who still inhabit its ruins. Port Said may be said to be built out of its stones, carried across to Egypt in little two-masted lighters at a very profitable rate. In Famagusta the stones are sold at the rate of 15 Cyprus piastres, or 1s. 8d., the hundred. The priceless old carvings of angels, saints, lions, and what not are roughly knocked off to render the stones square, and perhaps to avoid alarming the good people of Port Said. The Turk who keeps the general shop of the place and speaks a little French acts as agent. The more complete destruction of the city now contemplated is another matter. It is proposed to build a small harbour for coasting steamers within the shallow rocky port of ancient times. To effect this the great walls of the city, which still stand in the most perfect preservation, as if abandoned yesterday by the martyred Bragadino and his brave companions of 330 years ago, are to be utilised. That is to say, their materials are to be taken for the purpose of forming a new quay wall for the tramway to run upon, and connect the landing-stage beyond the northern extremity of the city with the village of Varosha, which lies

about a mile and a half to the south. From this latter a tramway to Nicosia is to be commenced. It indeed seems a terrible evidence of poverty, both material and sentimental, that a country like Cyprus should be unable to afford to retain such a marvellous mediæval monument as the old city of Famagusta, a possession which in the future must certainly attract the art-loving tourist and the artist. The beautiful old sea-castle associated with the story of Othello and Desdemona, with its four round towers, on which the lion of St. Mark still stands sentinel, with the proud inscription of the Foscari, giving a date which seems almost incredible, considering the absolutely intact condition of the buildings, must be blasted away as ballast for a dock tramway by English engineers. The Tower of London might as well be demolished to make way for a new Thames-side dock !”

It is surely scandalous that such a wanton destruction of what can never be replaced should be for a moment contemplated. If the harbour be constructed in the manner proposed, it will be a lasting disgrace to our rule in Cyprus that the English should have destroyed what the Turks spared. We trust that so barbarous an undertaking may yet be prevented, but we cannot say that we are very hopeful. “It is singular,” writes Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., who sends us the *Gazette* extract from Cairo, “that while so much attention should be paid to both the excavation and preservation of the pre-Christian sites in the Mediterranean, such barbarous carelessness should universally prevail with regard to the mediæval period.”—*Antiquary*, March 1900.

CHAPTER XXXVI

A.D. 1545-1607

Sequence of Doges (1545-77)—Henry III. of France at Venice (1574)—His Magnificent Reception—Plague of 1576 and Death of Titian—The Pope sends the Doge Veniero the Golden Rose (1577)—Personal Account of Veniero—Gibaldi's Impression of him—Great Fire of 1577—Loss of Treasures—Disagreement with Austria—Settlement—Symptoms of a Spanish Movement against Venice—Neutrality of the Republic under the Expectation of Home Troubles—Henry IV. of France desires to borrow Money of Venice—Story of Bianca Cappello—She receives as Grand Duchess of Tuscany the Golden Rose from his Holiness—Foreign Relations—State of Parties in Europe—Quarrel with Pope Paul V. (1605-7)—His Holiness the Tool of the Spanish Party in Rome—The Signory appoints Fra Paolo Sarpi its Canonist and Ritualistic Adviser (1606)—European Sympathy with Venice—Launch of an Interdict and its withdrawal—Triumph of the Republic over the Curia—James I. of Great Britain and his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1607)—Unsuccessful Plot of the Spanish Party at Rome to Assassinate Sarpi (1607).

THE personal contribution of the Doge to the progress and direction of events and to the development of history is to grow, on the whole, distinctly feebler, as we proceed. Pietro Lando had been succeeded in 1545 by Francesco Donato, who was at length persuaded to accept a distinction already more than once refused. His administration was favourably distinguished by the absence of hostilities and by the leisure afforded to the promotion of arts and architecture, while Europe was still torn by the military operations, of which Charles V. was still the central initiative, and by a variety of religious feuds equally productive of bloodshed and misery. Donato, who was a patron of literature and art, occupied the ducal chair eight years, and was succeeded at short intervals by Marcantonio Trevisano (1553), Francesco Veniero (1554), Lorenzo Priuli (1556) and his brother Girolamo (1559), Pietro Loredano (1567), and Luigi Mocenigo, of whom the last witnessed some political reverses and public sorrows and some imposing triumphs during the interval between his election

in 1570 and his death in 1577. He saw Cyprus pass into the hands of the Porte, and he saw Lepanto. He was a party to the Treaty of 1573, and in the next year he welcomed Henry III. of France to Venice, when he came there on his way to mount the vacant throne. He shared the anxiety and anguish attendant on the terrible visitation of the Plague in 1575; he did not forsake the post of duty and danger, and beheld the members of his order and Government struck down on all sides by the epidemic; and we should like to believe, that he was one of those who successfully insisted that, all the dictates of prudence notwithstanding, the remains of the most illustrious victim of all those fifty and more thousands who perished should be exempt from the common lot, and that he, Tiziano Vecellio, so closely nearing his centenary, and surviving all his early friends, should, after lying in state, have a public funeral. Not till July 1577, was the city officially declared free from the scourge. A fourth of the population had disappeared; and whereas in 1555 the city counted 159,869 inhabitants, in 1593 the numbers were only 134,871; it is rather remarkable that at an early stage the Paduan physicians were discarded, and Venetian specialists substituted for them.

Titian died on the same bed as his eldest son, who shortly followed him to the grave. A second son, Pomponio, a canon at Milan, hastened to Venice, as soon as he was assured that all danger was passed, and quickly dissipated the fortune, which the painter had accumulated by the labours of a long life. The canon did nothing to honour the memory of his parent even in a monumental inscription; it was the hand of a stranger which placed over the remains at the Frari the stone bearing the immortal name. Several attempts were made to do fitting homage to one of the greatest glories of Venice; and as late as 1791 a subscription was opened, and Canova offered his gratuitous services: but the French Revolution arrived before anything was accomplished.

The Doge Mocenigo displayed the most heroic courage and self-denial throughout. He personally superintended the precautions taken to arrest the disease, and assist those who were on the way to recovery. He addressed words of comfort in Saint Mark's Church to those assembled, and exhorted them to put trust in the Omnipotent; and he promised, as a thank-offering, when men could return to their employments, a new church—the

origin of that of the Redentore, built by Palladio at the Giudecca. Before it was erected, a temporary building was raised on the site, to which the Doge went in procession, passing across the canal to the island on a bridge of boats, and attending the thanksgiving service, where hymns were sung, set to music by Giuseppe Zarlino of Chioggia.

Henry III., called to succeed Charles IX. in 1574, travelled from Poland to Vienna, and through Austria and Italy, avoiding northern Germany, where he feared the Protestants. At the Venetian frontier a complimentary escort of four leading senators was in waiting to accompany him and his large retinue through Friuli and the Trevisano, fêtes having been prearranged along the whole route; and the party arrived at Malghera on the 17th July. He was there met by a delegation of sixty senators in gondolas draped in velvet, and conducted to the palace of Bartolomeo Cappello at Murano, where the traces of the plague were not yet obliterated, but which at that season was particularly charming from its gardens and its palaces, and their gay and joyous occupants. The Cappello mansion had been specially furnished and decorated, and must have astonished the king. On the following day, being Sunday, he embarked after mass on a magnificent galley manned by 400 Slavs attired in yellow and turquoise blue, with an escort of fourteen other galleys and a number of sumptuously decorated vessels of various kinds chiefly furnished by the municipal Gilds and Arts, among which we here find the Weavers, the Mercers, the Drapers, the Apothecaries, the Cotton-spinners, the Swordsmiths, the *Sensali*, and the Muranese Glassmakers. The genius of Palladio, Veronese, and Tintoretto was enlisted in supplying the triumphal arches and the pictorial representations of passages in the distinguished career of a prince of three-and-twenty. The royal visitor, who wore purple velvet in compliment to his deceased predecessor, was accommodated at the Casa Foscari, which, to afford the necessary space for his attendants, was connected by a bridge with the adjoining Casa Giustiniani. This costly and dazzling pageant interposed itself between the painful treaty of 1573 and the dreadful visitation of 1575; and the triad of occurrences tested and illustrated the curiously composite character of the Venetians as a people: their phlegmatic resignation and hypochondria, their mercurial vivacity, and their prompt obliviousness even of grave and recent misfortunes.

The dramatic entertainment given to his Majesty on this occasion sufficiently impressed him to lead to his engagement of a company to come to France to perform before the États about to assemble at Blois. The travellers having been stopped by Huguenots on their way, Henry ransomed them, and they duly carried out their programme in 1577 in a hall attached to the Parliament-house. The price of admission was a *demi-teston*. The company did not immediately return, but proceeded to Paris, where they resumed their performances in the Rue des Poulies at the Hotel du Petit-Bourbon equally under royal protection.

To Luigi Mocenigo, who died after a short but honourable reign of seven years, on the 30th May 1577, succeeded a personage yet more illustrious, the veteran Sebastiano Veniero, the hero of Lepanto, to whom Gregory XIII. appropriately and deservedly sent the Golden Rose. It was the first instance in which such an honour had been conferred on the Republic in the person of the chief magistrate; and it was more usually offered to female sovereigns or the consorts of rulers.¹

The normal character of the Venetian proveditorial and consular service was unquestionably far above the standard of the Continent. The solicitude of many cities, and even of those, who acknowledged the sovereignty of a Carrara, a Visconti, or a La Scala, to obtain a podesta at the hands of the Republic, proves the admirable training which these officers had acquired, and numerous instances might be cited, in which the Lombard cities looked back with fond regret on some magistrate whose term had expired, and who had been recalled home. Veniero had won the affections of the Brescians under such circumstances to so great an extent, in spite of his severe exaction of discipline and his irritability of temper, that, when he was subsequently appointed to a high post in the Government, they sent a formal message expressive of their reverence for their former chief, and a desire that this was only a stepping-stone to higher honours—even (in their own words) “*al supremo grado di quel santissimo Dominio*”; and in the same year, on the marriage of his daughter, they sent him a present of wine and other things, “in token of the devotion and infinite love which all in that city bore toward him.”

There is a very graphic scene, where the bearer of this oblation arrives at the Casa Veniero, sees the Signora, who tells him

¹ Venice was altogether the recipient of this high compliment five times, and of the five Roses four were lost in the troubles of 1797. Romanin, vi. 352, note.

that her husband is upstairs in his study, and that she much fears he will not accept what has come, but she will go up and inquire. The lady returns, invites the messenger to ascend, and he is gently informed by Veniero that he does not feel justified in retaining anything but just a few objects of the most trifling value. This was the man who, after Lepanto, told the Doge that others had, he thought, done very well in the direction of booty, but that for himself his whole gain was 255 ducats, 2 lire, 6 soldi, a string of coral, a few other odds and ends, and two negroes scarcely fit to take an oar in a galley; and "all these," said he, "I will, if your Serenity pleases, hand over to you." Fortunately for him, Veniero had a devoted daughter (*obedientissima et amorevole*), a wealthy son-in-law, whose house was ever open to him, and economical habits. Marcantonio Barbaro and himself were perhaps the most disinterested and illustrious figures in Venetian affairs during the second moiety of the sixteenth century, and we have to strain our eyes over a long distance, before we are able to discern any one worthy to make the third. Yet the general average was certainly a high one.

When Garibaldi visited Venice, and saw the painting of the *Battle of Lepanto* by Vicentino, he stopped short, and drew the attention of his companions to the likeness between the features of Veniero and his own; and they all agreed that it was so.

The brief tenure of office by Veniero, which had been distinguished by the well-merited honour of the Golden Rose, was unhappily still more remarkable on account of the most disastrous fire which ever visited the city in the later period, where so many treasures of art, so many noble examples of architecture, and such a countless abundance of precious archives, had slowly accumulated at the palace and in the various public departments. Only three years before, through some carelessness in the kitchen offices, while a banquet was in preparation, a similar accident had occurred on a less serious scale. On the evening of the 20th December 1577, owing to the ignition of the flue of a chimney in a room contiguous to the Great Council Chamber, a fire broke out at the palace, and in half an hour, with the help of a strong east wind and the storage of a quantity of timber and workmen's ladders in some of the saloons, spread with terrible rapidity, so as to create an apprehension that the entire block of buildings and their contents would perish. Every article of value which could be removed to a place of safety was seized and

carried off, some never to be seen again ; and, in fact, of a collection of weapons and armour, kept in the decemviral saloon upstairs, a portion, amid the hurry and excitement, was thrown into the Rio di Palazzo. The painful and tragical scene was intensified by the suspicion that the calamity was the result of incendiarism, although no clues were ever obtained, and by the darkness, which shortly supervened. But the militia was called out ; the thoroughfares were cleared ; one of the Advocates of the Commune and his coadjutors dislodged from the burning pile certain persons suspected of being engaged in plundering ; and a strong detachment of marines shortly arrived from the Arsenal, and eventually succeeded in extinguishing the flames, when awful havoc had been effected, and some of the prisoners had been liberated by the mob from their places of confinement, or had escaped in the prevailing confusion. A sensible proportion of the salvage had been taken to the Basilica and the Mint, and a good deal was deposited in private dwellings.

The damage was incalculable, and exaggerated accounts were soon spread over Europe of the amount of the losses. Philip II. of Spain transmitted his hearty condolence ; and when the Venetian ambassador assured his Majesty that matters were not so desperate, he declared how very glad he was again. The Government, anxious to prevent its enemies from knowing the full truth, lest they might take advantage of the presumed loss of important documents, desired its representatives everywhere to paint the catastrophe in subdued colours ; and all persons were commanded by proclamation to restore, under the heaviest penalties, whatever had fallen into their hands. At the same time, to the men at the Arsenal, who had done signal service in reducing and stopping the mischief, the Doge was authorised to offer a bounty of 500 gold ducats, which was refused, even when, at his Serenity's request, these noble fellows carefully reconsidered their decision in conference among themselves ; for they said that they considered not only their labour but their lives to be at the service of their lords.

The loss was an European one. The full extent of it was never ascertained, but that it was immense there is slight doubt. The *Paradiso* of Guariente was among the missing pictures ; and it was the works of art and the notarial muniments which were accounted most irreparable. The immediate restoration, for which the plans and estimate of Antonio da Ponte were accepted out of

fifteen competitors, occupied eight months, and cost 80,000 ducats; and the Great Council temporarily met in the Sala dei Remi at the Arsenal, which was surrounded by guards.

The sad and horrible catastrophe accelerated the death of the octogenarian Doge (3rd March 1578) who was replaced by a personage older than himself, Nicolo da Ponte, who had earned some repute as a theologian, and had on that account been chosen to represent his country at the Council of Trent a generation ago. He is described as a highly meritorious and admirable public servant, reserved in offering his own opinions, and willing to defer to those of others—perhaps winning by pliancy. His remaining years of life, although exempt from any serious disturbance of repose, were destined to witness certain public incidents of a more than usually interesting and picturesque complexion.

The reputation of Veniero long survived him. It is related¹ that a Spanish nobleman who had served in the fleet under Don John of Austria at Lepanto, proceeding by way of Venice to assume the Viceroyalty of Naples, and being asked, after his arrival, what was the most remarkable object in his opinion to be seen in the former city?—whether he most admired the churches, the Piazza of Saint Mark, the paintings, the Murano glass-works, or other admirable things? replied, "Nothing of the kind struck my fancy, the unique wonder in my eyes was to see Sebastiano Veniero under the Procuratorie-Nuove preferring a suit, and how a base Greek, who had served in the armament at Lepanto, passed him without even raising his cap." The speaker had had opportunities of observing Veniero, and seems to have been even in personal contact with him, while he was captain-general.

The relations with Austria were affected about this time by two circumstances, one a temporary difficulty occasioned by the Triestines, who closed the bed of the river Rosanda for the construction of salterns. A small Venetian naval force, when a fruitless attempt had been made at negotiation, destroyed the new works, and prepared the way for a revival of the buccaneering grievance, the Adriatic and other seas being infested at this time by pirates of several nationalities, notwithstanding the efforts of

¹ Romanin, viii. 128. "Niente de tutto cio (soggiunse lo Spagnuolo) mi ha ferito la fantasia; l' unica maraviglia per me fu quella di osservare Sebastiano Veniero sotto le procuratie nuove in atto di supplicante; e come un vil greco che al tempo della guerra avea servito all' armata, gli sia passato davanti senza ne pur cavarli il cappello."

the Gulf Squadron to repress and chastise them. These freebooters were Dalmatians, Austrians, Maltese, Moors, and even subjects of the Papal States, who levied heavy toll on the maritime traffic of the Republic itself and its neighbours and allies, and who succeeded in eluding pursuit by the possession of swift vessels and inaccessible fastnesses. The Emperor Rodolph II. made it a serious ground of complaint and dissatisfaction, that Venice, claiming the sovereignty of the Gulf, did not effectually protect other flags within those limits; but the Signory replied, that they not only did their utmost, but proved that Austrian officials were in league with the Corsairs. A long and rather angry correspondence took place, and extended over years; and in fact the evil was one which time tended to aggravate rather than to lessen, as the power of the Republic to impose a check on it diminished. But in 1600 the two countries were still exchanging notes and remonstrances, and the Signory then frankly informed the Court of Vienna, that if it did not put a stop to the collusion between its subjects and the offenders, they would take the matter into their own hands. Hostilities in fact ensued, and extended over some years, the Venetian troops gaining many signal advantages under their successive leaders Pompeo Giustiniani, called *Braccio di ferro* from his artificial arm, and Giovanni de' Medici, a natural son of Cosmo I., Duke of Tuscany. The area eventually lost sight of the original theatre and source of trouble, and the war resolved itself into one between Venice and Austria. It was not concluded till 1617, when the Republic emerged from it on honourable terms, and Spain and Savoy simultaneously composed their differences. One of the most important points in the rupture with the Archduke Ferdinand was the letter of Philip III. of Spain to his ambassador at Venice, the Marquis of Bedmar, instructing him to arrange with the Governor of Milan to support the Austrians to the utmost of his power; and similar orders appear to have been transmitted to the Viceroy of Naples.

A ghastly incident distinguished this protracted course of irregular warfare. In 1613, a few days only after the discomfiture of the Uscocchi at Lesina by the Venetian proveditor Pasqualigo, the Corsairs surprised a galley commanded by Cristoforo Veniero, killed the entire crew, took Veniero to Morlacca, near Segna, where they decapitated him, tore out his heart, which they divided among them and ate, smearing their

bread with the blood; for it was a widely prevalent superstition that by such means they inherited the courage of the victim. An effort was made to set against these troublesome sea-robbers a famous bandit of the day, Marco Sciarra; and this measure provoked the displeasure of the Pope, whose own subjects, no less than those of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta, and of St. Stephen at Florence, were more than suspected of similar practices. These occurrences painfully illustrated the growing impotence of Venice to maintain her pretensions in respect to the Adriatic; they equally shewed the general deficiency on the part of other European States of an adequate executive force and the extensive survival of feudal conditions and imperfect central control. Nevertheless during a lengthened period the maritime supremacy on that sea was sedulously asserted, even against the Spaniards and the English.

The advised and persistent neutrality of the Republic, however, after so many unproductive foreign wars, and the baneful operation on its trade of new commercial routes and of new commercial rivals, had the effect of communicating to the seventy years' record, from the peace of 1573 to the outbreak of fresh troubles with Turkey, an almost exclusively internal or domestic tenor. But within that limit of time certain events closely succeeded each other, unparalleled in their historical importance and dark criminality. The Government had amply sufficient business to occupy its attention, and resisted all solicitations to take an active part in any political combination or to suffer itself to be involved in any immaterial contention. It politely refused co-operation with Persia and Russia. It declined to assist the provisional executive at Lisbon in preventing the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580; and it compromised on the footing of mutual concession a fiscal dispute with England two years later, where, the ministers of Elizabeth representing the onerous duties levied on grapes exported from Zante, the Doge pointed to the high rates charged (in the way of reprisal) on Venetian goods at the English Custom-house. It witnessed the death of Mary Queen of Scots, the Spanish Armada, and the successive assassination in France of the last of the House of Valois and the first of the House of Bourbon. It did not disdain to avail itself of the influence of a daughter of the Governor of Corfu in the harem at Constantinople to renew the treaty of 1573 in 1595 on reasonable terms; and in 1605 it

arrived at an even more satisfactory settlement with the Sultan Ahmed I. To nurse their finances; and set their affairs at home in order, appeared to the Venetians the primary consideration at this juncture; and nothing could have been more auspicious and welcome than the long cessation of hostilities in every direction in the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century.

There is a rather entertaining account of an attempt on the part of Henry IV. of France in 1596 to wheedle money out of the Republic, by way of a loan, on the ground that, whatever its necessities or straits might be, they were as nothing to his, and that whereas it had assisted his royal predecessors, there was not one of them who stood in such pressing need as himself. He averred to the Venetian representative that his country had never had so true a friend to it as he was and would be, and, added Henry, "When I see a Venetian in this kingdom, I think I see a Frenchman—there is truly no difference." But the Signory was immovable.

The capital is just said to have been during this term the scene and centre of many events of powerful and tragical interest: the extraordinary case of Bianca Cappello, the quarrel on paper with Paul V., the heroic patriotism and self-sacrifice of Fra Sarpi, the Spanish conspiracy of 1618, the Foscari judicial murder of 1622, and the striking and chivalrous revolt of the patrician Zeno in 1624 against the Oligarchy—a four years' gallant fight and a victory more specious than substantial.

Bianca, sole child and heiress of Bartolomeo Cappello, a noble Venetian, was born in 1548, and had at a tender age lost her mother, Pellegrina Morosini. The want of maternal care and a flighty and susceptible temperament led to this young lady yielding to the advances of Pietro Bonaventura, a young Florentine of good but poor family, employed as a book-keeper at the Salviati bank, who resided in a house near the Casa Cappello at S. Apollinare, adjoining the Ponte Storto. Love-letters were exchanged; and Bonaventura, allured by the beauty of the girl and her probable fortune, as she had 6000 ducats independent of her father, persuaded her to elope with him on the night of the 28th November 1563. The fugitives had engaged the services of a gondolier named Girolamo, and had taken into their confidence the uncle of Bonaventura and three or four others, whose silence or aid they deemed imperative. Their plans were so well

arranged that they crossed the frontier, and reached Florence in safety. Bianca carried with her all her jewellery.

The amazing news was spread over the city the next morning. The Council of Ten and the Avogadors took immediate proceedings; prices were set on the heads of the principals; and their confederates were arrested. The afflicted parent added a reward of 6000 lire to that of the Government for the recovery of his misguided child, who was only sixteen years of age at this time. Meanwhile, the lovers were married, and were living under the roof of the father and mother of Bonaventura on the Piazza San Marco at Florence; it was a household in reduced circumstances; and when Bianca arrived, her mother-in-law discharged their servant, and made the daughter of one of the highest families in Venice perform the duties of a menial. Her personal attractions brought her under the notice of Francesco Maria de' Medici, son and heir of the Grand-duke Cosmo I., a young man of licentious disposition, married to the Archduchess Johanna of Austria, a lady by no means deficient in physical charms, but religious and cold. The Grand-duke himself was scandalised by the reports, which soon reached his ears, of the intrigue between his son and the Venetian, and there is a letter, dated the 25th February 1565, in which he reproves Francesco with his behaviour, and points out the discredit attendant on his nocturnal assignations, unaccompanied by any escort, with the wife of Bonaventura. The expostulation was unavailing; he gave Bonaventura a place in his household; through the Papal Nuncio and the Florentine resident at Venice he obtained a reversal of the criminal proceedings and a reconciliation between Bianca and her family; in 1572 Bonaventuri was assassinated at his instigation; and on his succession in 1574 he established Bianca in a palace adjacent to his own, and paid to the mistress the honours due to the wife. By the latter he had no male issue; Bianca had had a natural daughter, who married a Bentivoglio of Bologna, and was murdered by him for incontinence; in 1576 his Venetian mistress was enabled by drugs and philtres to feign herself once more in an interesting state; and an attempt was made to affiliate on the Grand-duke the child of one Giovanna Conti, a confidential servant of Bianca, who was forthwith transported on horseback to Bologna, and soon afterward put out of the way, making before her death a full confession of the fraud. The Grand-duchess died in childbed in 1578; and the widower, after taking

counsel with a learned theologian, to whom he denied his complicity in the homicide of Bonaventura, and who dissuaded him from taking the present step, was privately married to Bianca on the 5th June, not two months subsequently to the decease of his first wife. His Highness, possibly sensible of the soundness of the advice tendered to him, had at least made a pretence of avoiding his tempter, and had left Florence for the Pistoian hills. But she plied him with letter upon letter, and message after message, and at last went in person to fetch him home. The period of mourning expired; the event was publicly notified; and the Grand-duke lost very little time in approaching the Signory. He entered into negotiations with members of the Government through his agents at Venice, who kept him punctually informed of all that passed in the Councils; and Bianca wrote personally to the Doge (10th June 1579) from Pratolino, announcing her union, declaring her desire and hope, that it would draw the two States closer to each other, and adding that she should use every means to prove herself a true and not unworthy daughter of her country. On the 16th of the same month the Senate passed the following resolution:—

“It having pleased the Grand-duke of Tuscany to choose as his wife the Signora Bianca Cappello, a lady of a most noble house in this city, adorned by those conspicuous and singular qualities, which have rendered her worthy of every good fortune, and being bound to demonstrate in a suitable manner the extreme satisfaction which our Republic has derived from this event, and our reciprocity of the esteem manifested by the Grand-duke toward us in this his important and most judicious resolution, the motion passes that the above-named most illustrious and most excellent Signora Bianca Cappello, Grand-duchess of Tuscany, shall by the authority of this Senate be created and declared true and particular daughter of the Republic.”¹

The Doge afterward summoned the Florentine envoy to his presence, and delivered a long address couched in similar terms; Bartolomeo Cappello and his son Vettore were made Cavalieri; and all their relations, even in the tenth degree, who had not previously exhibited such strong affection, were indefatigable in their offers of service and professions of regard. The brother of

¹ On this very day the Florentine representative informed the Doge in confidence that the Grand-duchess had a natural son, three years of age, whom his Highness loved, as if he had been his own.

the Grand-duke, the Cardinal de' Medici, and the Pope were equally shocked at first by what had taken place; but both came round to the conclusion that it might be a wise political measure, and might contribute to Italian tranquillity by the expectation which it offered of more intimate relations between Venice and Tuscany. Both the father and brother of the Grand-duchess approved of the marriage, and deemed it an honour to their house; and the interests of the latter (Vettore Cappello) were affectionately studied by his sister, who gave him the use of the palace at Venice, acquired by her in 1577. But the object of her affectionate offices proved ungrateful, and became obnoxious to his Highness; and a very brief period sufficed to loosen the intimate tie which had seemed at the moment so auspicious and so firm. Some passing differences between the two Powers did not interfere, however, with the continued ascendancy of Bianca, who gathered round her all the beauty, and influence, and genius, of the day, and patronised Tasso;¹ and in 1586 the Grand-duchess was the recipient from the successor of St. Peter of the Golden Rose.

Yet the great lady was far from being happy or at her ease. She knew that her father had compromised his position at Venice by his recognition of her conduct, and that she had many enemies in Florence, especially the supporters of the Cardinal Ferdinando and of Piero de' Medici. The want of a direct heir to the title was another and even severer cause of worry, and while she prayed to God to answer her wishes and vows, she resorted to all kinds of empirical devices recommended to her by a Venetian patrician named Basadonna. In the beginning of 1586 she again declared herself *enceinte*, and unsuccessfully endeavoured to introduce into the palace her married daughter Bentivoglio, who was about to become a mother, with a view to palming the offspring on the Grand-duke as her own. She wrote letters² to her brother-in-law the Cardinal, referring to her pregnancy, and assuring him that it was an undoubted fact. His Eminence, however, was incredulous, and the Grand-duke strictly closed all the approaches to his wife's apartments, and kept the keys. The deception being fruitless, Bianca desisted from any farther attempt, and was ostensibly reconciled to the Cardinal, who shortly came on a visit to his relatives at their country seat, at Poggio à Caiano, and thus had the consolation and privilege of

¹ She presented the poet with a silver cup.

² Three of them are printed by Romanin, vi. 534-37.

seeing them, before they were almost simultaneously¹ snatched from him by death under disputed circumstances. The Grand-duke called his brother to his bed-side, and commended to his care the Grand-duchess, his son, and his people. Bianca instructed those about her to write to her father, and conjure him to believe that her sole concern in leaving the world was the grief which she was conscious of having caused to him, and the regret that she was unable to receive his last kisses and benediction. The Grand-duchess had written to his Holiness, while it was still uncertain whether she or her husband would survive, to say that in case she was left a widow, she should not regard her life as safe; and the Pontiff responded that in such event he would be glad to receive her at Rome. The rumours of foul play towards Bianca herself appear to have been sufficiently rife to induce the heir to offer to open the remains in the presence of impartial witnesses. The Republic, on hearing the news, at first interdicted the payment of any funeral honours; but, the new Grand-duke evincing an amicable and conciliatory spirit, messages of condolence and congratulation were sent to Florence. In the country of her adoption no steps were neglected to bury the episode and the name of the heroine of it in oblivion; and her kinsman even caused her body to be thrown into the common pit allotted to the unchronicled poor.

Such was the story of Bianca Cappello, of a career, where the folly and sorrow and crime outweigh and overshadow the romance and the lustre. It is in its moral and political costume thoroughly Italian. A Venetian lady of the highest rank, who does not live to see her fortieth year, is during nearly a quarter of a century the central object of attention and regard to her own people, to those among whom she comes to settle, and to the supreme Pontiff, who pays her the highest honour which it is in his power to bestow. These distinctions follow the common knowledge of her falsehood and guilt; the Republic hails as its true daughter a harlot and an adulteress; and the Holy See lays at her feet the Golden Rose. Yet, when the scene closes in gloom and disgrace, there seems to be no misgiving, no self-reproach on the part of those whom we must judge to have stultified themselves. It is simply *maneggiamento*.

¹ The Grand-duke died on the 19th October 1587, his consort on the 20th. His successor seems to have had coins with his title, and his robes and hat as a Cardinal, in readiness for publication. Hazlitt's *Coin Collector*, 1896, Plate VIII.

The political speculation, which proved resultless, was far from being unintelligible. The Venetians had every desire to strengthen themselves on the side of Tuscany; if Bianca and her consort had died natural deaths without issue, there might have been a ground for intervention; and in any case the alliance promised more than it actually fulfilled. The Cardinal, whether or not he was cognisant of the impending tragedy, shattered the cobweb. Certain concurrent evidences point to his innocence of the charge of having poisoned the obstacles to his ambition; but his callous brutality toward his brother's wife appears to admit no palliation.

The foreign relations of Venice never ceased to be diplomatically active, and the Government watched with interest, and sometimes not without inquietude, the movements of the French, Spaniards, and Savoyards. The Porte had ceased for some time, after the last pacification, to be a source of serious trouble or anxiety; and the main difficulty lay about this time in a quarter where no direct consequences of a belligerent nature were to be apprehended. The Republic, owing to its traditional and unbending resistance to the intervention of the Holy See in the management of the Church and ecclesiastical property, and its claim to certain territory alleged to belong to the Papal States, was periodically involved in controversies, which could not always be settled without an appeal to arms; and the Supreme Pontiff was led to join the League of Cambrai, because Venice insisted on keeping some of his possessions, and to secede from it when Venice yielded the point under temporary pressure. European politics, however, had since that time undergone a remarkable change. Charles V. was no more. Spain was not the State which it had been even under Philip II. France had no Louis XII. or Francis I. to pour troops into Italy under the advice of ministers more able and more ambitious than themselves. In Germany, whatever the faults and weaknesses of Maximilian had been, the Emperor had ceased to be a constituent element in all calculations and schemes for the partition of the peninsula. The Spaniards, it is true, occupied Milan and Naples; but they ceased to afford the source of danger which they had been to the Signory in the earlier part of the century. Savoy under its dukes was beginning to enter the arena as a member of the European confederacy, and as a serviceable balancing factor in every European combination; the Republic lent it substantial

assistance in its struggle with Austria, as Spain succoured Austria in its struggle with the Republic in the first quarter of the seventeenth century; and in the West two Powers, England and the Netherlands, were steadily acquiring increased prominence, and while they became rivals in trade and at sea with Venice and with each other, they were bound together by the common ties of Protestantism and religious toleration. In England the Stuarts were soon to replace the extinct house of Tudor.

There was during a lengthened course of years, from the accession of Gregory XIII. to the pontificate of Paul V. (1585-1621) an intermittent feud and correspondence between the Signory and the Curia on the subject of appointments to benefices, treatment of heresy, visitation of monasteries and nunneries, and a point of external jurisdiction in the disputed title to the Papal authority at Ceneda. The Senate might not have objected to acquiesce in a certain amount of spiritual intervention in the last case; but as it would not yield the temporalities, the negotiation halted. This was in 1603, and on the 9th May in that year the Venetian podesta and captain of Treviso prohibited any one, under severe penalties, from proclaiming or publishing any declaration traversing the rights of the Republic. Four months earlier (10th January 1603) the latter had shown its inflexible temper by renewing ordinances of 1515-36-61 against the erection of any kind of religious establishment without the sanction of the Executive, and by comprising in the operation of the law the whole Venetian Dominion. Clement VIII. tried to prevail on the Signory to be more pliant, citing the then recent submission of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, who had appropriated the goods of the Church to public secular objects, and had made humble and pious restitution on demand. The reply of the Doge was:—"We do not know what the Grand-duke of Tuscany does, nor are we governed by the acts of other princes. The Republic is subject to its own laws, and it is reasonable that, if the clergy enjoys protection, it ought to contribute toward its own security." The Papal nuncio wrote to the authorities at Brescia, and the Senate instructed its representative at Rome to complain to the Curia of such an impropriety, it being altogether at variance with the Venetian system of government. The Pontiff Clement died March 3, 1605; his successor, Leo XI., lived only three or four weeks; and on his decease the College elected Paul V. (Camillo Borghese), a personage

not destitute of virtues and accomplishments, but led, by the unexpected and unsolicited exaltation to St. Peter's chair, to imagine that he was a special object and instrument of the divine grace. The Venetian ambassador, in a dispatch of the 21st May, shortly after his appointment, describes his Holiness as of kindly nature, placid and phlegmatic; hesitating and irresolute, and, like Clement VIII., slow in shewing favour; reserved and thoughtful, but sincere and frank, and inclined to a quiet way of living and to parsimony; a great scholar and lawyer. A gentleman attached to the household of Cardinal Aldobrandini, writing to the Doge a little later, said that the new Pontiff was easily led, and would, he thought, fall under Spanish influence.

The choice of Paul V., although it might have been a surprise to the individual immediately concerned, was to some extent managed by Spanish agencies and funds; and Philip III. subsequently subsidised his nephew Cardinal Borghese, first to the extent of 1000 and finally of 3000 *scudi di oro* a year. The character of the Pope, drawn on paper by the Venetian ambassador, was so far realised that, when he had made the tour of Europe in demands upon the other Powers to observe with greater strictness their obligations toward Rome, he proceeded to turn his attention to that member of the Catholic union, which was notoriously the most difficult of all to intimidate or to coerce.

Not satisfied with the declaratory republication with additions of former decrees, the Senate, on the 26th March 1605, thought proper to issue a decree, in which the relationship of the Church of Venice to the State was placed on the clearest footing, and the secular arm once more pronounced to be the ultimate seat of appeal. Nevertheless, on the entry of Paul V. into office, the usual ceremonies were observed, and his Holiness struck the Venetian diplomatists as of a benign and friendly disposition. But at the close of July the patriarch of Venice died, and the Senate appointed a new one in his place, requesting confirmation by the Pope. It had been prescribed that, before an election was ratified, the candidate should repair to Rome and submit to an examination; and the preceding holder of the office actually visited the city and the Curia, but on the express understanding that he did so on complimentary grounds. Paul insisted on a compliance with the bull of Clement VIII., and the Senate again trimmed by agreeing that the present patriarch should wait on the holy father to kiss his feet, if that would satisfy him. This

incident was followed by two others of a different complexion. Two ecclesiastics on the Venetian *terra firma* were accused and convicted of the most atrocious crimes, and their cases were treated by the ordinary tribunals. The Holy See claimed the right to intervene in one of them; but the Government in a studiously respectful communication declined to assent. Meanwhile, the personal attitude of Paul toward the Signory continued to be gracious and favourable; on the 11th September the Borghesi were inscribed on the Golden Book, and before the end of 1605 the affair of Ceneda had been arranged agreeably to Venetian views and wishes. There is an anecdote, which may be worth insertion, of a conversation between Paul, when he was cardinal, and the Venetian envoy Leonardo Donato. The former declared to Donato, that if he were made Pope, he would excommunicate the Signory at the first opportunity. Donato rejoined that, if he were Doge, he would laugh at the proceeding.

But it was becoming more and more apparent that his Holiness was listening to the proposals and counsels, not immediately of Spain, but of the viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Ossuna, and of the Spanish governor of Milan, the Count of Fuentes. The successors of Charles V. had abandoned as impracticable active and open aggression, and were preparing to play a subtler and a craftier rôle. Not merely the nephew of the present pope, Caffarello, but the majority of the members of the College, were in Spanish pay; and when Caffarello received the red hat, it was openly said by the Spanish cardinal Zappata, that he was pleased, because it was a selection not only acceptable to his Holiness, but to Philip III. Agostino Nani wrote to the Senate, 3rd December 1605, to confirm the ascendancy of Spain over the college and of the college over the pontiff; he said that Cardinal Arrigone boasted of having already made Genoa submit, and of intending next to make Venice do so, and that as to the points in debate the Pope and his advisers tolerated much graver abuses and irregularities in Spain. A few days after, two briefs were completed in duplicate and sent to Venice, touching the crucial question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the two persons in holy orders found guilty of abominable offences. Of these one set of duplicates was handed by a Roman courier to the nuncio on Christmas night, the other travelling round by Ferrara, to ensure safe delivery. The nuncio by no means relished the task imposed on him, foreseeing a storm, and eventually seized a

Government was so manifest, the league against Spain and the Holy See between Venice, France, the Grisons and others, and the hire of Dutch troops to assist in the movement, being seriously mooted, that Paul V. and his Spanish adherents finally arranged terms on a basis analogous to that proposed by France, but modified to meet the scruples of the Signory. When all the formalities had been completed and the Doge had at length¹ superscribed the intimation to all whom it might concern in the Venetian territories, that the difficulty was overcome, Francesco Contarini proceeded to Rome to wait upon his Holiness in the name of the Doge. When he had come within six miles of the city, he was met by over a hundred carriages of prelates, noblemen, and others, and was received by Paul V. with every mark of honour and esteem.

His Holiness hastened to make inquiries as to the health of the Doge, and laid stress on his good feeling toward the Signory; he said that he should desire what had passed to be forgotten; and he concluded with these words: "We love and value the Republic, and if the occasion arises we will manifest our paternal benevolence and the great affection which we bear to it, hoping that those Signori will meet us in a corresponding spirit, and afford us satisfaction in ecclesiastical matters and in regard to the Catholic faith, where they seek to introduce certain opinions, about which we will talk another time . . ."

A saving door of escape, a dignified egress, was managed in regard to the two clerks in orders still detained in Venetian hands. It was arranged that a delegate of the Signory should hand them over to the Cardinal de Joyeuse, who should pass them on to a delegate of his Holiness. In performing this ceremony Marco Ottoboni, who acted for the Doge, and who has left a personal narrative of the transaction, said to the Cardinal: "Monsignore, his Serenity has commissioned me to consign to your most illustrious lordship the signore abbot Brandolino and the canonico Saracino prisoners here, which his Serenity does to gratify his Most Christian Majesty, and without prejudice to the authority which he [the Doge] has to try ecclesiastics." The Cardinal accepted the men on these conditions.

So ended this comedy, or, more truly speaking, the first act.

¹ The text was very carefully worded and underwent a process of thoughtful revision, before it was ready for signature and distribution. See the document entire in Romanin, vii. 58-59.

The Republic continued, as before, to try ecclesiastical causes without reference to the Curia, and did so down to the last days of autonomy; and not very long after this reconciliation there were grave altercations between the Holy See and the Signory respecting Ceneda, the Jesuits, and other matters, followed during the pontificate of Paul V. by fresh troubles at Ferrara. Seeing the pliant and naturally pacific inclination of his Holiness, the Government seems to have thought it wise to act with a high hand, especially as it enjoyed the advantage of the professional experience of Sarpi. The relations with Ceneda were at length established on a satisfactory basis, and the bishop undertook for himself and his successors to treat Venice and no other Power as his sovereign. The proposal of the Pope to readmit the Society of Jesus into the territories of the Republic was negatived; and the election by him of his nephew Paolo Scipione Borghese to the abbacy of Vangadizza in the Polesine was declared illegal and void, only Venetian subjects being qualified to fill ecclesiastical dignities within the Dominion. The Ferrarese affair was a revival of the dispute respecting the boundary-line on the Po; they had erected forts at a point called *Bocca dei fornaci*, and had imposed a toll, which they termed *ancoraggio*. The Senate instructed the Captain of the Gulf to proceed to the spot, to destroy the works, to impound any craft he might find, and arrest the official whom his employers designated the admiral of the port. Everywhere the same litigious, unquiet, and inconstant spirit seemed to operate in keeping old quarrels open, and creating new causes of animosity. The Republic had her great and her small enemies; and the latter had proved perhaps the most vexatious and harassing. At Ferrara there seems always to have prevailed an anti-Venetian party inspired by the Papacy.

The king of Great Britain, who was already a somewhat voluminous author, had added to his literary exploits a reply to the two Briefs of Paul V. and to the letter written by Cardinal Bellarmine, under the title of *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*.¹ A copy of this work was sent to the majority of European sovereigns. France handed it over to a Jesuit father to confute; the Duke of Tuscany committed it to the flames; Savoy repudiated it; and the Doge caused it to be carefully put away unread, but, on the representation of the Papal nuncio, interdicted any reprint of it at Venice. Sir Henry Wotton, whose master had

¹ Originally printed at London in 1607.

looked for a more grateful appreciation of his learned labours, warmly remonstrated with the Government, and even talked of asking for his passports; but he was pacified by the assurance, that no disrespect had been intended, that the Inquisitors, who gave the orders in respect to the custody of the book, were not aware that his Majesty was the writer, and that similar steps had been taken in the case of a second publication of a controversial tenor. The maintenance of friendly relations with England was so affectionately studied under existing circumstances, that diplomacy was set to work to remove all possible misunderstanding, and the Cavalier Antonio Foscarini proceeded to London, where James received him with marked distinction, and undertook to help the Signory, should any difficulties arise in the Levant (June 1613).

As a farther counterpoise to Spanish enmity and ubiquitous intrigue, closer relations were contracted with Sweden and Denmark, and for the first time the Venetians, who had threatened in 1607 to take Dutch troops into pay against Spain and Rome, entered into a political and commercial alliance with the United Netherlands.

The share which Fra Sarpi had had in the business of the interdict, and in the important discussions and negotiations which led to its annulment, naturally exposed that eminent man to the vindictive antipathy of the Spanish party in Rome. On the 6th October 1607, a certain Rutilio Orlandini, who had filled various employments, and had been in the Venetian service, obtained a passport to go to Venice by Rovigo and Padua; but close to the Venetian frontier he was arrested, and conveyed the remainder of the way a prisoner under a warrant of the Ten. His approaching visit had been notified by the ambassador of the Signory at Rome in a letter of the 29th September, and it was thought that Orlandini had a nefarious object in view. He was originally a member of some religious order, was expelled for misconduct, turned highwayman, took service under the Republic, was charged with being a party to a plot for betraying Rovigo to the Papal troops, imprisoned, and finally banished. He repaired to Rome, adopted the profession of a bravo and cut-throat, and at length was commissioned to return to Venice to take part, as he told his intimates, in a grand coup by order "dei padroni," who had supplied him with funds. One of the trusted recipients of his confidence, however, one Flavio di Sassoperrato, who had

also served Venice, betrayed him, and communicated all to the ambassador, who thus procured his arrest.

On the afternoon of the 25th October, however, about five o'clock, Sarpi was returning home to his convent, accompanied by Fra Marino and by Alessandro Malipiero, an aged patrician; and when they reached the bridge of S. Fosca, they were unexpectedly attacked by three ruffians, of whom two overpowered Marino and Malipiero, while the remaining one stabbed Sarpi in three places, and left him for dead on the ground. Some ladies, who had seen the outrage from their windows, cried for help; the assassins, menacing the crowd with their arquebuses, managed to escape; and Sarpi slowly revived.

The public excitement and indignation were intense. Several members of the Senate, so soon as they heard of the atrocity, hastened to the convent to make inquiries. The Council of Ten was specially convened, and one of the avogadors was charged to collect all possible particulars of the circumstances. But the guilty parties had succeeded in outstripping pursuit, and reached the Papal frontier in safety. A boatman who rowed one of them, Ponca Ridolfo, and assisted in his flight, stated that another of the men had been very kindly treated at Rome, and that Cardinal Borghese had given him a large gratuity. A considerable sum of money was also shown to have passed through the hands of Orlandini, of whose fate we hear nothing more. The man who actually struck the blow was believed to be a person of Scottish origin, who called himself Giovanni Fiorentino, son of Paolo. Fra Sarpi was well tended by the physician Acquapendente selected by the Government to attend him, and slowly recovered from his wounds; he remarked with bitterness, looking at the poignard which the assailant had dropped, that he recognised the *stile* of the Roman Curia. He afterward laid the historical weapon at the foot of the crucifix of the altar at the Church of the Servi, where he was accustomed to attend mass, with the words: *Dei Filio Liberatori*.¹

On the 27th October, a decree was published, visiting with heavy penalties whoever should dare to molest or injure in any manner the person of the reverend father Paolo Servita, theologian of the Republic and "a subject of eminent learning,"² courage, and

¹ It is said to be still preserved in the Museo Correr. Romanin, vii. 75, note.

² The Pope excepted to the phrase *prestante dottrina*, and took umbrage at the compliment paid to the fellow-Servite Fra Fulgentio, one of the six, whose companionship Sarpi had solicited.

virtue, of exemplary merit, well deserving of our Signory, and to us extremely dear." A house near the Piazza of Saint Mark was assigned to him; he was invited to arrange for certain chosen friends to live with him; and his pension was increased to 600 ducats to enable him to keep a boat, and secure all the comforts which he might desire. In the middle of January 1608, the official minute relative to Sarpi was renewed with even stronger emphasis, owing to an impression that the Patriarch of Venice was unfriendly to him, as that prelate had used expressions construable into disrespect of the State, and was severely reprimanded by the Government in consequence; and peremptory directions were given to all the authorities of the *terra firma* to suffer no discussion or criticism on the subject. The measures taken to protect Sarpi, and the proof of the lofty estimation in which he was held, exasperated the Roman faction, and two farther attempts were made to dispatch him in 1609 and 1610. Of one next to nothing is known; it is mentioned in a letter from the Venetian ambassador at Rome under September 1, 1610; and the intended victim was put on his guard. Of the other, in which two friars were the principals, full particulars were obtained. Sarpi began to feel that it was almost unbearable to be in constant dread of the stiletto. "Evils," he said, "come to an end; but fear lasts for ever."

CHAPTER XXXVII

A.D. 1607-1623

Spanish Conspiracy against Venice (1618)—Long and secret preparations for its execution—Imminent probability of its success—The City full of Traitors and Bravoes—Story of the scheme—Delays in its maturity—Denunciation of the Movement to the Signory—Wholesale arrests—Three hundred Executions—The French and Spanish Ambassadors find excuses for leaving Venice—Ramifications of the Plot—Fall and death of Ossuna—Extraordinary case of Antonio Foscarini (1622)—Its English interest—Lady Arundel and Sir Henry Wotton—Unhappy and damaging mistake of the Council of Ten—Death of Paolo Sarpi (1623)—Particulars of his last days.

THE Signory was no longer entitled to doubt the existence at Rome and Naples, if not at Milan, of a deeply seated and persistent design to accomplish its ruin by a combination of treachery and violence. The Duke of Ossuna, Spanish Governor of Milan, a man equally remarkable for his organising energy, his vain-glory, his unscrupulous ambition, and his want of self-restraint, was already, within two years of the last plot against Sarpi, doing his utmost to injure and irritate the Republic by seizing vessels, intercepting letters, and confiscating mercantile property, for which no redress could be obtained; and in 1612 (Aug. 21) we find the Decemvirs authorising its resident at Naples to listen to disclosures promised by one Gio. Battista Rubeis. The tolerant temper of Venice in spiritual matters, its independence of the Papacy, its friendly relations with Protestant England and the heretical Netherlands, its opposition to the Jesuits and its indulgence to the Jews, its alacrity in acknowledging Henry IV. of France, whom it inscribed on the *Libro d' Oro*, and its political coquetry with the disciples of Mahomet—its veritable catholicity, combined to create in the Spanish mind a feeling of deadly and unrelenting rancour, which became capable of resorting to the worst and basest expedients for achieving its ends. The viceroy of Naples, who was the prime mover in this scheme at the present

stage, and who had been previously governor of Milan, left no means untried to exhibit his resolution to carry it out by a different method, since the original one had so signally failed. The Duke of Ossuna naturally dissembled his sentiments, and was even a party to the conclusion of the treaty of Madrid in 1617, by which peace was restored between Spain and Savoy, and between Venice and Austria.

Ossuna had in the previous year begun to shew great activity in collecting ships, with which he covertly inflicted damage on Venetian trade, and in encouraging all fugitives from the lagoons to enter his service, with a view to profiting by their local experience and communications. He caused a map to be prepared for his use, in which the city and its approaches were accurately delineated; and he possessed plans of the fortresses of Peschiera, Brescia, Crema, and perhaps Corfu. The Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Bedmar, supplied the viceroy with the particulars of the Arsenal and its approaches, and the defensive resources of the capital, in characteristic violation of his character and functions. Intelligence of every movement was punctually conveyed to the Government; its agents and representatives at various points reported any facts which came to their ears. The consul at Otranto sent particulars of a speech made by one of the creatures of Ossuna, a Venetian renegade named Drusi, to the effect that the Venetians might expect a good thrashing (14th to 28th Feb. 1617). It appears that the plan of Venice was exhibited by Ossuna to this man, who evinced a readiness to place himself at the disposal of every paymaster in turn, when the two were once closeted together in consultation as to the practicability of capturing the city. The representation shewed forts at Castel Nuovo and at San Nicolo del Lido; but the Duke laid less stress on the former than on the latter. Drusi mentioned that it was three years since he was at Venice, and he did not recollect the forts at Lido. Ossuna told him that the King of Bohemia was desirous of having a hand in the pillage of Venice; but Drusi, in repeating this observation to the Venetian resident at Naples, expressed his disbelief of such a thing.

It has been sufficiently indicated how the Spanish or Neapolitan plot against the Republic had had existence without assuming a definite form so far back as 1607, when strong efforts were made in concert with the Spanish cabal at Rome to resuscitate the traditions of Cambrai; and literature was made to bear

its part in casting doubts on the pretended immemorial freedom of Venice, and in bringing its system of government into odium and contempt. In 1612 a worthless pamphlet, entitled *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, was published at Mirandola, and created an artificial sensation by reason of the wide amount of public interest at the moment in everything relating to the subject; and about the same time copies were circulated in MS. of the Statutes of the Venetian Inquisition of State, purporting to have been framed, and to have come into operation, in 1454.¹ Such ephemerides must not be judged by a modern standard; they were intended to exert a sinister influence on persons who were unable or unwilling to test their authenticity or critical value; and even within a measurable distance of time the *Squittinio* was regarded as a masterpiece of scholarship and the Statutes as a prodigy of iniquity. The notion that the Spanish authorities in Italy were turning their thoughts to a new way of operating against Venice, must have acquired tolerable publicity in the very year in which the *Squittinio* saw the light, for the Council of Ten, under date of October 12, 1612, informed the authorities at Corfu that they were to watch a certain Greek priest, who supplied intelligence to Ossuna at Milan, and engaged to send him a chart of the castle.

Ossuna had made all his arrangements in the course of 1617. He had his instruments and material in readiness. All the most abandoned proscribers and felons, who had been driven from Venice, or who were acquainted with the topography of the city, were in his pay. He enlisted in his service the Uscocchi as a naval contingent to act, when the moment arrived and the signal was given. The Government was fully aware that the Spanish embassy was a sanctuary for bravi and assassins; and a bank was said to be kept there for betting on the elections to the Great Council.²

It was a strangely heterogeneous assemblage of desperate

¹ According to the best authorities, the work called *L'opinione come debba governarsi la Repubblica di Venezia*, attributed by Daru to Father Paul, was written by a person named Canale; and a second pamphlet, *Trattato sul Governo Veneto*, of which the same historian claims the authorship for the Chevalier Soranzo, and on which he lays great stress, is an acknowledged production of Francesco dalla Torre, the Emperor's ambassador at Venice, upon whom the version of the Statutes used by Daru may be also perhaps affiliated.

² H. F. Brown, *Historical Sketch*, 1895, 403. The writer quotes from memoranda alleged to have been found in one of the Inquisitor's copies of his capitulary in 1612; but the entries are rather suspicious; nor do I notice any reference to the point in Romanin.

adventurers, who had thus offered themselves to execute the obviously hazardous task of taking Venice by a *coup de main*, and annihilating its independence at a single blow. The league of Cambrai had failed, because it did not even succeed in establishing a close blockade of the islands, and it was open to the weakness of divided counsels and lukewarm adherents. But the plan of Ossuna was altogether a different and a more direct one. It was wholly under his personal control; he had no partners to consider or consult. The stroke was to be aimed at the very heart of the city. Venice, destitute of local military resources and of any immediately available fleet, would be paralysed and helpless.

The confidential minutes and dispatches of the Inquisition of State and the Council of Ten confer on us a privilege, not enjoyed by the viceroy of Naples, of becoming aware that, apart from the general knowledge and belief of hostile intentions, the Executive was in possession of official advices from a variety of quarters, keeping it constantly apprised of what was being everywhere done and said, so far back at least as the summer of 1615, when (27th June) the Venetian secretary of legation wrote from London to draw attention to the intrigues of the Marquis of Bedmar, and to his numerous partisans in Venice; a member of the Senate, who might have heard of this communication, spoke from his place on the 19th May 1616, in the same sense; and on the 13th April the Senate had written to its representative in Madrid, complaining of the scandalous proceedings of the viceroy in relation to the Uscocchi, and intimating that his Holiness had agreed to place his naval forces at the service of Ossuna. The prospect appeared so threatening, that on the 9th March 1617, the Captain of the Gulf had orders to keep a watchful eye on every point; and similar instructions reached the proveditor-general on the 12th April and 23rd July.

So far back as the winter of 1615, Jacques Pierre, a Norman by birth, and a man who had led a chequered and precarious life, was in secret correspondence with the Venetian representatives at Rome and Naples, Contarini and Spinelli, and was peculiarly pressing in his offers of service in view of the ancient friendship between the Republic and his native country. The Venetian ambassador at the Vatican, Simone Contarini, who found the statements of Pierre vague and inconclusive, if not suspicious, at first imagined that he referred to some machination in the Levant;

but when Contarini said to him: "sicuramente verso l' Arcipelago et l' Albania?" the other mysteriously clenched his hand, saying, "un po' più in su, un po' più giu";¹ and he changed the conversation by asserting that in betraying the designs of the viceroy he behaved as a loyal Frenchman, who was averse to Spanish aggrandisement. He talked on a variety of other topics in a hybrid vocabulary of Spanish and French, and finally laid open his desire to be in Venetian pay. He was always accompanied by an old Frenchman, named Nicole Regnault, who assisted him in different ways, and with whom he appeared to be on terms of the closest intimacy. These two individuals did not strike Contarini as quite satisfactory; and they found their way to Naples in March 1616, and had an interview with the Venetian resident Spinelli. Pierre took Spinelli into confidence by telling him that he was tired of the Spanish service, spoke of the projects of the viceroy, and repeated his wish to take Venetian employment. A capitano Langlad, an engineer, a naval officer of experience, and a maker of artificial fireworks, shared his desire; and Spinelli, less sceptical than his colleague at Rome, decided to send them, Regnault, and a fourth worthy, capitano Alessandro Spinosa, to Venice, Regnault at 40 ducats a month, and the others to be remunerated at the discretion of the Government. Pierre and Langlad were under orders to join the fleet at Gaeta or Civita Vecchia; but they gave the authorities the slip, and hastened forward to their new destination, accompanied by a fifth person, Beraud la Barriere. They presented themselves in May 1617.

The viceroy was so far not too fortunate in the progress of his arrangements. His tools were faithless, if they were not indiscreet; nor was the Duke himself as reticent as the delicacy of the circumstances seemed to demand. For when he received news of the willingness of the Pope or the Curia to lend him naval aid, he exclaimed to those about him, the Venetian resident at Naples tells us (March 4, 1617): "I wish to send these vessels against the Venetians, in despite of the world, in despite of the king, in despite of God; I wish to take from them the navigation and jurisdiction of the Gulf. I know that I shall catch them unawares; and then I shall be lord here, and no other." As soon indeed as the junction was completed, the flotilla left Brindisi, and entered the Gulf (July 1617); but the

¹ "A little more south, a little lower down."

Venetian commander advisedly declined an engagement, and fell back on Lesina with a trifling loss; and hereupon the Duke had a bridled steed made with a figure at its feet in Venetian costume. The conversion of private talk and confidential papers into historical material admits us all to-day behind the scenes; but even when such unimpeachable witnesses are laid aside, the public acts of Ossuna and his confederates, working (let us note) on their own account rather than on that of the court of Madrid, were conducted in a manner which could scarcely deceive statesmen of moderate intelligence and observation, far less those whom the Duke, in concert with the Holy See, proposed to take by surprise. The complicity of the pontiff and college was strengthened by the visit of the nuncio on the 1st August 1617, to felicitate Ossuna on his auspicious enterprise; and the latter was the more sanguine and elated, that, if this one miscarried, he had two others in reserve, one for September, the other for October. The viceroy was also in correspondence with Bedmar, the late ambassador of Spain at the court of England; and he was assured by him that the united maritime forces of the Two Sicilies and Algiers (Uscocchi) would have no difficulty in ascending the Gulf, or even in gaining an entrance into the city. At Malamocco a gang of English refugees was said to be in readiness to fire the Venetian ships in that port. Vague accounts meet the eye among the documentary evidences of the advances of Bedmar to Sir Henry Wotton, English ambassador at Venice, shadowed in a mysterious letter from London, written by a man in great pecuniary straits, and received by the Government on the 12th August: and there is an anecdote of a meeting between Wotton and Regnault in a bookshop at Venice, and of Regnault darkly hinting the existence of a conspiracy, to which Wotton naturally made no reply. The viceroy himself seems to have made an effort to divert suspicion by favouring an idea that there was a design to seize Corfu (April 1618), of which it was known that he had been offered a plan long before by a Greek priest. All these arrangements, calculations, and interviews had occupied from the outset not much less than two years, if we leave out of account the earlier stages, when Venice only surmised something serious, and before the viceroy and his allies began, toward the autumn of 1617, to reduce their project to a definite shape. Looking at the steadily increasing distrust and vigilance of the Republic, this long delay in consummation was a grave

error in tactics, as each day unfolded some fresh clue, however insignificant in itself, which tended to corroborate and fix suspicion, and to bring the Government to a definite course of action.

Jacques Pierre and his confidential friends Regnault and Langlad duly found their way to the presence of the Government. Their arrival was more probably preceded than followed by dispatches from Rome, in which the ambassador Contarini says (14th April 1617): "The capitano Jacques Pierre has in a thousand ways so impressively stated his desire to place himself at the service of your Serenity, that it has often occurred to me that this corsair, although he is full of courage and ardour, is little deserving of confidence, and he seems to me to seek an engagement, in order that when he is with the fleet he may assist the Duke of Ossuna and the Spaniards; such importunity as his does not appear natural." The writer owned that he might be in error, but at any rate he hoped that the Doge would make use of Pierre without damage to the Republic. The resident at Naples does not seem to have sent his views till August, when he simply reported that those who had connived at the escape of the fugitives were put by the viceroy to cruel tortures. Spinelli did not intimate any distrust of Pierre. The Government was at a loss whom or what to credit; Pierre was immensely plausible, and had a store of schemes, and abundance of friendly information to communicate; but nothing was settled, as it was thought best to await fuller intelligence, beyond the general engagement of Pierre on the 5th August, when he had been at Venice about three months, without any definite commission. It seems that the Government, looking at the active naval preparations of Ossuna, and treating hostilities at sea as a not distant contingency, did not realise the likelihood not only of treason at home, but of secret correspondence between the man to whose tales and professions it was listening and certain officers on board the vessels getting ready for service and the mercenary troops collected preparatorily to embarkation. These men, quartered at the Lazaretto, or wherever they could be accommodated, numbered two or three thousand; they were of various nationalities, chiefly adventurers and outcasts; but they included a corps of Walloons under the command of Count Lievestein. They had nothing to do but lounge about the city, haunt the taverns, and amuse themselves with idle gossip. Pierre and his friends mixed with

them, won some of them by small presents of money, and practised all the arts of good fellowship. Meanwhile time was passing; the Venetian accomplices of the viceroy were anxiously expecting to hear news of the fleet which was to participate in the intended operation. The Norman sent messages to Ossuna; he wrote to him by channels on which he thought that he could rely, but no reply came; and on the 10th November 1617 the allied squadrons of Naples and Rome were defeated off Santa Croce by the proveditor-general Veniero. Still he continued to look for news and relief; his situation was becoming more awkward and false; and in March 1618 a tumult among the troops was prematurely raised by Robert Brouillard, one of the Spanish emissaries. He was not the only instance of a marplot; for shortly after the arrival of Pierre and the rest in May of the previous year, the Norman found Spinosa so likely to prove troublesome that he denounced him to the Government, and caused his execution. On the 7th April Pierre again wrote to the Duke, stating that owing to his procrastinations the attack must fail, and that he was in the hope that the Signory might confide to him the task of bringing over additional forces from the *terra firma* for the protection of the capital; and finally it was arranged that two of the party, the brothers Bouleaux, should proceed to Naples, and try to have some understanding. But on the 9th of the month an anonymous letter was picked up in the apartment where the College assembled, and was carried to the Ten. It contained matter which led to the removal of Pierre on board the fleet, with instructions to the commandant to have him carefully watched, and Langlad shared the same lot. The former unsuccessfully attempted to avert the fatal blow to his ambition by making farther disclosures of the plans of the viceroy, who, he alleged, would have willingly employed him, if he had been prepared to quit the present service.

Some time previously to this turning-point in the business, Balthazar Juven of Grenoble, nephew of the Marechal de Lesdiguières, had made his appearance to offer to bring 300 men into the service of the Republic, and had first presented himself to the French ambassador Leon Bruslart, who, when he had read his letter of introduction, laughed, saying, "Ah, you do not mean to tell me that you are going to take the pay of this Republic? They are pantaloons, and do not deserve to have such as you are

to help them," and much more, adding, if he was in want of money, he had better turn his steps elsewhere. Juven stated that he was there by the direction of his uncle, and at the recommendation of the Venetian ambassador at Turin, and that he should do his duty. Bruslart made no farther ado, invited him to breakfast, and then accompanied him to the Spanish embassy. The Spanish representative asked him why he had not rather stopped short at Milan; but Juven answered that he was a Frenchman, and that Frenchmen did not serve Spaniards, whereupon Bruslart called him a Lutheran, and began to expatiate on the merits of Bedmar and his goodness to Frenchmen. Juven, however, was not to be cajoled, and returned to the subject of his engagement in the Venetian service. He shortly fell in with a countryman named Moncassin, who at first had some idea of entering into the conspiracy, and before Pierre was deported, had had a conference with him, and had seen the programme of the arrangements. In conversation with Moncassin, Juven pretended to be also willing to join; but he subsequently divulged the whole affair to Marco Bollani. Then, under the pretence of concluding the bargain for his troop with the Doge, he asked Moncassin to accompany him to the palace, where, when they had reached the hall, he asked Juven where they were going. "Why," replied the other, "I am going to beg the Doge's leave to shell the Mint and the Arsenal, and give Crema to the Spaniards!" Moncassin turned pale, and exclaimed, "Ah, do you want to lose all?" But Juven reassured him, saying that he had brought him there to reveal everything; and so they did. Juven obtained his wish, and proceeded to Crema with his company; and his comrade remained in the service of Venice.

The Government now determined to act. On the 12th May 1618 Regnault and the brothers Bouleaux were arrested, just when the former had been writing to his sister in Paris, to say that he had a piece of business in hand which would save him the trouble of earning his livelihood for the future,¹ which was true enough. The two Bouleaux, it appeared at their examination, had been engaged at the Spanish embassy in the manufacture of petards and fireworks in connection with a general plan of incendiarism; and they were forced into the admission that the embassy was a perfect storehouse of arms and ammunition, and that the order of the arrangements had been drawn up by Regnault

¹ Romanin, vii. 152.

and Pierre.¹ There had been an attempt to secure Robert Brouillard; but he took refuge in the Spanish embassy, and it was not thought expedient to violate the sanctuary. On the person of Charles Bouleaux were found several damning papers; two letters of Lorenzo Nolot, a Burgundian (Pierre's messenger to Ossuna), directed to a Signor Pireu, and in his stocking two others written to the Duke of Ossuna, one from Robert Brouillard and the other from the Spanish ambassador, recommending Bouleaux, who was to have gone to Naples to arrange certain details in respect to ulterior movements against Venice. Both these last were sealed, and were enclosed in an envelope directed to Monsieur Pietro delle Conchidie. The capture of Regnault and the others produced a scare, and there was a sudden exodus from the city, unhindered by the Executive, and emptying the lodging-houses of their motley and disreputable occupants. All who fell into the hands of the Government confessed that everything on their side was ready, and that if Ossuna had been able to support them, Venice must have been overpowered. They confirmed the hand which Brouillard had had in the insurrectionary movement among the Walloons at the Lazaretto, and the collusion between Pierre and two of the naval commanders belonging to the fleet.² On the same day which witnessed the arrest of Regnault and the two Bouleaux, orders were transmitted to the provveditor-general at sea to dispatch Pierre, Langlad, and their secretary Rossetti, in such manner as he might judge fit; in reporting their executions, Veniero stated that the fireworks fabricated by Langlad for the use of the fleet had been in reality destined to burn it. On the 18th Regnault and his confederates were strangled in prison, and their bodies afterward suspended head downward between the Columns. Other summary measures followed, and about 300 persons paid with their lives for their participation in the foolish and flagitious project; but no particulars have been preserved of the exact number or of the mode of disposing of them; and since the Doge, in a reply to the French ambassador a little later, did not deny the allegation, and it

¹ Galibert, *Histoire de Venise*, p. 367. This writer adds that an Avogador, accompanied by two Decemvirs, consequently visited the embassy, and overhauled the whole assemblage of warlike and combustible material; but this seems to want confirmation, more especially in the face of the conduct of the Government in regard to Brouillard.

² This point is corroborated by two letters on the same day from Lorenzo Veniero, provveditor-general of the fleet, to the Doge, written from Our Lady of Curzola's Galley, 26th January 1617-18.

subsequently appears that the Duke of Savoy had heard the same story, we must conclude that there was a distinct and influential Venetian element, of which the members silently perished. Bruslart declared that fifty patricians were accomplices. What sad shocks must have befallen households where a father, or a son, or a brother, whose guilt was unsuspected perhaps by the rest, was seized by the sbirro to be seen no more! What a spectacle the Lower Dungeons must have offered during days and days! One or two individuals, against whom there was insufficient evidence, were set at liberty. Juven had been for some time passed in Venetian pay. An informer gave the Government to understand that he was a party to a scheme for delivering Crema to the Spanish governor of Milan; and he was detained on this charge, but kindly treated,¹ and eventually released. He supplied his employers with some useful intelligence relative to the Austrian designs on Padua in 1619, and he ended by returning to France. Moncassin, who had been saved by Juven from yielding to the temptation to join the conspirators, was liberally rewarded, and had employment found for him at his own request in Candia, whence under date of 30th November 1619 we find him forwarding to Venice his plans for the more effectual defence of the island.

About two years elapsed before the vestiges and ramifications of the plot were exhausted, and before the Government had satisfied itself and others on all points. For the time a variety of special precautions was taken to prevent any fresh surprises; and guards were stationed at many unusual places, especially at the Spanish embassy, avowedly for the protection of the Marquis of Bedmar and his staff. The city was resonant with accounts of the recent thrilling and tragical affair, and the Spaniards were in all mouths; groups collected under the windows of the Spanish embassy, and did not disguise their hostile sentiments. Bedmar thought it not inopportune to present himself to the College, and protest the entire innocence of his Catholic Majesty and himself of the business, remarking with constitutional effrontery that his loyalty was known to all, that his conscience was perfectly clear, and that such proceedings would have been repugnant to Christian piety and to any man of upright intentions. He spoke of a wish to go for a short time to Milan, and declared most solemnly as a knight and a Christian that he had had nothing to do with

¹ Romanin, vii. 142.

the late operation; but he suggested that the idea might have originated among the persons of ill repute congregated at Venice, and always kept by him at a distance. He trusted that time would prove the truth of his words; but he begged meanwhile that his house might be secured from danger, as he said that the residences of ambassadors were ever held sacred; and finally he put himself in the hands of the Republic, in whose goodness and benignity he reposed the same confidence as his father had done and as the king his master.

The senior privy councillor, Giovanni Dandolo, in reply to this courageous allocution, drily said that the matter should be taken into consideration. Shortly after, the Marquis took an opportunity to state to the Doge that he proposed to go on urgent affairs to Milan, and would be absent a fortnight or so. The Doge cordially reciprocated the desire of his Excellency to see amicable relations between princes, and hoped that his Catholic Majesty would exhibit such a solicitude. Bedmar termed himself of all ambassadors the least, and so retired. He was succeeded by the French representative, who complained of the precipitate punishment of his countrymen, and expressed his disbelief of the existence of such a conspiracy, which he did not think it possible to have matured in a few days, when so many were implicated in it, and (according to his informants) fifty Venetian nobles lending their countenance. It was represented to him that the Signory had acted with the greatest deliberation, and held the confessions of the accused and their appeals for pardon. If there were Frenchmen among them, they had forfeited by their treason a title to the name, and so with the Venetians, to whom he alluded. Bruslart, like his Spanish colleague, was anxious to obtain a change of air, and announced his intention to go on a devotional visit to Our Lady of Loreto. In his next dispatch to his Government, he characterised the Venetians as barbarians, and dwelt on the idea that the whole thing was a concoction.

One of the features in the case was the revelation of a collateral scheme on the part of Ossuna or the Archduke of Austria, or both, for seizing the Istrian ports by means of a man-of-war ostensibly laden with salt for sale at different points. The vessel had left Barletta for Trieste on the 5th May 1618, but was taken soon after its departure from Trieste by the Venetian commander; and two of the persons concerned in the matter were sent to

Venice, and ultimately executed. A certain Robert Ellyot, described in one place as an Hungarian, and in another as an Englishman, was a party to the movement; but we hear nothing farther of him. In the course of the year, however, Sir Henry Wotton, partly in consequence of a rumour that the French envoy and himself had been charged with using disrespectful or malicious expressions touching the Republic, solicited an audience, and entered into details of his accidental knowledge of Regnault and his meeting with him in the book-shop, of his offers of information and desire to have English letters of introduction, and of his disclosures of Spanish designs on the African coast. Wotton paid the Signory a second visit, because in a mutiny on board the fleet a number of English subjects were involved, and with the rest suffered martial law. His Excellency foreshadowed the resentment which his Majesty might naturally feel, particularly as no distinction had been drawn between the offenders, but all, noble or otherwise, had undergone the same fate. At the same time, he presumed that discipline was essential to good military administration. The Doge pointed out that there were two hundred persons concerned, that the Republic was placed in a very difficult position, as it was well known, and that it had merely acted as other independent Powers were in the habit of acting under similar circumstances, and not from the least wish to affront the King of Great Britain.

In the winter of 1618 the Council of Ten received a communication from the Secretary of Legation at London about a certain Mannering, an Englishman, who sought employment under the Signory, and his dissuasion from his purpose by the Spanish ambassador, who, understanding that he had compromised himself by certain piratical acts with his Catholic Majesty, promised to obtain his pardon, so long as he did not serve the Venetians, adding that he should ere long have lands in Venice at his disposal, whereupon Mannering put to him: "And how? And is Venice so easily to be taken?" His Excellency admitted that the place was strong, but when it was disarmed, it would be easily managed, and they might leave the rest to the Duke of Ossuna.

The French ambassador, in his representations to the Doge on two successive occasions, had on the one hand put forward the bold proposition that the Spanish plot was a fiction, even while he stated that a considerable body of Venetians of family were parties to it. His own government was of a different

opinion, as we have seen; and there is a highly remarkable report of a conversation on the subject in the beginning of June 1618, between Reniero Zeno, Venetian resident at Turin, and the Duke of Savoy, who said: "If those Signori [the Venetians] do not take advantage of the present moment, and publish full particulars and justifying documents of that iniquitous business, two things will happen; the Spaniards will be saying that it was an invention, and was the work of malcontents in Venice, and that those nobles, who were put to death, were the real movers; so that the world will say that the Signory, instead of discovering the fire, smothered it. The other point is (and he urged Zeno to send an express home to submit it), that they are nourishing a serpent in their bosom, not perceiving the danger, and not remedying it. God forbid (and he made a feint of falling on one knee), it may not turn to their and my discomfiture! Signor Zeno, it does not end here (the Duke spoke in a low tone); there were Frenchmen in it; I do not speak of the king, for there are no better men, but of corrupt ministers, who do not seem to have communicated to him so abominable a wickedness, but simply to have spoken of a stroke to weaken and mortify the Republic . . ."

The central crisis, so long in process of maturity, had been averted by the removal of the foreign principals and the eradication of the still more serious and alarming element—the traitors at home, the corrupt blood, which began to vitiate the national life. The peril had been infinitely greater than any one outside the councils and the prisons ever suspected; and the difficulty of grappling with it was immense. The seizure of the persons of the secret ringleaders in the movement and the dispersion of their accomplices would have been tolerably easy; the normal police and a strong detachment of marines would have performed the task without risk and without impediment. But the large body of foreign mercenaries in the capital at the moment, with the possibility of a survival of local disloyalty among the needier nobles, rendered the display of armed force a dubious experiment, for the Government could not calculate on the turn which such a step might have given to affairs. It might have provoked a riot or even a revolution. Hence proceeded an apparent dilatoriness in striking the decisive blow, and forcing an issue. The relief was probably intense, when there was a fair certainty that the city itself was no longer in jeopardy.

The recent appalling experience, while it appeared to betray

some deficiency in the system of protecting a capital so seriously exposed to danger, less from external attack than from machinations concerted within between aliens and national malcontents, and accordingly to impeach the wisdom or vigilance of the oligarchical rule, ultimately tended still farther to fortify the general trust in the Council of Ten and its delegates, the inquisitorial triumvirate, since the course of events and the drift of constitutional changes had united to deprive the Republic of any practical alternative. The key to the decemviral supremacy, and its successful resistance to attack, was its unquestionable integrity and its absence of bias—qualities to which the increasing symptoms of loss of caste and independence among certain impoverished constituents of the Great Council naturally lent an enhanced value.¹

It does not appear possible to judge with precision when the Government first satisfied itself as to the exact bearings and reach of the terrific danger, and its action was hampered by the painful doubt of the extent to which subjects of the Republic were implicated; the interval between the stage of suspicion and that of approximate certainty strikes us as a very long one; and, on the other hand, the hand of the authors of the plot almost seems to have been stayed by a sense of the magnitude of the design and the dread of a secret knowledge of the facts by the authorities.

The discontent of the Neapolitans at the oppressive government of Ossuna led to his recall in 1620 and the appointment of Cardinal Borgia in his place. The Cardinal, finding a difficulty in gaining an entrance into the city, owing to the reluctance of the Duke to relinquish his post, succeeded in bribing the guard or garrison of Castelnuovo, and when Ossuna, hearing the salute fired in honour of his successor, hastened to the Castle, they refused him admittance. "Am I not the Viceroy?" he exclaimed. "The Viceroy is in the castle," was the answer given. About the same time the French Ambassador was replaced, and so three of the principal actors in the drama just closed quitted the scene, leaving the Republic to deal with other occurrences less grave, yet scarcely less strange or less mournful.

The Spanish conspiracy, of the reality of which no dispassionate mind can entertain the slightest doubt, left behind it just such traces as its insidious conduct and deadly object

¹ Many copies in different languages of an account of the Spanish plot exist in MS., and are all equally untrustworthy. One in the Bibliothèque at Paris in Italian was used by Daru.

might be expected to preserve. A Government, never prone to overweening confidence in those Powers with which it maintained the ordinary diplomatic relations, and at all times peculiarly sceptical in regard to Spain, was just at present animated by a feverish distrust and a nervous dread of all who were supposed to be in touch with the Court of Madrid in a direct or indirect manner, while at home it was engaged in repressing with exemplary severity electoral and other parliamentary abuses and scandals, some of the Barnabotti or poor patricians having been convicted of tampering with the ballot in order to secure their return to offices of emolument. In one case, Giambattista Bragadino confessed to having been in intimate relations with Bedmar and his successor, and his accomplice Minotto received, it appeared, 200 scudi a month from Spain. Bragadino was hanged, and Minotto committed to the Lower Dungeons; and the Spanish Ambassador found it convenient to apply for his passports, nor was any other representative of the country appointed for some time.¹ Those ominous symptoms were overshadowed for the moment, however, by an event of which the origin dated back to 1611 or 1612, when, it having been discovered that the tenor of dispatches addressed by the Cavaliere Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain, had been divulged, and the blame being attached to the Secretary of Legation, Scaramelli, who kept the seals, he was recalled, and Giulio Muscornò sent to take his place. Foscarini and Muscornò after a while had serious disagreements, and the latter proceeded by artful intrigue to ruin his chief. Foscarini was a nobleman of high family and honourable reputation, who had filled many responsible positions with credit; but he was fond of pleasure, giddy in his behaviour, and indiscreet in his conversation. His secretary was also partial to society, could sing and play well, and ingratiated himself with the Queen and some of her ladies. The breach between the two Venetian officials gradually widened. Muscornò began to whisper insinuations against his colleague, and was assisted by the Cavaliere Biondi in drawing up and privately circulating a contemptible libel entitled, *Sayings and Doings of the Ambassador Foscarini*; and he actually prevailed on the Council of Ten to accord him leave of absence from London to see his aged father at Venice, and to transact other urgent family business. Interrogated by the Inquisitors of State, the

¹ Romanin, vii. 163.

secretary furnished such an unsatisfactory account of Foscarini, alike in his public and private capacity, that it was decided to send back in his place Giovanni Rizzardo, a notary attached to the Chancery, to collect whatever information he could find in relation to the matter, and transmit a confidential report. The result was that opinion in London and about the Court was divided, and that the balance was favourable to the accused; the King and the Primate were both well disposed toward him; and the Queen, although her Majesty had taken momentary umbrage at some expressions on his part, was once more perfectly cordial, and it was said that Foscarini had been a special favourite of the late Prince Henry. But advices from other quarters, particularly from the Venetian representative in France, who had seen a countryman just arrived from the English metropolis, full of gossip about the irregularities and levities of the Ambassador, his loose course of life, which made him pass with many for a fool, his unauthorised correspondence with the French Huguenots, and other things, asserted to be the common talk in Paris, seem to have outweighed all other considerations; and after a sufficiently long interval, to preclude the risk of a false step in the face of such conflicting statements by equally responsible and trustworthy informants, Foscarini was recalled. Prior to his departure he went to Greenwich, and met with a most gracious reception at the hands of Anne of Denmark, who, he states in a letter from Calais, 1st January 1616, sat down and made him sit by her, and be covered, while they conversed. But on his arrival at his destination he and his valet Ottavio Robazza were at once arrested and committed to prison. A long, intricate, and tedious process of examination and trial succeeded. Elaborate efforts were made through the Secretary Lionello in London to obtain proofs, first of the treasonable betrayal of confidence, and secondly of private misconduct. As much as a year and half posterior to the disgrace of the unhappy man, the Inquisitors forwarded to England a series of interrogatories for solution by his successor Barbarigo; the question was finally referred to a committee of seven, including the Inquisitors, and on the 30th July 1618, after two years and a half of cruel suspense, Foscarini was honourably acquitted, and Muscorno sentenced to two years' imprisonment in a fortress. The treatment of both amounted to a mockery of justice. The scoundrel Muscorno assuredly as well deserved the cord or the halter as any of those who had recently

suffered, while to Foscarini even his full reinstatement in favour was an inadequate compensation for such lengthened persecution and obloquy. The simple fact was that the valet Robazza had been bribed by Forêt, a French spy, in the absence of the Ambassador at Newmarket and elsewhere, to admit him to the room where the papers were very incautiously left open, and that Forêt had copied them. Robazza lost his right hand, and was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment. On the 19th December 1618 Foscarini at last delivered in the Senate his Relation of his French and English embassies, nearly three years after date; and he there took occasion to state that the expenses which he had necessarily incurred in maintaining the dignity of his country had impoverished his estate to the extent of between 14,000 and 15,000 ducats. He subsequently filled a succession of high employments, was received on all sides with unabated respect and affection, and had the gratification of hearing the British Ambassador reiterate in the Senate the assurance, previously tendered to him personally, of his complete innocence of the calumny.

Muscorno underwent his very lenient sentence, and emerged with the fullest intention to renew his attempt to undermine and destroy the man whom he chose to regard as his arch-enemy. His new plans were of course governed by the altered circumstances. The Earl and Countess of Arundel and Surrey¹ had settled in Italy since 1619, in order to avail themselves, in the education of their two young sons, the elder of whom was at a later period owner of the Arundelian Marbles, of the advantages offered by the University of Padua. They had a palace at Venice² and a country house at Dolo in the neighbourhood, not far from the university; and there Lady Arundel spent much of her time, her husband being frequently absent. Her ladyship was said to dislike England, because she had been brought up as a good Catholic; and she probably preferred the curriculum at Padua for her children on the same account. Among the guests at the Villa Dolo were the English Ambassador, the Tuscan resident Sacchetti, the Imperial delegate Rossi, the Spanish Secretary of Legation, and others, including one Girolamo Vani,

¹ Romanin, vii. 182, misled by Rawdon Brown, reports her as Lady Arundel of Wardour, although he elsewhere gives a letter from her ladyship subscribed *Alethea Arundel and Surrey*.

² The Casa Mocenigo, where Lady Wortley Montagu and Lord Byron afterward stayed.

whom his hostess did not of course recognise as a common informer; and Foscariⁿⁱ came very occasionally.¹ Yet it was upon this basis that Muscorno built up his second case against his former chief; and he had the advantage of the collusion of Rossi and of a friend of the latter, Giulio Cazzari, who fabricated between them a series of papers incriminating Foscariⁿⁱ. This distressing affair differed from the preceding one so far that a very brief space of time sufficed to impress the Government, with these documents before them, of the treasonable correspondence of the Cavaliere with Milan, the Emperor, and Spain; and on the evening of the 8th April 1622, as he was leaving the Senate, Foscariⁿⁱ had a cloak suddenly thrown over him,² and, so muffled, was carried to prison under a warrant from the Inquisitors of State. The latter had been supplied for a stipulated amount by Girolamo and Domenigo Vani, of whom the first has been named as an unsuspected frequenter of the Villa Dolo, and who, as some said, were uncle and nephew,³ with the entire series of reputed communications. The two Vani swore that, besides their own evidence and the written record, one Giovanni Battista, who served the Spanish agent, knew these facts, and would depose to them. The Mantuan resident at Venice refers to Foscariⁿⁱ as a senator with wide sleeves, or, in other words, of the first rank.

It was alleged that Foscariⁿⁱ frequented the residence of Lady Arundel at night and unaccompanied, dressed in a fantastic manner; but the main charge was that he paid these visits in order to carry on a clandestine negotiation with the representatives of the Emperor and with Spain, and that he enjoyed for his services a pension of 6000 gold crowns a year. The guilt of the prisoner appeared to his peers and judges so manifest that on the 20th, out of fifteen votes, thirteen, the Doge himself included, were in favour of capital punishment by strangulation and subsequent exposure between the Columns. The deliberations had lasted till three o'clock in the morning, and between seven and eight Foscariⁿⁱ was no more. He had left a will, witnessed by the prison officials, whereby he bequeathed sums of money

¹ The above-named Sacchetti, in a dispatch to his Government, 21st April 1622, says, "il senator Foscariⁿⁱ ch' era stato ambasciator in Inghilterra la visitava qualche volte, se ben piuttosto rarissime volte." Romanin, vii. 183.

² *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1672, p. 308.

³ *Ibid.* p. 307, where there is a letter to an anonymous correspondent about the business.

to various friends, including Fra Sarpi; but all the legates renounced their claims.¹ To the majority, who beheld the disfigured corpse² dangling from the gibbet till sunset, the gruesome spectacle was the earliest knowledge of the tragedy.

The judgment was subscribed by the Doge and other members of the Council, and concluded with these words: "This judgment absolves the tribunal from the imputation of having suffered itself to fall into error or of having acted arbitrarily in a matter affecting the honour and life of the citizens."

The same day, Wotton, having understood that Lady Arundel contemplated a visit to Casa Mocenigo, dispatched a secretary post-haste to Dolo to communicate what had happened, to say that the Signory spoke of ordering her ladyship to quit the Dominion within three days, and to recommend her to countermand her journey. The messenger found Lady Arundel from home, and followed her as far as Lizza Fusina, where he delivered his charge. Its effect was to confirm her ladyship in her resolution to proceed to Venice, where she arrived very late in the evening. It was with some difficulty that Wotton prevailed on her to wait, till an interview with the Signory could be arranged. But she ultimately wrote a polite letter to the Doge, in which she protested her complete innocence of any connection with the case, and respectfully solicited an audience, which was accorded to her on the 29th. She was accompanied by Wotton, and placed on the right hand of his Serenity in the Council of Pregadi. The Countess delivered her statement in English, Wotton following with an Italian version, both alike affirming that she had not seen Foscari, nor heard from him, in the last eighteen months, and that she was eager to clear herself, her name, and her nation of such an unjust accusation; and the reply of the Doge, previously settled, was read, exonerating her ladyship from all blame, and adding that steps had been taken to explain to the Earl Marshal, through the English Legation, the whole of the circumstances, and to intimate the profound goodwill of the Signory, and its pain at the inadvertence. A propitiatory oblation of confections and wax to the value of a hundred ducats was at the same time made to the aggrieved lady; and a dispatch had already been addressed on the 28th to the Venetian Embassy in

¹ See Fra Sarpi's letter in Romanin, vii. 188.

² Wotton says that his face was bruised by being dragged along the ground; but he suggests that this may have been done to disguise his identity.

London to do what was necessary to restore amity. Lady Arundel was probably the only woman who ever made one in that august assembly.

Her ladyship had not waited for the views of the Senate to transmit to the Earl in England a full narrative of the whole business, and the text of her forthcoming vindication, by her major-domo Vercellini. Both Lord Arundel and the King were satisfied with what she had done; but they concurred in feeling that Wotton exposed her to too grave a risk in not absolutely refusing to support her personal appeal to the Signory, from which some unpleasant consequences might have ensued. It does not transpire that his lordship moved any farther in the case; but James I. sat down on the 10th June 1622 to write, "from our Palace at Greenwich," a letter¹ to the Doge, thanking him for exonerating "our most dear kinswoman" from an unjust suspicion, stating his readiness at all times to reciprocate such goodwill, and expressing the gratification of the Earl Marshal at the honour done to his wife, and so forth. Lady Arundel, however, removed shortly after to Turin, where she lived till the circumstances had been forgotten.²

But the worst and most cruel part was to come. The employers of the informers Vani, not satisfied with having disposed of one victim, next proceeded to denounce a second nobleman inimical to the Spanish party, named Marco Miani. Sir Henry Wotton writes from Venice to a correspondent³: "But one of the Inquisitors, either by nature more advised than the rest, or intenerated with that which was already done, would by no means proceed any farther without a pre-examination of the aforesaid Giovan Battista,⁴ which might now the more conveniently, and the more silently, be taken, because he had left the house of the Spanish Agent, and was married in the Town to a Goldsmith's Daughter. To make short, they draw this man to a secret account, where he doth not only disavow the having ever seen any Gentleman in the Spanish Agent's house, but likewise all such interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never spoken with any of them, but only

¹ Printed in Romanin, vii, 194-5.

² The Earl died at Padua in 1646.

³ *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1672, pp. 308-9.

⁴ Romanin, vii. 195, seems to be at fault here, for he writes:—"non sappiamo per quali indizii od accuse, ma certo è che cominciarono a sorgere sospetti. . . ." And he applauds the avowal of the Ten as "un atto sublime."

three words by chance with the elder, namely Girolamo, upon the Piazza di S. Stephano. Hereupon the Inquisitors confronted him with the Accusers; they confess without any torture their malicious Plot, and had sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the executed Cavalier, namely Nicolo and Girolamo Foscari, make haste to present a petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunal, that the false Accusers of the abovesaid Marco Miani might be re-examined likewise about their Uncle. The Council of Ten, upon this Petition, did assemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before; and there they put 10 voices, whether the Nephews should be satisfied.

"In the first Ballotation the balls were equal; in the second there was one ball more in the negative box, either because the false witnesses, being now condemned men, were disabled by course of law to give any farther testimony, or for that the Council of Ten thought it wisdom to smother an irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, no possible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government had been likewise a stop to their own fortunes), but by means of the confessor, to whom the Delinquents should disburthen their souls before their death, and by him, at importunity of the said Nephews, the matter was revealed. . . ."

The two Vani were put to death; and the Council of Ten was thus, as we seem to be entitled to believe, forced into an admission of having perpetrated the grossest, most inexcusable, and most detrimental blunder ever capable of being laid to its charge. It was a poor atonement to the family, which the tribunal offered, when it placed among its archives a minute as wanting in candour as the proceeding itself had been in perspicacity and justice.¹ After a verbose preamble, in which the Council erroneously predicated of their measure that it was a spontaneous one, it signified that the representatives of the deceased were to suffer no taint in blood or forfeiture of property, and that the resolution was to be read in the Great Council for the information of the world. Printed copies of it were exposed for public sale, and were sent to all the Courts. The remains of Foscari were exhumed, and were reinterred in the Church of

¹ See it entire in Romanin, vii. 297.

the Frari with every mark of sympathy and attribute of splendour. A bust surmounting an inscription is to be seen in the Church of S. Eustachio near the old Foscarini residence.

Such was what may be termed the third act in the great Spanish scheme for breaking the power of a State, which presented to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty the twofold aspect of inculcating principles antagonistic to monarchy and popery. First came the rupture with Paul V. during the years 1605-7: then succeeded the Spanish conspiracy, which reached its climax in 1618; and now we may look back on the miserable Foscarini miscarriage and wrong.

The Doge Marco Foscarini, a century and a half later, in an apology for the Inquisitors as an institution, took occasion to recall the painful misadventure to which his ancestor was sacrificed, and said that he held as a household tradition the grateful and tender recollection of that day, the 16th January 1623, when the Great Council by solemn resolution, transmitted to all the Courts, declared the tragical accident which had befallen a citizen who had discharged the highest dignities in the State." But the speaker pertinently concluded: "Nothing is said there, except that the frauds of three villains had outbalanced the perception of three inquisitors."¹ When an executive organisation, such as this before our eyes, was hoodwinked and duped by such persons, to the degradation and ruin of a public servant of long and high standing, there should be less wonder that a man of such consummate address and profound craft as Jacques Pierre imposed on its credulity during months, and brought within a point or two of success his gigantic enterprise.

The Franco-Spanish ague was rather long-lived; and it may be worth while to relate an incident which illustrates the drastic and impartial sternness of the Venetian nature, and shews that, on the supposition of his guilt, Foscarini had not been exceptionally punished. The *Sieur de la Haye*, who was in the Venetian service about 1650, says, writing about fifteen years later²— "About twenty-six years since, one of the family of the Contarini, and nephew to the Doge that was then, was strangled in Prison for having been seen in a Gondoloe with a Secretary of Spain."

¹ He might have said, of a Doge, six Privy Councillors, three Chiefs of the Ten, three Avogadors, and three Inquisitors. The sentence was proposed by the Doge; but perhaps he did not vote.

² *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, translated into English, 1671, pp. 52, 53.

But the distrust extended to the French it seems, for the same writer immediately adds—"A Friend of mine, one Labia, a noble Venetian, who had spent much of his time in France, when Monsieur du Plessis Besançon took his leave of the Senate, admiring the beauty and accomplishment of the young Chevalier his Son, he could not contain himself from accosting him and paying his respects, but suspecting that one of the Council of Ten (who are always about the Ambassadors) had observed him, he was glad of his own accord to throw himself at the feet of those terrible Judges, to acknowledge his fault and implore their pardon"—and he was excused, because he had acted thus promptly, and had forestalled an information.

While all this political trouble was agitating Venice, Fra Paolo Sarpi continued to lead a retired and studious life in the residence near Saint Mark's, which the Government had assigned to the use of himself and his chosen companions. His official services were occasionally sought in points arising between the Signory and his Holiness; but there had not been of late much to occupy him. His health had during some time been affected by certain ailments; but he took little notice of them, until, being in the place where the archives were preserved, on the 26th March 1622, he was seized with a chill; he lost his voice, and a catarrh and feverish attack supervened. These symptoms continued during three months; and his strength gradually failed. He experienced increasing difficulty in producing circulation, and his digestive organs were feeble. He was suffering from the consequences of a prolonged neglect of his health. It was Saturday, the 14th January 1623, when he felt an inability to rise in the morning. Several distinguished visitors called to inquire for him. He was aware that he was in imminent danger, but he did not part with his cheerfulness. To the Frati at his bedside he said—"I have done all I could to comfort you; now it is for you to keep in good spirits." Fra Fulgentio was summoned by the Signory to let them know how Sarpi was. "He is *in extremis*." "And his mind?" "It is perfectly clear." Three questions of great public importance were then confided to Fulgentio to put before his friend. Sarpi sent the replies, and the latter were the same evening read in the Senate, which decided to act upon them. The dying man then made one of those near him read aloud the description of the passion of Christ in St. John's Gospel, Sarpi repeating the passage: "*Quem proposuit Deus mediatorem per fidem*

in sanguine suo." His medical adviser arrived, and made known to him that he had a very short time to live, whereupon, smiling, he said: "Blessed be God! that pleases me which pleases Him. With His succour we shall perform well this last act." The physician proposed to give him a restorative; but Sarpi declined it. His tongue was viscous, and he asked Fra Marco to hand him his scalpel, which was not in its usual place. "Ah!" he cried, "here it is. Take more care of it in future; it is a small thing." He continued to talk in a subdued tone, repeating several times with satisfaction: "Come, let us go where God calls us." He then fell into a sort of stupor, muttering to himself; but presently he lifted his voice audibly, saying: "Let us go to Saint Mark's; it is late . . . I have much to do." He heard the eighth hour¹ strike, and counted the sounds one by one; and when they had ceased he said: "It is eight; make haste to give me what the physician has ordered." It was some muscadell which the doctor had sent him from his own cellar; and he had barely put it to his lips when he refused more, observing: "It seems to me strong." Feeling faint, he motioned Fra Fulgentio to his side, embraced and kissed him, and "'Do not stay here any longer,' quoth he, 'looking at me; it is not right; go and take your rest, and I will go to God, whence we have all of us come.'" Fulgentio complied; but he and the others shortly returned, and kneeling down round the bed, said in low tones the *Vigilia Mortuorum*, Sarpi repeating the words as well as he could after them. The crucifix was placed in front of him; he made an effort to join his hands, and first fixing his eyes on the object, and then partly closing them, he yielded up his brave and noble spirit. The last articulate words he was heard to pronounce were: *ESTO PERPETUA!* His beloved country was his last, as it had been his chief, thought.

His remains were consigned to the earth in the presence of a large concourse of ecclesiastics and laity; and the Republic gave direction for the safe custody in suitable binding of all his papers, and for the execution of a marble bust to be deposited in the Church of the Servi, as a mark of public gratitude and respect. The work was intrusted to Jacobo Campagna; but the Roman Curia and its supporters at home succeeded in preventing any progress with the monument. The Venetian Ambassador at Rome (Reniero Zeno) reported no modification of the animosity

¹ About one o'clock in the morning.

against Sarpi, and recommended a policy of complaisance, adding that the departed had no need to live in stone, as he would live in the national annals with less risk of oblivion.¹ Within a week of the death a notification of the event had been sent to the Holy See and to the other European courts, with an emphatic expression of the general sorrow, and an account of the last honour paid to his memory; and the step, which might have been construable into a cartel of defiance against Rome, since such a rare homage was paid to the Venetian of all Venetians most distasteful and most formidable in the eyes of the Papacy, possibly explains the opposition to the proposed memorial.

Whatever may be the estimated literary value of his works, or his true place as a theologian, Sarpi stands face to face with us to-day as one of those personalities which render history less monotonous, less ignoble, and less sad; for his sorrows were those of every strong spirit struggling for right, and his pleasures those of every great mind searching for truth. The portrait which accompanies some of his books seems to have been produced under the superintendence of Wotton, and it displays the scar left by the Roman stiletto.

¹ The chapel and altar of the Vergine Addolorata at the Servi were demolished in 1828, but the bones of Sarpi were reverently preserved and reinterred at San Michele di Murano on the 15th November the same year.—Romanin, vii. 81.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A.D. 1623-1669

Succession of Doges—The Rialto Bridge erected (1588)—Enthusiastic inauguration of Marino Grimani (1595)—The Dogaresa crowned (1597)—Splendid festivities—The Doge Bembo and his Physician—The rich and popular Doge Priuli—Beniero Zeno and his attacks on the Council of Ten (1624-28)—Changes in Europe—Venice and the Netherlands—War in the Valtelline (1620)—Activity of Venetian Arms and Diplomacy (1620-30)—Plague at Venice (1630)—Unusual Mortality—Deaths of Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII. (1642-48)—Cardinal Mazarin—Threatened danger to Candia—Pretext of the Porte for going to War—Scene at Constantinople between the Divan and the Diplomatic Corps—Commencement of Candiot War (1644-45)—Strenuous exertions of Venice to preserve the Island—Treaty of Westphalia (1648)—Eventual surrender of Candia to the Porte on honourable terms—Enormous losses of the Turks during a four-and-twenty years' intermittent struggle (1645-69).

THE sequence of the Doges since the veteran Nicolo da Ponte was chosen to replace that remarkable figure, Sebastiano Veniero, in 1578, has been hitherto left unchronicled as a feature of secondary importance, and as not offering in itself any historical points deserving of special attention. The element in the constitution, on which all once leant and turned, has become little beyond an official medium and a majestic or pompous adjunct. Da Ponte, if the popular desire had been consulted, would have had as his successor Vincenzo Morosini, who in fact commanded a majority in the electoral conclave. But he was induced to give way to Pasquale Cicogna, who aggravated the dissatisfaction at his appointment by his frugality in scattering largesse among the crowd as he was carried in the chair round the Piazza. Cicogna, a descendant of the apothecary who was admitted to the Great Council after the war of Chioggia, was happy in witnessing ten years of peace (1585-95), persistently maintained in spite of every attempt to prevail on the Signory to join political or military alliances both in western and eastern Europe. Even with the Porte friendly relations were preserved, and in 1595 a new treaty concluded. But this administration was distinguished

by many architectural improvements and embellishments; the ducal palace, the public library, and the Mint were brought nearer to completion; and, above all, the famous Rialto bridge, after forming a subject of discussion and negotiation since the commencement of the century, was thrown, pursuant to a resolution of the Senate (7th January 1587-88), across the Grand Canal, from the design of Antonio da Ponte, in a single arch; the first stone had been laid on the 31st May 1585.¹ There were three competitors, including Scamozzi; but opinions as to details were invited, and as many as four-and-twenty professional persons came forward to offer suggestions. They were co-operating in a work which scarcely the three interposed centuries has divested of its uniqueness. Among the designs submitted at an earlier date (1524-25) by Michael Angelo, Sansovino, and others, one shewed a line of shops on either side; a second proposed a covered way. The object was limited in all cases to the accommodation of pedestrians.

On the night of the 26th April 1595, after the death of the Doge Cicogna, a vociferous clamour spread over the precincts of the palace, demanding the election of Marino Grimani, who was a special popular favourite, insomuch that there was at one moment a fear of a tumult. But the next day Grimani was actually returned; and the general rejoicing and exultation were boisterous, a bonfire being made of the benches lying about the public offices. A large quantity of bread and wine was distributed among the poor and the boatmen at the ferries. The new Doge was as lavish in his largesse as the Doge before him had been niggard; and the Dogressa Morosina Morosini Grimani threw money to the crowd beneath from the palace windows.

In the course of nine hundred years only two Doges had seen their consorts invested with the ducal berretta. It was an honour and a homage, of which the signal rarity immensely augmented the distinction. Both the present prince and his wife enjoyed an exceptional degree of popularity and esteem; and in 1597 it was decided to proceed to the coronation of her Serenity. The ceremony was performed on Sunday, May 4, with unprecedented magnificence. The Signory, the great officers of State, their wives and daughters, and the Trades, contributed to one of the grandest spectacles ever witnessed. Three hundred

¹ Hazlitt's *Coins of Europe*, 1893, p. 220. A medal was struck to commemorate the occasion with this inscription: *Fondamenta · Facta · Prid · Kal · Iunii · 1585.*

bombardiers led the way; the members of the Gilds followed; next came a procession of ladies belonging to the aristocracy and the Government, attired in the most costly material; the nephews and nieces of the ducal house, six damsels in green, and two dwarfs; then the Dogaressa succeeded, walking at a stately pace, in a mantle of cloth-of-gold, between the two senior privy councillors, her head invested with the berretta; and the procurators of Saint Mark and the other grand functionaries formed the rear. It was a gorgeous and dazzling galaxy of gold, silver, velvet, satin, and every other imaginable texture; and the Gilds had entered into the proceedings of the day with enthusiasm, and had set up triumphal arches and awnings along the route, which the cavalcade had to take to Saint Mark's. All entered the Basilica, and when the dogaressa had reached the principal altar, the Grand Chancellor read the ducal commission, and tendered her Serenity the oath of allegiance. *A Te Deum* was sung, and the whole party left the building, the Dogaressa ascending the leaden steps, which conducted to the palace.

The Trades, preceded by the bombardiers, had taken possession of the entrance hall, and had formed in order, and as the Dogaressa passed before them, the delegate of each gild offered her sweetmeats with *Ben vegna Vostra Serenita*, to which her answer was *altra volta*. A noble banquet was afterward served in the saloon of the Great Council, all the members' seats having been removed, and the Dogaressa occupied the ducal throne, supported by the privy councillors, with her ladies of honour ranged at her feet or around her. The confectionery was carried beforehand by torchlight round the Piazza in three hundred gilt baskets, and represented men, women, fountains, boats, and other objects artistically modelled in sugar. On the third day her Serenity attended mass in the Basilica; the Papal legate offered to her acceptance the Golden Rose on the part of the Supreme Pontiff, and there was in the afternoon a regatta and water-fête on the Grand Canal, in which some Englishmen tilted with lances at each other. A temporary theatre had been constructed on a barge towed by four barks, and covered with sail-cloth and painted in colours; but the performance, which was to have been by torchlight, was frustrated by the weather.

Such was the splendid tribute paid by the nation to the wife of Marino Grimani, a rite dictated by a common affection for the Doge and the partner of his fortunes. A medal was struck to

commemorate the auspicious occasion, exhibiting the Dogaresa crowned, and on the reverse *Monvs Mavrocenae Grimanae Ducissae Venetiar: 1597*, and was distributed among the members of the Executive and the public officials. It is permissible to infer that the great lady wore the *corno* prior to her visit to the cathedral, to indicate that she owed it to the complaisance of the Government, and not to the Church.

There was no change of administration till 1606, the interval presenting very little of political moment beyond the addition of Ferrara to the States of the Church and the chronic necessity of being always prepared for unexpected emergencies. But the Uscocchi continued to form a source of trouble and expense, as well as a cause of friction and angry correspondence with Austria, whose maritime subjects were more than suspected of favouring and harbouring the enemy.

But the selection of Leonardo Donato to replace Grimani was itself a forecast of a less tranquil prospect; and in fact from this point a consecutive series of foreign and domestic difficulties and dangers seemed to evolve from each other, and, without involving the Republic in war, to expose it to more serious peril than any hostilities by land or sea since the Chioggian crisis of 1379. All these complications will be shown to have been the result of a deliberate and persistent endeavour by the Spanish party in Italy to overthrow Venetian independence. Through the whole space of time from the accession to the papal chair of Paul V., the puppet of the Spaniards, in 1605, till 1630, there was scarcely any relief for the Government from the painful and exhausting tension produced by continual revelations of conspiracy and treason within and without; and Venice was only saved from ruin by the birthday blessing of its geographical site and the sleepless vigilance and unswerving loyalty of a solid Government. Donato, who was not less opposed to the inordinate pretensions of the Curia than Paolo Sarpi himself, was an old man, when he died in 1612, after six months' indisposition; but it has been said that he accelerated his end by an altercation with his brother Nicolo about the erection of a residence, which the Doge thought unsuitable as to position and extravagantly costly¹; and he had been worried by the course of public affairs.

¹ On the *Fondamente nuove* near the bridge of the Crocchieri; it was till recently (1858) in the hands of the family, and was known as the *Casa dalle Rose*; but the Donati have since become extinct.

His Serenity was probably inclined to be parsimonious, for there is a story that at the very close of his reign, when he visited one of the churches, the people, looking for the usual gratuities, and being disappointed, vociferated: *Viva il doge Grimani padre dei poveri!* Whereupon Donato resolved that he would pay no more visits of the kind; and the spectators, at the next anniversary procession, that to the Church of the Redeemer, seeing that the Doge was absent, exclaimed: *He will see the day, when he will wish to go to church, and will not be able.* The historian Morosini, who spoke from personal knowledge, has left a rather minute and a highly favourable portrait¹ of this personage, and seems to have thought that his worst failing was an indifference to public applause; and Sarpi, a second contemporary and eye-witness, and his particular friend, speaks most highly of him, and in a letter to a correspondent tells him and us, that the Doge transacted business within a few hours of his end. By the clericals he was held in as poor odour as Sarpi; and perhaps he owed to this circumstance the popular tale that, at his death, strange cries and shrieks had been heard proceeding from the bedchamber. The Evil One had at last claimed his own.

The dogeships of Marcantonio Memo and Giovanni Bembo, both members of the Old Houses (*case vecchie*), which had long been excluded from power, witnessed a continuance of the same general policy and of the same unwholesome and dangerous symptoms on the side of Spain. The two consecutive nominations appear to be ascribable to a fear, lest the repeated disappointment of candidates should have provoked at a critical moment a factious coalition and a popular commotion. In the second case, that of Bembo, the hesitation of the electors was so great, and the delay so protracted, that the Privy Council, acting as a provisional government, sent three messages to the Forty-One, each more imperative than the other, to force them to a decision. There had been an interregnum of five weeks, during which no dispatches were opened; and the posture of affairs at the close of 1615 claimed undivided attention. The electors returned Bembo as Doge with all sorts of threatened pains and penalties in their ears, if they were not prompt. The successor of Memo had obtained a reputation as a naval officer, and was generally liked. But he did not stomach the long and late hours of attendance at the Councils, which sat till seven or

¹ Romanin, vii. 94-5.

eight in the evening, through the winter months, owing to the incessant pressure of business; and he declared to his physician Sivos that he would rather, if he could have got permission, have gone to sea, and died on the prow of his galley, than die in his bed at the palace; and he always lamented his hard fate in becoming head of the State at so perilous and fatiguing a juncture.

The ducal elections at the present time seem to have caused unusual perplexity; and there appears to have been a disposition to extend a preference to those whose years promised to secure an early opportunity of change and to preclude a risk of undue personal ascendancy. In the interval between the choice of Bembo and the loss of the previous Serenissimo the departmental zealots, the correctors of the oath, always anxious to justify their existence, drew up an elaborate memorandum, of which the essence was a more perfect equality of civil rights for poor and rich alike, an encomium on the paternal charity of the Republic, and an instruction to the Doge, in such hours as he could spare from other duties, to receive and hear any complaints of imperfect or tardy justice, so that the laws might operate for the benefit of all classes. A strict fulfilment of this excellent recommendation might have proved of signal value; but it would have made the Doge look even more wistfully at his lot than Bembo had done. Nicolo Donato, an octogenarian, was after much debate in the conclave pronounced the successful candidate, the two popular favourites being Antonio Priuli, a man of great wealth, and Giovanni Giustiniani. Donato was distasteful on account of his meanness, and there was no acclamation for him, no *vivas*; and, curiously enough, he had a nephew as avaricious as himself, who was kept out of the Senate on a similar account, as, when his uncle entertained company, there were not enough sweetmeats for the ladies owing to the officiousness of the younger Donato, and once, when some ladies came to the palace, he sent them back, saying, that they had not been invited. The Doge did not long vex the world with which he mingled. A month later, the votes were given to Priuli, who had discharged many important and varied trusts, and had impoverished himself in the public service to the extent of 80,000 ducats. He was absent, when the intelligence of his election reached him; and he made a triumphal entry into Venice. 3000 ducats in gold and small money were distributed among

the people. There were illuminations and other signs of rejoicing. Priuli not only possessed ample resources; but his son Girolamo had married a lady with 200,000 ducats and 300,000 more on the death of her mother. Nevertheless, the present Doge entered on office at an exceptionally trying moment, when the great Spanish plot was just coming to a head. He lived to see that unexampled scheme, as it were by a miracle, defeated, to set his hand to the deplorable warrant, which sealed the doom of Antonio Foscari, and to be a witness of the opening scenes of a severe constitutional agitation, which marked the years 1624-28. The brief tenure of authority by his immediate successor Francesco Contarini (1623-24) opened the way to the speedy succession of Giovanni Cornaro, who remained in office till 1630, and was constrained during the greater part of that time, in common with the Council of Ten, to endure the attacks of a nobleman, whose rank, character, and wealth rendered him as fearless as he was unsparing in his hostility to the encroachments of the oligarchy and the nepotism of the palace. It was the Cavaliere Reniero Zeno, a personage of the highest social standing, who had in turn filled all the most exalted and responsible functions, himself a Decemvir, yet, who, like the reformers of a long-passed age, was prepared to sacrifice to the general interests of a large caste some of the weight and ascendancy of a narrow, secret, and arbitrary tribunal, of which he had enjoyed, and might again enjoy, the prestige. But in or about 1624, when Zeno first appears on the scene in an unofficial character, the Ten, of whom he had been one and in fact a *Capo*, was suffering from its flagrant betrayal of fallibility in regard to the Foscari case; and the Great Council was all the more predisposed to support him on the one hand and protect him on the other. The matter belongs in chief measure to the constitutional history of Venice;¹ but it is collaterally remarkable as the final act or stage in the egregious Spanish machination, of which the first, the Papal interdict, was really the least momentous.

The death of Henry IV. of France in 1610, and the decline in the power of Spain as an active belligerent force, had combined with the rise of Savoy to produce a change in the relations and alliances among the European States. The Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele, signalled his appreciation of Venetian friendship and assistance by an even importunate appeal to the

¹ See it treated more in detail in a later chapter.

Republic to join him in his projects against the Spaniards and Austrians; and these advances were so much the more flattering and significant, that in co-operating with the Savoyards the maritime or naval resources of Venice were not calculated to come into play, and that its military strength was judged by such a discerning prince as eminently worth securing. The Duke impressed on the Venetian resident at Turin, Reniero Zeno, the vastly increased facilities for Italian liberty afforded by the dissensions among the Germans and French; he tried to convince Zeno, that it was a particularly fine opportunity for his country; and he even said that, if he could obtain funds, he would embark in the enterprise against his Catholic Majesty and the Archduke Ferdinand single-handed. But the Republic hesitated for the moment to respond to this counsel and call, although the views of the Duke were undoubtedly sound; and all that the Government could persuade itself to do was to sign defensive treaties with Carlo Emmanuele and with the United Netherlands in the course of 1619. At least since 1609 there had been a disposition on the part of Venice to draw closer to Holland; in that year the earliest formal settlement of a basis of intercourse on the lines of commerce and navigation had been concluded; some years later, the Signory had taken into its pay the Walloon corps of Count Lievestein; and the diplomatists, sent to the Low Countries to arrange the necessary details connected with these new departures, furnished their employers with a picture of Dutch enterprise and prosperity calculated to put certain thoughts into the heads of Venetian statesmen as to the possibility in the future of two Powers so similar in their character and so far apart in their geographical position, proving of value to each other in a mercantile respect without mischievous rivalry. The observant Italians, at the same time, noted for the benefit of their countrymen all the latest improvements in naval appliances and in every other direction. This growing national force, by its points of resemblance to Venice in some respects, must have awakened in the mind of the Republic many useful, and some mixed, reflections.

The significance of the approximation of the Venetians and Hollanders was not misinterpreted by Spain, which recognised in the movement the contingency of a formidable coalition between two maritime States, neither of which subscribed to the extreme tenets and demands of Romanism. But in 1620 fresh

complications arose on the side of Switzerland, and obliged the Republic to knit itself in more immediate and active union with Savoy. The Valtelline, which is the valley of the Adda stretching from the head of the Lake of Como to the Stelvio Pass, had long been viewed by the Spanish-Italian government of Milan as of special value in connecting the Milanese with the Tyrol, and in enabling the masters of it to hem in the Venetians on all sides, and prevent French aid from reaching them by way of Tirano, the Aprica, and Edolo. This territory was long a small municipal government under the suzerainty of the Swiss canton of Graubünden or the Grisons; but the Spaniards in 1620 instigated a massacre of the Protestant population and seized the valley. A religious war broke out, side by side with that deadly one beginning to rage in the Palatinate; and it was to stay the bloodshed and barbarities perpetrated on both sides that in 1623 a triple alliance was formed between Venice, France, and Savoy, the parties contracting to bring into the field an army of 46,000 men, of which the Republic was answerable for 12,000 foot and 4000 cavalry. The Government, however, declined to perform its share of the undertaking, unless the absolute independence of the Valtelline, the very essence of the business from a Venetian point of view, was guaranteed. Cardinal Richelieu, with a convenient forgetfulness of French perfidy and duplicity in the past, was immoderately wrath with the Signory for their alleged breach of faith; and while the French, unsupported by Venice, were gaining a few preliminary advantages, the Spanish forces ultimately triumphed, and a treaty was concluded, ignoring the Republic and Savoy, at Monzone in Arragon, March 6, 1625, by which the Valtelline was practically reinstated in its old administrative position, with power reserved to the Holy See to occupy and dismantle certain fortresses. Such a peace did not carry much promise of durability; the struggle lasted many years longer; and Venice remained more or less a belligerent or a pecuniary contributor without any immediate interests at stake. The delusive spirit of imperialism was ever tending to enfeeble and impoverish a State, which stood in need of all the careful and jealous nurture attendant on peace and repose.

But it was not alone the Valtelline question, which occupied and harassed the Signory at this time, and engrossed resources, which the daily increasing competition of other trading Powers, particularly Portugal, England, and Holland, ever tended to

diminish; the diplomatic activity of Venice had never been greater than it was in the earlier part of the seventeenth century in healing disputes and misunderstandings, in restoring amity between States whose united action was likely to be of service to the Protestants of Germany, in dissuading alliances bound to be injurious to itself, as that which the representative of Spain tried to make with the Netherlands, and in the maintenance of satisfactory relations with those countries, which were outside the immediate zone; and negotiation was energetically seconded by military and financial support. Thus the Venetian sphere of influence extended far and wide; and the *dolce maniera*, the purse and the sword played their several parts. The two cardinal objects of Venice, apart from the preservation of its commerce, by the encouragement of new channels and markets as indemnities for the shrinkage of the Eastern custom, were the promotion of combinations against the Austro-Spanish element in the peninsula and the indirect connivance at any agency apt to hamper and check the Porte in the Levant. On the last account the Waiwode of Transylvania or Siebenbürgen met with a friendly reception in 1623; the Swiss cantons were promised funds in aid of the pay of 10,000 infantry and 1000 horse for service against the common enemy; and when, on the failure of the direct line at Mantua in 1628, the ducal crown devolved on the French house of Nevers, the Republic upheld the new ruler against the Spanish besiegers with men and money. Between November 1629, and the end of March 1630, 638,000 ducats were spent in subsidies, and in spite of all precautions the plague, which had travelled from Switzerland, spread hither from Milan,¹ and raged, both in the capital and on the mainland, with terrible virulence.² But the balance of parties in Italy was continually changing; Savoy trimmed between France and Spain, the former being the more acceptable ally, the latter the nearer enemy; and at length Susa was occupied by the French. From the universal chicanery, corruption, and distrust which prevailed, many turned away in despondent moods, less because those arts of statesmanship were distasteful than because they did not invariably succeed; and we find even Richelieu assuring the Venetian Ambassador that he was more dead than alive with

¹ The visitation of 1630, on which Manzoni founded his *Promessi Sposi*.

² From July 1630 to 21st November 1631, there were 46,490 deaths in Venice alone: Romanin, vii. 306. The Church of the Salute owed its existence to the national gratitude for deliverance from the epidemic.

the illness of the young king and other matters, and should like to retire into a monastery, to be free from such cares as his, which were mortal.¹ The Cardinal complained of the dearth of talent in France, which necessarily made his work heavier.

The Venetians on their part had reason to be dissatisfied both with the Duke of Mantua and the French, even when Richelieu came to take over the chief command of the forces, sent in the name of Louis XIII. to relieve the city; too large a share of the labour and danger was thrown upon them; and they were unfortunate in their commander Zaccaria Sagredo, who was severely punished for abandoning his positions, and superseded. His conduct was the more irritating that it was suspected that the fugitives from the camp at Valeggio were instrumental in communicating the plague to the places where they sought refuge.

It is truly surprising to find the Republic, labouring under such difficulties and disadvantages in many ways, and exposed to such exceptional charges in rendering assistance in the field to its allies, in so good a position from time to time to undertake the responsibilities which it deemed unavoidable. It had proved the insincerity and untrustworthiness of other Powers at sea, and on that element was always more or less able to hold its ground without external help. But in the operations on the mainland it incurred not merely vast outlay but perpetual risk of disappointment and betrayal. The domestic troubles of France and Germany, and the lengthened inaction of the Porte, had been favourable circumstances; but in Italy the interminable intrigues and hostilities of the Spaniards, with the apparent impossibility of forming any stable union among the other States or with France against them, created a position full of danger and menace. So often unfortunate in the choice of foreign condottieri, the Signory had of late resorted to the experiment of employing their own commanders; and even this plan, as the recent case of Sagredo shewed, was not always successful. The strong footing which Spain had gained in the Milanese was continually shaking the constancy of those among the Italian principalities, which were balanced between a desire to expel the detested foreigner from their neighbours' lands and the dread of his absorption of their own. Even Savoy was not consistent; and the treachery and vacillation of the French were proverbial.

¹ "Voglio certo ritirarmi in un monastero e liberarmi da questi travagli, perchè sono pene di morte." These were his words to the ambassador. Romanin, vii. 292.

The peculiar efficiency and grasp of the Venetian diplomatic service scarcely leaves room for any doubt, that every effort was made to organise and maintain a league against Spain; and the failure owing to successive defection of adherents, with the mortification caused by the recent disaster in the field and the stunning blow inflicted by the terrific ravages of the plague of 1630-1,¹ led Venice to turn its thoughts once again in the direction of a watchful neutrality. For there were symptoms that all its energy and capabilities might at no distant moment be engrossed, where the national interests and honour were far more immediately involved. But all these considerations did not deter the Government from asserting the title of the country to close the Adriatic against foreign war-ships, even when they had no other object than that of conveying an Infanta of Spain to the port whence she was to proceed to her nuptials with the son of the Emperor; and the royal lady repaired in a Venetian galley to her destination with every mark of studied compliment and honour.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu, followed within a few months by that of Louis XIII. (December 1642—May 1643), found the Holy See at war with Parma, in whose support Venice, Tuscany, and Modena had proposed to unite their forces. The Republic actually mobilised 2000 foot and as many cavalry, and concentrated them at Badia in the Polesine of Rovigo, ready to march into the Papal States; but the other members of the league did not move, and the Duke of Modena at last seceded, and cast in his lot with the Spaniards. Cardinal Mazarin,² who had succeeded Richelieu, deemed peace even more desirable for France than his greater predecessor; and he ultimately prevailed on the Curia and the other confederates to come to terms. The treaty of Ferrara was dated March 31, 1644, and was proclaimed at Venice on the following first of May. The Duke of Parma thanked the Republic for the services which it had rendered to him, and more especially in refusing to accede to the arrangement, unless there was a distinct understanding on the part of the Holy See in regard to certain points; and Mazarin received the

¹ The Board of Health pronounced the city free from contagion on the 28th November 1631; and there was a day set apart for rejoicing and thanksgiving. The weather was singularly fine, and the concourse of people is described as having been immense, notwithstanding the heavy mortality. Romanin, vii. 307.

² "Figlio di un mercatante siciliano, ritiratosi negli stati romani, erasi acquistato per la grazia dell' aspetto, per la svegliatezza dell' ingegno e l' amabilità dei modi la protezione di alcune case potenti di Roma."—Romanin, vii. 382.

acknowledgments of the signatories for his mediatorial offices. The clauses almost exclusively affected Parma and Rome. But to no Power was the settlement more welcome than to Venice.

The quarter, from which the Republic had during some time been advised by its representatives abroad to count upon fresh developments, was the Sublime Porte. Having held Cyprus since 1570, the Sultan was now prepared to seize the earliest opportunity of making himself master of Candia, which had belonged to the Republic since the thirteenth century, and the possession of which was endeared by the labour and sacrifices which it formerly cost to hold it, no less than by the very circumstance of Cyprus being no longer Venetian. The Porte was unable to advance any claim to the island, and waited a more or less substantial pretext for occupation or attack; nor was such a pretext long wanting.

The lawless and dangerous condition of the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas at this period seemed to exhibit a tendency to grow more serious and irremediable; the Turks had repeatedly complained of the neglect of the Republic to protect navigation and commerce on its own waters, although great and constant exertions were used for such a purpose. But the numbers and resources of the buccaneers ever increased; and as they comprehended men of several nationalities, Algerines, Tuscans, Pontificals, they passed under the general name of *Ponentini*. Among these the most active were the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta, who in common with the Knights of St. Stephen at Florence, under colour of protecting the Cross, exercised an open and systematic trade as filibusters side by side with those of Algiers and Dalmatia. The Government had repeatedly expostulated with the Grand Hospitaller, laying before him the critical situation, in which these outrages at sea placed the Signory; the receiver of the property of the Order in the Venetian territories was summoned to attend a sitting of the College, that he might hear a farther and fuller communication read, before it was dispatched to Malta; and that functionary was informed that, if redress was not afforded, and the scandal and evil were not stopped, the estates of the Knights in the Dominion would be attached. But no cognisance was taken of these remonstrances; and a comparatively unimportant incident in 1644 brought relations between Venice and the Porte to a crisis. A Turkish flotilla, conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and

freighted with a rich cargo, was overtaken and seized in the Archipelago by a Maltese squadron which, on its return touched at Kalismene in the southern part of Candia, where there was an insufficient defensive force, took in water and provisions, and landed some horses and some Greeks rescued from the Turkish galleys. The Maltese then endeavoured at another point to effect a landing, but were opposed by the Venetian garrison, and, proceeding to Cerigo, met with a similar reception. They finally abandoned a Turkish prize, which they had taken, and retraced their course homeward. The Sultan was furious. He ordered his secretary and the Cadi to convene a meeting of the whole diplomatic body in Constantinople with a view to eliciting the true facts; only France, Holland, and Venice appear to have responded; the Republic was represented by its Bailo, Giovanni Soranzo, who has left us an account of the edifying and nugatory consultation.¹ The Cadi stated that his Majesty had sent for them in order to learn what they knew about the matter. The French and Dutch Ambassadors denied any acquaintance with the affair beyond what they had gleaned there; and Soranzo said the same. The Cadi said: "the Sultan is convinced that one of you knows, but will not speak." They reiterated their assurances to the contrary. The Secretary warned them not to irritate the Sultan by denials, and executed a gesture with his hand significant of decapitation. The French envoy lost heart; but Soranzo told his dragoman Grillo to reply, that they all looked for perfect good faith from his Majesty, and that they were there under the protection of treaties. The Secretary pointed out that this was a case in which the Sultan would not pardon his own mother, that he was sure that the Maltese had boarded the Turkish ship, and that they must know what had become of it. The Frenchman answered that Malta lay at a great distance from France, and roughly sketched on a piece of paper the relative positions. Soranzo added that Malta was an independent State; and the Hollander capped the argument by observing that the religion of the Maltese was different from that of his employers, and that there was no correspondence between them. "Then," retorted the Turk, "if their religion differs, they must be your enemies, and you will surely join the Sultan in attacking them." The Hollander thought that his principals might do so, if his Majesty would help the latter in fighting

¹ Romanin, vii. 348 *et seqq.*

their battles. "Who are your enemies?" asked the Cadi. "The Spaniards," replied the other. "O, then, you are on our side all the same, for the Spaniards are with the Maltese."

Soranzo remarked that the Turkish secretary was asking for something in a very excited and angry manner; and it presently appeared that he required a notary, who entered, and seated himself between the ambassadors and the Turkish delegates. The secretary then called on the diplomatists to make their statements in turn, and the Frenchman was beginning, when Soranzo intervened, telling him that such a course was out of the question. The Venetian hereupon instructed his dragoman to intimate that they did not understand Turkish, and would not be bound by what the notary set down. The secretary averred that this was done to thwart his Majesty, and repeated his persuasion that the galley was somewhere in Candia. Soranzo expressed perfect confidence that the Maltese, with the Turkish ship in tow, had not touched at any place in the island within reach of the Venetian guns. The notary prepared to write down these words as interpreted by Grillo; but his chief drew him back, and rose, declaring to the French Ambassador that he would submit to nothing of the sort. The Frenchman said: "But what is to be done?" Soranzo then gave the two Turks, through Grillo, to understand that if they wished for an answer in writing, he would supply it; and to this proposal the Cadi and Secretary, after whispering to each other, agreed. The Frenchman candidly recognised their common obligation to Soranzo for his manly attitude, in the absence of which they might all have been in worse case; but after the conference one of the Turkish officials let drop a proposition that Candia really belonged to the empire, of which his master was the existing sovereign, having been merely pledged to the Republic as security for a payment—a piece of history for which the vouchers might have been sought without success. The parley, however, amounted to nothing. The Porte had fixed its mind on possessing Candia, and was already preparing for a struggle of which it probably foresaw the severity to some, yet by no means to the full, extent.

Venice on its part realised the futility of farther negotiation, and hastened to throw men and material into the strong places, which would have to bear the brunt of the hostile attack now believed to be imminent: two thousand five hundred troops under two condottieri, some ships of war, engineers, corn (of

which the island produced little), and rice, and 100,000 ducats in specie for the pay of the forces. The Government recommended the provveditor-general to lose no time in strengthening the fortifications, and to raise additional men in the island; and it promised continued support and supplies. The octogenarian Doge volunteered to put himself at the head of the expedition; but his death closely followed the acceptance of his services.

The Ottoman fleet of about 400 sail, carrying 50,000 fighting men, left the Dardanelles on the last day of April 1645, professedly bound for Malta. It received reinforcements at Tino, and proceeded to Navarino, from which it directed its course, not for Malta, but for Candia, in sight of which it arrived on the 23rd June. The Government at home was engaged in treating with other Powers, and in endeavouring to pacify the religious troubles of Europe, as well as in solving the problem of obtaining the necessary funds for a war of wholly uncertain duration; and while, instead of a prompt concentrated effort, it lost time in fruitless appeals for help, the enemy had taken possession, after strenuous resistance, of Canea; and the garrison evacuated the place unmolested. The conquerors, remembering the fall of Famagusta nearly a century before, might have anticipated a prompt settlement of the question and the easy annexation of the island to the Turkish empire. But this was a case, where the first step was the simplest and most ready of achievement. Between the fate of Candia and that of Cyprus there was no analogy. A few months witnessed the investment and the surrender of Famagusta; and the whole possession was involved in the same fortune. The acquisition of Canea, owing to official impediments and dilatoriness, was deceptively rapid; it fell, as Famagusta had fallen; but the conquest of the remainder was to occupy a period longer than that covered by the Trojan war, to exhaust the lives of more than one Sultan and of many Doges, and even at last, while it weakened the Porte as much as it weakened Venice, to remain incomplete. To become the masters of Candia, the Turks found it necessary to submit intermittently during four-and-twenty years (1645-69) to a reckless sacrifice of men, material and treasure; the Republic, by a series of financial expedients unpalatable to many, rose, when it had only too late learned to depend on itself, instead of waiting for useless allies, and hampering the direction of its officers, to a sense of the situation and of the national dignity worthy of older and better

times, and learned to allow that freer hand to commanders at a distance, which had secured such repeated advantages, while the Doge enjoyed an authority unfettered by councils and parliaments.

The war of Candia deserves to be viewed and studied as a historical drama complete in itself. The century to which it belongs has no episode to offer to our consideration more striking, more patriotic, more noble. With means even more straitened than those at their disposal when Cyprus was lost, the Venetians, with little more external assistance than they derived from hired troops, sustained during a generation the shock and weight of the entire available resources of opponents who, to their own apparently unlimited power of raising and maintaining fleets, added the too willing co-operation of the buccaneers of all flags; and we hesitate to blame the policy which placed above all other sentiments and motives, in such an acute crisis, the resistance at all costs of a farther disintegration of the empire. 7,000,000 ducats were raised by the admission of new families to the Great Council; but a becoming reluctance was sensible, even under the most trying circumstances, to legalise any general principle of registration on the Book by virtue of a pecuniary fee, however large; in 1646 a resolution of this class passed the Senate, but was defeated in the Upper Chamber by 528 votes to 378; and in 1664, while the Cretan difficulty still weighed on the Republic, and funds were scanty enough, an offer of 100,000 ducats was refused by the Senate itself; but a subsequent resolution declared that such evidences of public munificence might be accepted, if four-fifths of the Senate and two-thirds of the Great Council concurred. The Cretan positions offered an obstinate resistance to the Turkish besiegers, and the movements of the latter were at length reduced to a blockade, while the Venetian fleet under marvellously efficient and heroic leadership performed wonders in the Dardanelles by intercepting reinforcements from Constantinople, and was only restrained by the order of the Senate from entering the Sea of Marmora and bombarding the Turkish capital. Opinion at home was divided on this point; but the step was relinquished as too hazardous. On the whole, both on land and at sea the Republic was admirably served, and Lazzaro Mocenigo stands out even among many distinguished names, as a prodigy of valour, daring, and skill. In 1656 Tenedos and Lemnos were recovered, and Samos tendered

its submission. It must have been when the Venetians once more obtained possession of Tenedos, coveted on account of its commanding position, that an officer who served under Mocenigo, the Sieur de la Haye, saw five hundred Frenchmen's heads on the walls. Before Mocenigo made his way to the front rank by the proof of such a rare genius, the employment of a less capable commander had enabled the Porte to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and to send large reinforcements and stores to Candia (1646-7). Now, in spite of the hesitation of the Government to lend its sanction to the operations, Mocenigo contemplated in 1657 an advance with his squadron on Constantinople; but the cannonade from the forts was overwhelming; the Admiral's ship was struck by a shell which set fire to the magazine, and the man, on whom more than any other individual his country at that moment depended, was crushed by a falling yard. His death opened the Dardanelles, and changed the whole aspect of affairs. He had already lost an eye in his dauntless disregard of his own safety, with a single supreme aim in view.

"The brave Mocenigo," says De la Haye, "who died with so much honour at the head of his fleet, was not complete five-and-thirty years old, and doubtless, had he escaped that misfortune, the great designs he had on foot (which yet were easy with his conduct) would questionless have succeeded. . . . To speak the truth, there were many, and those considerable, errors in that engagement, which I have heard many grave captains enumerate and prove."

The actual losses of the enemy in these protracted operations must have been enormous. While in Candia itself an obstinate stand was being made to the Turkish forces, continually reinforced and victualled since the deplorable death of Mocenigo, every opportunity was seized at sea of harassing and occupying the naval levies of the Porte. But even where heroism and devotion had been so prodigally displayed, an exploit, conspicuous and brilliant beyond all others by its fortuitous and singular character, was performed. The galley of Tommaso Morosini having been driven by the wind in 1647 close to the roads of Negropont, and so separated from the main body of the fleet, was attacked by forty-five Turkish men-of-war which attempted to board it; Morosini and his followers defended themselves and held their ground till the Admiral sent a detachment to their relief, and committed immense slaughter on the enemy. Both

Morosini and the capitan bassá were among the slain; but it created equal astonishment and indignation at Constantinople, when the news arrived. One of the earliest incidents of the war had been the resolute act of the commandant of San Teodoro, two miles from Canea, who blew the fortress into the air and with it himself, his companions in arms, and many of the assailants, when he despaired of his ability to defend the position against superior numbers. It was from the outset felt to be a fight of life and death; and if the Turks from religious motives were indifferent to their fate, on the Venetian side there was a succession of leaders equally prepared on a more practical ground to treat their personal safety as a jest.

Meanwhile the Republic was doing its utmost to protect its Dalmatian frontier, and to create a diversion on that side; and its diplomatists were incessantly labouring to promote a general European pacification favourable to the release of certain Powers from their present engagements, so that they might co-operate against the common foe of all Christian communities. Venice already perceived the arduous nature of the contest in which she was involved, and the *Sieur de Varennes*, on his return from Constantinople to Paris in 1645, had been at the pains to impress on the Signory his conviction that the war would prove a terrible one, and that the wisest course would, in his opinion, be to treat for peace. Such counsel might reflect the apprehension of Mazarin, lest by any official or national movement on behalf of the Signory France might excite jealousy and distrust in the minds not only of the Protestants of Germany, but of the Sultan, neither of whom the Cardinal cared to offend; and in fact the mission of Varennes had had for its object an assurance to the Porte that the military armaments at present in progress in his country were solely with a view to Italian exigencies. The laborious negotiations for the settlement of the lamentable war, which since 1618 had been desolating the Palatinate almost beyond recovery, extended over four years and a half, and finally resulted in the treaty of Westphalia (1648), so important in many of its results, particularly to the Low Countries and to Switzerland. The relief to Germany and Europe was immense; and gratitude for the close of the thirty years' struggle was largely due to the assiduity and address of the Venetian mediator, Luigi Contarini. The immediate benefit to the Republic was, however, not appreciable; and at this advanced stage of the Cretan war, which

witnessed the splendid achievements and fall of Mocenigo (1656-57), the whole burden lay on the principal belligerent, whose courage and constancy were applauded by passive allies. It had been hoped that by the politic recall of the Jesuits the Holy See might have been conciliated and encouraged; but the Papal contingent was tardy and insignificant. Upon the disastrous loss of the Captain-General, an attempt was made to arrange a settlement; but the Sultan refused to agree to anything less than the absolute cession of the island. As a successor to Mocenigo the Government nominated Francesco Morosini who had been hitherto engaged in the defence of Candia; and it was determined that hostilities should continue. A communication in the name of the Doge was sent to the representative at Constantinople to the effect that the demand of the Grand Vizier for the surrender of Candia was too hard, and that it was repugnant to all human and divine considerations to abandon the most legitimate and most ancient of the possessions of the Signory (7th January 1658). Offers of money continued to come from all sides. The Doge, Bertucci Valiero, who was a personal supporter of the war, set the example by subscribing 10,000 ducats. In 1648 French volunteers had already unofficially enrolled themselves in the Venetian service; and on two later occasions contingents from the same quarter, composed of gallant and impulsive soldiers, eager to signalise their valour and orthodoxy, arrived to take part in the campaign (1660-67). But their succour was temporary and delusive. Once more, while the Sultan was turning his attention to Hungarian affairs, the Signory approached the Porte with a proposal to terminate the contest, but without result. In 1667, so slow and indecisive was the progress, that the Sultan sent the Grand Vizier with heavy reinforcements to bring matters to a climax; but the Signory on its part committed to Francesco Morosini the task of defence, furnishing him with ample supplies of every kind, including 400 pieces of artillery; and at the same time the generals at sea were gaining advantages over the enemy in many directions. Nevertheless Morosini gradually became less sanguine of ultimate success, the Turkish engineers having undermined the positions, and the last French soldier having re-embarked for his own country. In 1668 the Sultan grew so impatient of the delay and of the interminable demand for fresh reinforcements, that he quitted the capital and personally approached the seat of operations. This step animated his lieutenant, who might think

his head in jeopardy; and efforts were redoubled. The Grand Vizier planned a *coup de main* for cutting off provisions from the besieged, and secretly dispatched a squadron in the night to attack that under Lorenzo Cornaro, which was guarding the adjacent waters. Morosini gained intelligence of the stratagem, collected twenty galleys, and proceeded to attack the enemy with furious determination. The Turkish commander mistook his assailants for the fleet of Cornaro; both sides fought desperately in the dark; and the movement was signally defeated to the equal satisfaction of Morosini and the Government. The Turks did not discover the truth, until the Venetians kindled torches and fireworks, and enabled them to perceive how they had been out-manceuvred.

Such an exploit tended to demonstrate to the Porte the apparently inexhaustible elasticity of Venetian resources and courage; but Morosini came to the conclusion that it was necessary to look boldly in the face the hopelessness of farther resistance, and the probability that the conditions of peace would grow harder, as his situation grew less tenable. The Captain-General wrote to the Senate that he had concluded peace with the Sultan on the following terms after considerable difficulty, namely, that lives and property were guaranteed; 328 guns were saved; the Cretan fortresses of Carabusa, Spinalunga and Suda, and Clissa and all other places in Dalmatia and Bosnia at present occupied by the Signory, were to remain Venetian; and the Porte claimed nothing by way of expenses or indemnity. On the 26th September the garrisons and such of the inhabitants as did not desire to continue under the new rule, marched out with all the honours of war, the last to quit being the Duke of Candia, Zaccaria Mocenigo, and the provveditor-general Battaglia. To the 4000 Candiots, who elected to abandon their homes, a new settlement was assigned by the Signory in Istria, where their descendants yet preserve traces of their origin in their language, their dress, and their customs. The retention of Suda was influenced by the value of its bay as the best anchorage for shipping on the coast.

Such was the conclusion of a struggle, which had commenced in 1644, and which had cost both sides in human life and in money a total exceeding any experience. The Turks are said to have sacrificed 108,000 men in the siege of the capital alone; and it was a victory which they gained at the price of sapping the

foundations of their empire. To the Republic it had been an enterprise,¹ on which the expenditure was spread over a long series of years; and, apart from other weakening agencies, it was one, from which it might well have gradually and completely rallied. The Venetian policy and attitude had throughout commanded the respect and admiration of Europe; and the limited extent to which France, England, Germany, and other countries, in sympathy with the Republic, co-operated in the cause, was largely due to grave local preoccupations. The Pope, in conversation with the Venetian Ambassador at Rome,² was most effusive in his praises of the bravery and all other admirable qualities displayed by the Captain-General, and in nothing so signally as in the wonderful dexterity with which under the circumstances he had extricated the Signory from the crisis. His Holiness declared that the result seemed to him almost incredible.

There was a party at Venice, however, which viewed the conduct of Morosini with other eyes, and which gave public expression to the opinion, that he had exceeded his authority as a subject and a public servant in coming to terms with the Porte, and merely acquainting the Senate, when all was settled; that he had obtained his procuratorship in an irregular manner; and that he had been guilty of corrupt practices in Candia. These charges were introduced in the usual manner into the Senate, and were discussed by speakers on both sides; but the Great Council marked its appreciation of the movement and of the great man, whose character it was intended to traduce, when it acquitted Morosini by a majority amounting to a censure of his accusers. When we peruse the elaborate and verbose arguments employed to degrade and ruin him at the time by a minority in the Councils, we find ourselves at a loss to understand such parliamentary tactics, since the conditions won from the Sultan were such as no other Venetian would have probably dared to demand, or have presumed to expect.

But the superlative gifts of this extraordinary personage must not shut out from view the egregious merits of many, or indeed most, of those who served the Republic in this arduous exertion to hold Candia. The Venetian forces were led by a succession of men of lofty capacity and of dauntless spirit worthy of the Crusades. There is an anecdote of the captain-general,

¹ It is said that the Venetians spent altogether 126 millions of ducats.

² Romanin, vii. 466.

Luigi Leonardo Mocenigo, who, when a mine had exploded, and an officer, exclaiming *All is lost!* was about to flee, cried, "Then let us die with our arms in our hands." The words stimulated all within hearing to fresh exertions; and it is asserted that the step cost the Porte twenty years' prolongation of the war.

CHAPTER XXXIX

A.D. 1669-1699

Sequence of Doges (1630-84)—A singular electoral incident—Exertions of the Government to encourage and promote Material Prosperity, and restore the Finances—Some political changes in Europe—Operations in the Morea under Francesco Morosini—Entrance of Poland and Russia on the scene as Opponents of the Porte—Successes of Morosini in the Morea—Joy of the country and honours to the General—Government of the Peninsula—Venetian commercial ideas—Election of Morosini to the Dogeship (1688)—He receives the Command-in-chief—Projects of Morosini for the recovery of lost Territory—Failure of his health, and return home—His solemn Investiture—Complimentary offering from the Pope—Return of the Doge to the Morea (1693)—His death at Nauplia (1694)—Misfortunes of the new Captain-General—His disgrace—Gratifying operations of his successors Alessandro Molini and Girolamo Dolfino—Beneficial fruits to Venice of the victory over the Turks at Zenta by Prince Eugene (1697)—Mediatorial services of the Republic sought by Parma and France—Embarrassments of Louis XIV.—Reviving hopes of Italian Confederation—Peace of Ryswick (1697)—Peace of Carlowitz (1699)—Death of the Doge Silvestro Valiero (1700)—His consort the last Dogressa honoured by Coronation.

THE successions to the Dogeship during upward of half a century constitute the least important feature in the narrative before us. From 1630 to 1688 there were several reigns of unequal duration, where the personality of the head of the State was lost in the administrative system, of which he made part, and which now demanded strong individuality of character to enable the occupant of the throne to stand out as a distinct unit. The names,¹ which continue and prolong the line of sovereigns, are those of meritorious citizens, who discharged their exalted functions with credit and advantage, but whose private and domestic relations, and independent share in the progress of events, have no historical interest beyond an incident, which occurred in 1676, on the death of Nicolo Sagredo. It appears that Giovanni Sagredo, of a

¹ Nicolo Contarini (1630-1), Francesco Erizzo (1631-46), Francesco Molini (1646-55), Carlo Contarini (1655-6), Francesco Cornaro (1656), Bertuccio Valiero (1656-8), Giovanni Pesaro (1658-9), Domenigo Contarini (1659-74), Nicolo Sagredo (1674-6), Luigi Contarini (1676-83), Marcantonio Giustiniani (1683-88).

different branch of the same family, had been told by a French astrologer that he would become Doge; he had at first spent too freely, and impoverished his fortune; and a son had discredited him by certain official irregularities, which procured him a term of imprisonment; but the father succeeded in retrieving his position, and made friends among the more influential nobles, with a view to verifying the prophecy. He in fact attained the procuratorial dignity, and distinguished himself in 1669 as an apologist for Francesco Morosini, when the latter was arraigned for usurpation of authority and other acts. Sagredo was a public servant of some mark; he had been accredited to the courts of England and France, and had done his best to persuade Cromwell and Mazarin to lend their help against the Turks. An anecdote of his French mission has come down to us. The Cardinal found fault with Venice for seeking to grasp too much; he said to the Ambassador, "Your Excellency charges itself with too many head-breaking matters; the world is too large to admit the protection of all;" whereupon Sagredo rejoined, "Your Eminence should consider that a citizen of a republic without human sympathy resembles a spray of flowers without fruit. My country has been educated in piety toward strangers; and would your Eminence desire it to degenerate?" Upon the occurrence of a vacancy in 1676, Sagredo proceeded, without taking advice, to have his name posted as a candidate for the Dogeship, and of the eleven in the Great Council, who chose the Forty-one, eight were in his favour. His opponents were without exception personages who had been long mentioned in political circles as likely to succeed in gaining their object: men of unexceptionable antecedents, signal merit, venerable years, and great fortune, while Sagredo was unpopular on account of his meanness, and was mercilessly taunted with the escapades of his son Pietro, who was called "the son of the prince with the wide sleeves."¹ His acceptance, however, among his own class was more general than among the people at large. On Monday, the 24th July, in the afternoon, a report was current in the city that Sagredo had been nominated; and he distributed wine and bread among the poor, and gratuities to the boatmen at the ferries, that they might shout his name, when the Forty-one came to the ballot. But the people began to manifest their dislike; some said that, if Sagredo was related to the late Serenissimo, he was

¹ "Figlio del prencipe alle maniche."—Romanin, vii. 479, note.

the reverse of the medal; others cut an effigy in stone, supposed to resemble the candidate; poor women in the streets threw doubts on his nobility; the gondoliers, whom he was too parsimonious to employ, raised an outcry, and while the electors were engaged at the ballot, a crowd outside was vociferating *No! No! No!*

The younger son of Sagredo besought his father to retire; but he was self-complacent enough to believe that he could ignore the plebiscite against him. When his own friends, however, refused to enter the electoral conclave, the Great Council deemed it opportune to interfere, and to cancel the nomination; and Luigi Contarini was returned. These exhibitions of public sentiment and bias had not been unfrequent in these later times; and the present piece of constitutional by-play possibly had more influential support than is apparent to us. Sagredo took his defeat in good part; he lived for a short time in retirement at his country seat at Monselice; but he subsequently filled several responsible offices; and he died at Venice in 1682. He is a little known to literature as the author of a volume on the Sultans of Turkey, published in 1673.

His most signal political service was perhaps his contribution to the reform of the Council of Ten in 1676, when he was fortunate enough to propose, after several attempts by other legislators, a resolution and a scheme, which the Great Council adopted.

It has thus proved necessary to devote to an historiette, of which an unsuccessful competitor for the berretta was the hero, a larger space than that accorded to something approaching a dozen of his contemporaries, who sat in the ducal chair.

When we come down to 1684, there is a recommencement of military operations on an important scale, and the history of Venice begins to merge in the history of an individual—that Francesco Morosini, who has already appeared on the scene as a ruling and potential spirit for good.

In the course of about half a century (1630-74) many alterations had taken place in other parts of Italy and throughout the European continent. In England the house of Stuart had been dethroned, a republic and protectorate had enjoyed a short but glorious career under the auspices of Cromwell, and the Stuarts had been restored in the person of Charles II. In France Louis XIV. had succeeded his father in 1643, and still

occupied a throne which was to see no other claimant, till the next century had well advanced. In the north, Sweden and Poland had been, since the Thirty-Years' War, appreciable factors in all political movements and combinations, and the latter, in conjunction with Russia, was destined, when the influence was too late to be eminently beneficial to the Republic, to operate in checking and breaking the power of Turkey. The naval growth of England and the Netherlands had begun in a similar way to assist in the repression of the widely spread system of piracy, which, from being confined to a few isolated adventurers, had become, to the immense detriment of all commercial centres and to the destruction of all private security, a common and lucrative employment pursued by men of nearly every nationality, and even by such religious brotherhoods as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and St. Stephen of Florence. The general condition of the continent was unsettled and unhealthy; and if the other Christian States were sincere in their professions of homage to the wonderful gallantry of the Venetians in withstanding the enormous concentration of force upon Candia by the Porte, they were at least equally so in their avowals of inability to render them effectual assistance.

The first care of the Signory, even before the ratifications of the treaty of 1669 had been exchanged,¹ and certain readjustments of frontier were complete, was to recruit the finances, and to take every possible step to promote trade. There was an incipient tendency to encourage shipbuilding by the grant of bounties or subsidies, to reduce customs and tariffs, and to encourage agriculture by facilitating the cultivation of waste lands. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, immense tracts had been reclaimed by embankment and drainage; and recent events seemed to recall attention to the subject, and to emphasise the urgency of developing the territories nearer home, and studying the possibilities of rendering the river traffic in Venetian Lombardy more practicable and more lucrative. Three very prominent possessions had been lost in turn: Negropont, Cyprus, Candia; and with an empire to that grave extent contracted in area the leading minds in Venice naturally and properly addressed themselves to the task of utilising all that remained, while others were not strangers to the dream of

¹ This did not happen till the 30th October 1671, owing to various disputes and difficulties.

recovering all that had been so reluctantly abandoned—the fruit and monument of the toil and intellect of so many generations. But the Sultan had also set foot in the Morea, and several places were occupied by his troops; Turkish garrisons were in Athens and Sparta; the Parthenon had been converted into a Mohammedan infirmary; and in Dalmatia the Porte appeared in arms to dispute with Austria the lordship over positions, of which the Republic treated both as equally usurpers.

The Government had at the same time the delicate and perplexing task before it of placing the revenue and the public debt on some basis consonant with the possibilities of the case and with the equitable adjustment of burdens. The demands on the treasury for the last quarter of a century had been absolutely unparalleled in the annals of Venice or any other State in the seventeenth century; the entire bill for the Candiot war was 126,000,000 ducats,¹ and national insolvency was imminent. A commercial people had cast behind them all commercial calculations, and had staked nearly all that they were worth on an island, possibly not because there was the sentimental feature about it, that it was one of their earliest important acquisitions, but rather from the conviction that it was imperative to arrest the tendency to drift—not to let Candia, if it could be helped, be taken from them, as Negropont and Cyprus had been.

The straitened pecuniary conditions, for which a consolidation of Government Stocks and a sale of Treasury Bonds under their value were only partial and imperfect remedies, had at all events the effect of restraining, and in fact disabling, the Signory from engaging in any movement, apart from sheer self-protection, which involved military or naval equipments. The cession of Casale by the Duke of Mantua to France and other more or less secondary events in Lombardy and Dalmatia were allowed to pass unobserved; the most essential thought of Venice was declared by those, who had its real interests at heart, to be the restoration of its credit and the repair of its works of defence on all sides; for even if an interval of repose was permitted, there was already a strong presentiment, that the relations with Turkey were far from secure, and that the Porte would seize the first convenient opportunity or excuse for striking another blow

¹ The Venetian ducat=about 9s. 5d. of English money; but the difference of value 200 years ago must be borne in mind; and we seem to reach a sum of at least £300,000,000, if we take money in 1644-69 to have been worth five times its present rate.

at the possessions in the Levant. The present policy therefore was one of strict neutrality and steady preparation; and during some years this attitude was successfully and advantageously maintained. The Candiot war, notwithstanding its weakening and impoverishing influence on the enemy, did not preclude, however, the resumption of hostilities in Hungary; and the Emperor and his Polish allies made it sufficiently plain to the Signory that, so soon as the Turkish forces were released in that quarter, the next project of the latter would be the complete subjection of the Morea.

A combination, in which Venice was to join the Emperor and the King of Poland, with the prospect of the ulterior adhesion of the Czar of Muscovy, tempted the Government to leave its pacific lines, and to enter into a league, which certainly promised to become a more effectual bar to Osmanli conquest than any alliance hitherto formed. Francesco Morosini was appointed captain-general with an army of 9500 men and apparently without any proveditorial impediments, and was flattered by the choice of another to the vacancy in the dogeship, in January 1684, on the avowed ground that his own services elsewhere were positively indispensable. On the 25th April, the day of St. Mark, when the Doge Giustiniani and the imperial ambassador, Count Thurn, were attending mass together at the Basilica, the courier of the Venetian representative at Vienna arrived from Lintz with the treaty; the Bailo of Constantinople was recalled; and war was forthwith declared. The peace had been broken by operations in Dalmatia, where the Turks defeated the Venetian proveditor in an obstinate engagement. But the real theatre of war was on other ground under another and greater leader. Morosini inaugurated the Peloponesan campaign by the recovery of Koron, a position of vast strength, with all the guns, ammunition, and stores; and the whole of Maina was soon in Venetian hands and in charge of a Venetian governor.

The Swedish general Count Koningsmark now entered the service of the Signory with a salary of 18,000 ducats for himself and his troops; and it became a question at a council of war whether the next effort should be to regain the rest of the Morea, or Negropont, or Scio, or Candia. Opinions were in favour of completing the movement already so auspiciously commenced; and it was decided that Koningsmark and his mercenaries should first invest Navarino. The triumph of the Venetian

arms was complete; victory after victory, recalling the best days of the old Republic, crowned the exertions of Morosini and his lieutenant, and the tide of fortune, as if by sympathy, was turning in Dalmatia, where the Morlachians proved of immense value to the Republic by their loyalty and valour, while the imperialists in Hungary were creating an opportune diversion in acquiring, after reiterated efforts, the commanding fortress of Sing, the key of Herzgovina, and winning important advantages over the Turks. It was a stimulating and comforting influence for Venice to find, after so long and unequal a contest with a great naval and military State, prepared, like the Porte, to fling its strength improvidently, almost madly away, that at last there were other countries awakening to the sense of a common interest, and beginning to share a burden too weighty for the Signory, with all their western responsibilities, to bear alone.

A felucca arrived at Venice on the 11th August 1687, with the news of the triumphant progress of the army in the Morea, just when an election was taking place in the Great Council; and the proceedings were suspended while the dispatches were read. The enthusiasm and gratitude were so vehement, that the current business was relinquished, while all repaired to the Basilica to render thanks to the Almighty for His goodness. The Senate decreed that a bust of the hero should be executed in bronze and placed in the saloon of the Decemvirs with the inscription: FRANCISCO MAUROCENO PELOPONESIACO ADHUC VIVENTI SENATUS; near it was hung the standard taken from the Seraskier, and the Doge addressed a letter to the hero couched in the warmest and most flattering terms, commencing: *Vi lodiamo col Senato*. Count Koningsmark and the other officers who had served under Morosini with distinction were generously requited. The historical campaign, so peculiarly identified with the name and genius of Morosini, was immeasurably briefer than the Candiot struggle and immeasurably more plentiful in incident. With the temporary and resultless extension to Candia, Negropont, and Scio, it is divisible into two unequal periods: the term during which the master-spirit personally conducted the movements (1684-93), and that which elapsed from his death at Nauplia to the conclusion of the treaty of Carlowitz (1693-99).

The cordial satisfaction and unqualified confidence manifested toward him by all classes in Venice encouraged the Captain-

General to embark in farther schemes of conquest. Attica and Lacedæmon were overrun by the Venetian troops; and Athens and Sparta were taken. The Turks had reduced the whole country to desolation, and had, through their natural indifference to monuments, with which they had no sympathy, and their barbarous ferocity, ruined many of the noblest architectural and artistic remains handed down by the ancient Greeks to those who inherited nothing but the name. An unhappy casualty added to the deplorable story of wanton and ignorant havoc. At the bombardment of Athens a Venetian shell severely injured the already roofless Parthenon, igniting a store of gunpowder kept there by the Turks, and shattering the greater part of the interior. Morosini, educated in a reverence for antiquities, was immeasurably distressed by the accident, partly due to the exposed situation of the building; and when he contemplated the general desecration and wreck of Attic taste and splendour, he was heard to exclaim: "O Athens! O nursery of the arts! to what hast thou come?" He removed the colossal lions, which still adorn the entrance to the Arsenal, and he endeavoured to secure some of the statues; but they were broken in the process of shipment by the unskilful hands to which they were confided.

The Republic hastened to take measures for the reduction of the government of the Morea to orderly principles, to establish local institutions, to regulate the land-tenure, and to bring the soil into more general cultivation. Morosini himself, before he quitted Greece, and those who acted under him or followed in his footsteps, were not wanting in goodwill and intelligence; but they dealt with a mixed population, jealous and distrustful of each other, swayed by hereditary and deeply-rooted prejudices: demoralised, priest-ridden, and indigent. The country had unlimited capabilities; its chief products were wine, *aqua vitæ*, oil, salt, and tobacco; but generations were demanded to retrieve the fruits of a lengthened term of anarchy succeeded by a lengthened term of misrule. Nor were the Venetians likely to be very successful in accomplishing the desired result, even if their political authority had been more uninterrupted and prolonged. Morosini himself seems to have committed the mistake of creating a number of petty proprietaries which were incessantly involved in dissensions; and in spite of the earnest appeals of the more enlightened Venetian officials on the spot the Republic obstinately clung to its old-fashioned ideas of commercial protection. One of the

providitors is found saying: "The principal source of prosperity is trade; only liberty and security can foster it; its security depends on that of the sea, its liberty on the removal of all restrictions." Others spoke in a similar strain. But the Government hesitated, and buyers sought other and cheaper markets, finding even those of Turkey more advantageous; and before the error was discovered and repaired, the opportunity had been lost. In one respect the Venetian domination was beneficial; by facilitating immigration from other parts of Greece and from Roumelia, the inhabitants not only multiplied but improved; and in 1692 the numbers had risen from 87,000 to 160,000, and in 1701 to upward of 200,000. This amelioration of the prospects of the immediate region was favourable to Venice in raising the standard of the people, and in tending to propagate an active sympathy with the authors of reform and the liberators from Turkish despotism. But the obstacles to any durable sovereignty over Greece itself were immense. Nearly everywhere symptoms of the same corruption and degradation were manifest, the same sloth, ignorance, lawlessness, and venality; and while on the one hand the population was always open to external intrigue, on the other the administrators sent by the Signory were not always superior to local bribery.

The Doge Giustiniani dying in March 1688, Francesco Morosini was, without a dissentient voice, chosen to succeed him; but, his presence abroad being judged essential to the public service, the totally exceptional course was taken of intimating to him that his formal instalment in the office might be postponed to a more convenient opportunity. The Great Council unanimously resolved that under the special circumstances expense in doing honour to Morosini should not be considered. The Captain-General, who thus for the first time since the days of the fifth Crusade united in his own person two independent dignities, and in whom even the jealous oligarchical Executive at home was content to vest an absolute discretion, with all its knowledge of his daring assumption of authority, was at present entertaining the ambitious and romantic hope of wresting back not only Negropont, but Candia, Scio, and other Turkish spoils. He was as proud of his country as that was of him, and, above all, a fighter; and he had been successful and fortunate beyond expectation. His new plans appear to a dispassionate observer too vast and too vague, too costly and too specious, looking at his

advanced period of life and at the extent to which the result probably depended on his personal superintendence. But Morosini did not take this view, and his country was with him. A council of war held in June 1688, to determine whether Negropont or Candia should be the first point of attack, supported the opinion of the generalissimo that the former was preferable, inasmuch as its recovery might assist farther movements, and the Turks had so strengthened the defences of Candia as to render its reduction extremely dubious, while the appropriation of a force adequate to the purpose would leave the Morea unprotected. The arrangements were on an ample scale. Over two hundred vessels were employed in conveying the besiegers in July 1688 to their destination.

The enterprise at first promised to succeed, and a few positions were gained; but the Porte had put the walls and gates of the town itself in thorough order; the loss of life was terribly heavy, and disease and insubordination spread among the German mercenaries,¹ of whom many deserted, and many more clamoured for discharge; while the citadel was almost inaccessible, the sole approach being by a steep, narrow, and tortuous defile, which admitted the passage of only a single horse or two men on foot at a time. The Doge sent away the malcontents, but did not yet despair. He proceeded to erect two towers, which might command the burgh, and from which the latter might be effectively shelled. While this bold idea was in progress, however, winter set in; and, the health of Morosini giving way, he was obliged to seek relief from his trying post. The Doge returned home to obtain such repose as his restless and adventurous character was ever likely to admit, and to receive official investiture with the berretta. Alexander VIII., of the Venetian house of Ottoboni, was elected Pope just at the same time, and sent Morosini the sword and cap of maintenance. These insignia were exposed to public gaze in the Basilica as a method of reconciling spectators to a continuance of the holy war against the infidels; and the Senate approved the issue of an osella or medal bearing on one side the normal design of the Doge kneeling before St. Mark with the legend: *S · M · Ven · Franc · Marroce · DVX · Anno IV*, and on the reverse Morosini enthroned amid

¹ "I Tedeschi, inesperti nella guerra, atti solo a rubare, come facevano ove cadeva una bomba. Io per me tengo che questa sia la piu vile canaglia, vale a dire in una parola la feccia di tutta Germania."—*Extract from a Diary of the Siege of Corfu* (1716), quoted by Romanin, viii. 50.

trophies, wearing a military cap and holding a marshal's baton, with *Mavroc · Peloponesiaco · Viveni · S.C.*

The place of generalissimo had been conferred on Girolamo Cornaro, who had done such excellent service in Dalmatia; but the siege of Negropont, in which Morosini had had the misfortune to lose his excellent lieutenant, Count Koningsmark, was abandoned for the present; and Cornaro addressed himself with conspicuous success to the completion of the reconquest of the Morea. He was a remarkably able officer, and was equally qualified for command by land and sea; he gained Malvasia and Valona, and routed the Turkish fleet off Mytilene. But he was unfortunately struck down by fever at Valona, and still more unfortunately succeeded by Domenico Mocenigo,¹ a personage wanting in decision of character and rapidity of judgment. The ground maintained by the Venetian arms in Dalmatia, and by the imperialists in Hungary against the Turks, afforded some consolation for the disappointment elsewhere; but the incapacity of Mocenigo promptly betrayed itself in his failure to seize an unique opportunity of becoming master of Canea, persisting in the belief that the Turks were close at hand with large reinforcements, when his officers were tolerably confident of success by a *coup de main*. The Captain-General was recalled and degraded; and in the Senate, when the votes for supplying the vacancy were counted, the Doge was at the head of the list with ninety-five suffrages. His Serenity was approached, and declared himself willing, old and infirm as he was, to do the bidding of the country; and, a second ballot in the Great Council having been waived, the election was confirmed. The Doge spontaneously rose from his chair in the Upper Chamber, raised the berretta,² and thanked the assembly for the honour which it had vouchsafed to pay to him.

On the 24th May 1693 Morosini embarked, at the conclusion of an imposing ceremony in the Basilica, to which the public bodies, the clergy, the ducal household, and the relations and friends of the hero, went in solemn procession, the Doge between the Papal nuncio and the French ambassador, wearing the grand mantle of captain-general, of superfine cloth brocaded

¹ Entries in diaries are contributory evidence of the constant and keen interest felt by England in what was passing in Venice or in the Venetian territories. Referring to the arduous campaign in the Morea from 1684 to 1718, the first Earl of Bristol notes under 1st October 1690: "Died y Venetian Captain-General Cornaro *anno ætatis* 59; Mocenigo succeeds him."

² This was the sole instance in which such a course was taken.

with gold, and holding in his hand the marshal's baton. The whole city was in holiday humour and attire; there were crowds on the housetops shouting applause and God-speed; and the route to the Cathedral and to the place of embarkation was decorated with triumphal arches and banners. The Grand Canal was brimming with life and resonant with notes of rejoicing; there were salvos of artillery, and cries of *Viva il principe e capitano!* ladies and strangers crowded the quays, as the Doge and his retinue mounted the Bucentaur to proceed to Lido, where, after a second religious service, they took their final departure for Malvasia. Two councillors formed part of his staff, to assist the veteran in any official details or correspondence arising from his dual functions; and Francesco Mocenigo was assigned to him as his lieutenant.

The Doge, in consequence of advices received by him on the way to the Morea, hastened to the defence of Corinth, and obtained a few advantages, withdrawing into winter quarters at Nauplia, where, on the 9th January 1694, one of the most impressive, most patriotic, and most valuable careers in the whole Venetian story was unexpectedly brought to a close. Morosini, with generous unselfishness, had sacrificed his life to the public service; and his grateful country could only pay the last honours to his remains, and do its part in preserving the recollection of such unparalleled devotion and such commanding gifts. The Senate decreed the erection of a marble arch in the Sala dello Scrutinio with an appropriate inscription and trophies; the tomb of this magnanimous and successful soldier may be still seen in the Augustinian Church at San Stefano; and his representatives cherish, after two centuries, in the old Morosini Palace near at hand the objects which the great Doge collected around him, and on which his eyes must have often rested.¹

As a successor in the ducal office the Republic chose Silvestro Valiero; and the new captain-general was Antonio Zeno, who had served as a youth of seventeen in the Candiot campaign, and who had afforded excellent promise for the future by his naval achievements, but who laboured under a natural disadvantage in immediately following such an exceptional precedent, and being overshadowed by such trying prestige. For the fourth and last time the Dogaresa received the honour of coronation; it appears

¹ An account of the palazzo Morosini and its historical relics will be found in a later chapter.

to have been a compliment offered by the courtesy of the Signory, where a lady or her husband, or both, were unusually popular; but the most recent object of favour had been the consort of the Doge Grimani nearly a hundred years before.

During the same autumn the Venetian forces, under the supreme command of Zeno, succeeded in gaining possession of Scio, and in repelling a Turkish fleet, which approached to the relief of the garrison. But the hour was already late; and the Captain-General hesitated to proceed, and the next day pleaded to those about him the expediency of awaiting reinforcements. The fleet retired toward Mytilene, and subsequently moved in the direction of Smyrna, which the joint solicitations of the English, French, and Dutch consuls deterred him from bombarding. He then returned to Scio, and eventually advanced to engage another Turkish squadron, which, in spite of the most heroic efforts of some of his officers, compelled him to fall back once more on the island with severe losses. In the course of the next few days he met with a second reverse, and determined, in opposition to the views of others, who held that the citadel was capable of defence, and offered to resist the enemy, to abandon the struggle, and return home. The evacuation was accomplished in the night of the 21st February 1695; and it is said that the Turks themselves were equally astonished and delighted at the ease with which they won so strong a place.

There was a good deal of noisy and indignant declamation in the Senate on the receipt of these bad news. Speakers lamented the degeneracy of the times, the absence of due attention to discipline, the want of care in the choice of commanders, and the special incapacity of Zeno, who had lost the respect and confidence of his subalterns. An inquisitor was dispatched to make full inquiries on the spot; and Zeno and thirteen of his staff were remanded in custody to Venice, and imprisoned in the Lower Dungeons pending their trials; but the Captain-General, who had shown the most deplorable irresolution, died in confinement in 1697, before his case was heard. He left a vindication of his conduct, which was printed with official sanction, and in which, after dwelling on his antecedents and motives, he protests that the cession of Scio was supported by the unanimous voice of a council of war.¹ The whole tenor of the circumstantial evidence, taken with what succeeds, convicts the writer of misconduct and breach

¹ The document is given *in extenso* by Romanin, vii. 513-15.

of trust, which, had he survived, would have rendered him liable to a heavier punishment than he experienced. The acquiescence of the Government in the publication of his apology bespeaks a sense of the weakness of that document, if not of indifference to the case after the lapse of three years, and in the face of more important and more satisfactory events.

The Republic, in fact, had the almost incredible good fortune to secure the services in the room of Zeno of Alessandro Molini, who proved almost a second Morosini; and concurrently with him Girolamo Dolfino achieved successes which his employers deemed sufficiently momentous and gratifying to communicate officially to the European Courts. Molini himself not only protected the Morea, but beat the Turks in a great battle off Scio; during the years 1696-7-8 there was one unbroken series of triumphs, revealing the possibilities of Venice under efficient leadership; and in the autumn of 1697 Prince Eugene of Savoy gained against the army of the Porte the decisive battle of Zenta, where the Sultan narrowly escaped capture, where the grand and four other viziers were among the thirty thousand dead, and where the immense booty included the great seal of Turkey. At the same time the Venetian Admiral Cornaro, who had replaced Molini, was in the Dardanelles unopposed, and threatened to reduce Constantinople by famine.

Some years since, the Senate had been invited to act as mediator or umpire between Parma and Tuscany in a question, which was not a new one, of respective boundaries. The august body, to which those disputants resorted, enjoyed the credit of being equitable and unbiassed, at least where its own interests were not immediately touched; and in 1696 an infinitely more flattering proof of the high estimation of the Signory, not merely as a diplomatic medium, but as a weighty belligerent force, was furnished by the conference which the French Secretary of State, Pomponne, sought with the ambassador of the Republic at Paris, Nicolo Erizzo, with a view to the general pacification of Europe through Venetian instrumentality, as in the case of the Treaty of Westphalia. The interview between these two public men was remarkable as shewing the straits, in which incessant hostilities had placed Louis XIV., and the general feeling of confidence in the political address and integrity of the Venetian representatives abroad. Pomponne assured Erizzo that his master and himself earnestly desired peace, and were prepared to confide

to the Signory the task of settling all Italian questions now at issue. The French minister expressed the opinion, that passed experiences should have taught the States of the peninsula the necessity of guarding against future dangers; and he suggested that they ought to take steps to organise a confederation among themselves on the German model, with the obligation to contribute their several quota of troops in the event of war, so that there might be no difficulty in protecting by joint action any given points of attack. He proposed that the Republic, as by far the most potent and enlightened of the Italian communities, should be constituted the head of such an union; and he dwelt on the particular interest which the Venetians had in drawing their neighbours together in close defensive alliance, seeing that the Emperor might at any moment renew his pretensions to portions of their continental territories. Erizzo could only reply, that the most serene Republic ardently sought a cessation from war, and was always aiming at such an object, as it was difficult for the Signory to contend with a Power which had at its command such large forces by sea and land. This was in 1696; and in 1699 the ambassador of Savoy spoke in nearly identical terms at Fontainebleau to the successor of Erizzo, his persuasion that a new Italian League was expedient and practicable under Venetian control being not less distinct. But Pomponne had a second conversation with Erizzo himself in 1697, and referred to the Swedish offer of mediation between France and the Emperor, which had miscarried on account of the unreasonable demands of Leopold.

The Peace of Ryswyk was ultimately concluded in the same year (May-October 1697) after difficulties and objections on the part of some of the parties, which long appeared insuperable. The signatories were Great Britain, France, the Emperor, Spain, and Holland; and Venice was a gainer by the release of the Imperial arms from service against the French, and by their employment under Prince Eugene against the Porte, which sustained in consequence the crushing defeat at Zenta, even before the diplomatic arrangements had been actually completed. Two years later, followed the even more important and significant Peace of Carlowitz, which was retarded by the obstinate resistance of the Turkish plenipotentiaries to conditions which they considered to be inadmissible; and the conference was more than once on the eve of being dissolved. At last the representatives

of the Porte left for Belgrade and the others for Peterwardein, whither Carlo Ruzzini, who was acting for the Republic, followed them. Ruzzini combated all the points on which he was instructed to insist; but, seeing the inutility of farther opposition, and not caring to incur the responsibility of continuing the war, he gave way, and the articles were signed on the 21st February 1699. Certain supplementary clauses were afterward added at the instance of the Senate through the able management of Lorenzo Soranzo, in regard to navigation and other matters, but not affecting any main principles.

The attitude of Venice before the Congress was not unnaturally influenced by the proud exploits of Morosini and some of his successors in the field and at sea. For the Porte the settlement was far from gratifying; and its terms, by which the Emperor resumed all the Turkish conquests in Hungary and Transylvania, and the Republic the greater part of its possessions in the Morea and Dalmatia, explain the hesitation of the plenipotentiaries of the Sultan to affix their names to it. His Majesty obtained no indemnities whatever for his enormous losses of all kinds; he had had the mortification of accepting Christian help in extricating him and his subjects from an extremely difficult and damaging position; and his ministers, if not himself, must have appreciated the dangerous developments in the North and East of Europe, which promised to relieve the Venetians not a moment too soon from an oppressive single-handed struggle, and at no remote date to readjust the European balance of power.

The Doge Valiero was succeeded in 1700 by Alvigi or Luigi Mocenigo. It was in perfect keeping with the constitutional spirit and the Venetian humour, that the Correctors of the Oath recommended and carried a new and peremptory clause to the effect that no Dogaressa was henceforth to be invested with the berretta, that honour having been accorded to the wife of the late Serenissimo, and it being perhaps apprehended that the next Doge might look for a similar compliment; but at the last vacancy in 1694, on the death of Francesco Morosini, a far more curious provision was made on the ground of expense, by which the holder of the ducal office was absolutely debarred for the future from accepting the post of captain-general, and the mode of proceeding to the election of the latter was surrounded by additional safeguards. The precaution was surely superfluous; and Morosini himself undertook the charge in the absence of any fitter candidate and

at the peril of his life in response to an enthusiastic vote of the Great Council. Nor was it more than an accidental circumstance, either that another Dogaresa was not crowned, or that another Doge was not appointed to the command of the forces.

The brilliant successes and chivalrous exploits of some of their commanders in the Morea and elsewhere, especially of Lazzaro Mocenigo, Francesco Morosini, and Alessandro Molini, had exercised on the mind of the Venetians an effect, which was not free from disadvantage. For this evidence of a power to resist the Porte by land and sea, and to maintain or restore the integrity of the Levantine portion of the empire, was so far imperfect and delusive, that a continuance of good fortune seemed to depend, not on the Government at home so much as on the ability to rely on a constant renewal of capable leaders; and such an expectation was obviously vain. The Republic had not the benefit, which we enjoy, of surveying at our leisure events as they unfolded themselves; it did not know that Morosini was almost the last of its heroes; it never despaired of driving out the Turks from its possessions, looking at the prodigal manner in which they were exhausting their resources; and it probably never occurred to Venice, that the relinquishment of the Levant, with the reservation of full trading rights, which an uncommercial people might have been readily induced to concede, would have been in the seventeenth century a wise departure. But the vacillating and inconsistent policy toward the Porte from the beginning indicates the excessive difficulty and delicacy of the question, to which its religious side imparted additional complication; and it can only be said, that the Republic paid the penalty of having endured long enough to see acquisitions, which at first appeared so covetable, prominently contribute to its ruin.

CHAPTER XL

A.D. 1699-1762

War of the Succession—Overtures to the Signory from both sides—Venice remains neutral—The consequences—Preoccupation of Venetian forces in the Morea and Dalmatia—The Venetians join France—Unsuccessful siege of Turin by the Allies—Terrible winter of 1709 and general misery in Europe—The King of Denmark at Venice (1709)—Three guns cast under his own eyes, and presented to him—Anxiety of France to secure peace—Venice sought as a Mediator—Louis XIV. appeals to England, which declares for him—Quarrel of the Signory with France—Renewal of friendly relations—Treaty of Utrecht (1713)—Talk of an United Italy—Changes in Europe (1701-20)—Diplomatic activity and prestige of Venice—Decline of its resources and distress among the people—The Morea once more in danger—Loss of the Morea—Defeat of the Turks by Prince Eugene at Peterwardein (1716)—Retirement of the Turks from the siege of Corfu (1716)—Inclination of the Porte to Peace—Treaty of Passarowitz (1718)—Its terms—Venice adopts a policy of Neutrality—Relaxation of Customs tariff (1736)—A great Empire reduced to a great City—Differences with the Holy See and other Powers adjusted—Clement XIII., a Venetian, becomes Pope (1758)—He sends the Doge the Golden Rose—Internal resources of Venice—Succession of the Doges (1700-62)—Projects and Reforms—Commercial activity.

THE death of Charles II. of Spain without issue in 1700 was destined in the year immediately succeeding the treaty of Carlowitz to plunge Europe once more into war, and to involve in a costly and destructive contest all the Powers affected by the last testamentary dispositions of that monarch. The interest of Venice was really limited to the security and protection of its own dominion in Lombardy and Dalmatia; and there was the strongest desire to observe a strictly neutral attitude in a question which it might, according to precedent, demand years to bring to a settlement. The complex relations which the French and Spanish acquisitions in Italy had created for all the independent States, the Republic inclusive, imparted an entirely new character to every political and belligerent movement, while the extension of Venetian territory over a large and important portion of the peninsula, and the claims of the Holy See to what were known as

of the exhaustion of the national finances by the prolonged Candiot war, or secondly that it had till quite recently maintained two armaments, one in the Morea, the other in Dalmatia; and consequently the War of the Spanish Succession came at a most inopportune juncture, when the advocates of neutrality and passive observation were able to justify their counsel by pointing to a depleted exchequer, as well as to the faithlessness of Allies. The Austrians had hitherto maintained the ascendancy; but fortune proved rather variable; and neither side had, at the end of six years, secured any permanent or distinct advantage. It was the prevailing Venetian view that, if the Republic became a party to the war, its true policy was to espouse the French cause, to throw its weight into the scale, as it had previously done, on the weaker side. In fact, a Venetian contingent marched on Turin to take part in the siege. The place was saved from falling by a surprise only through the heroism of a soldier, who blew up one of the gates, and perished in the ruins; and the French were utterly routed under the walls of the capital by the allied Savoyards and Austrians under the command of the Duke Vittorio Amadeo and Prince Eugene, members of the same house, who met in a pleasant meadow at Carmagnola, and there planned together the battle, which was to prove for them so signal a triumph.

The war continued with unabated vigour, and the French, whom their Venetian allies no longer supported, lost ground day by day. The Austrians invaded the Dukedom of Parma and the States of the Church: and Modena only saved itself from a similar fate by trimming with the victorious side. Italy was torn and impoverished from one end to the other by these operations; and the whole of Europe was equally unsettled and distracted. A winter of unexampled severity came in 1709 to intensify the difficulties and the misery everywhere. Venice alone stood aloof, painfully sensible of the humiliating straits to which circumstances reduced her, yet scarcely in a position to refer to any Power, which was just then more or even so fortunately situated.

The frost took possession of the lagoons and canals; and pedestrians could reach Mestra on foot. It was a spectacle which had been very rarely witnessed before; and the King of Denmark, who paid a visit to the capital at the end of February, was perhaps as greatly surprised at the aspect of the place (so unlike

what he might well have anticipated) as he was enchanted by the splendid reception, by which he was honoured. The Doge presented his Majesty, when he left on the 6th March, with three cannon, expressly cast for the purpose under his eyes, with appropriate and complimentary inscriptions. The royal guest belonged to that group of Northern Powers, which it was the wise aim of Venice to conciliate as counterpoises to Turkey.

All Europe was in arms, and no Power was perhaps less desirous of repose than Venice, or in greater want of it. The geographical situation of the capital happily limited the primary requirements of the Republic to the protection of the gulf and a vigilant control over the river traffic of the immediate *terra firma*. But the great continental States, possessing extensive frontiers constantly exposed to attack, and multiplying their responsibilities by unprofitable conquests, were in a far less secure and enviable condition; and France, above all, operating on so many points at a distance from its base, was exhausted by the disastrous and barren campaigns of Louis XIV. and his lieutenants. The French Minister of State, the Marquis de Torcy, represented to the Venetian Ambassador at Paris the view of his royal master, that the Signory might beneficially and effectually intervene; and the Cavaliere Sebastiano Foscari was accredited as a plenipotentiary to see what could be accomplished. The French Government highly approved of the appointment of Foscari, and again dwelled on the possibility and value of an Italian League, of which Savoy should form part; De Torcy said that his master was willing to place himself, to a certain extent, in the hands of such a personage as the Signory had selected; but the great difficulty lay in the extravagant demands of the Emperor. Foscari, however, in a communication to his own Government, stated that the Holy See seemed to be indifferent to any interests but its own, and that the terms of the Allies were exorbitant, ostensibly growing more so, in proportion as Louis betrayed his anxiety for a settlement by enlisting the mediatorial offices of the Venetians on his side.

Foscari found that he was powerless, more especially when fresh reverses befell the French arms in 1709; and the King, as a last resource, appealed to England. The Tory Ministry of Queen Anne decided to support him; and the personal visit of Prince Eugene to London failed to shake the resolution. This change of front, and accession of at least moral influence, were

favourable to the cause of peace. But just at that moment occurred a diplomatic rupture between France and the Signory in consequence of the Venetian Cardinal Ottoboni, a personage of great mark and of wide culture, having accepted without the sanction of Venice the post of French representative at the Vatican. It had long been a strict rule, that no Venetian subject should enter into the employment of a foreign Power, unless the proceeding was first submitted to the Senate, and approved by that body; the lengthened absence of any breach of the law perhaps led to its lapse into oblivion; and in 1699 the necessity arose for its re-enactment owing to the strange case of Vincenzo Grimani. This nobleman, during the carnival of 1690, had secretly arranged at Venice an accommodation between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; he subsequently removed to Vienna, where, deaf to the summons of his country to return home, he so ingratiated himself with Leopold I., that he obtained through his Majesty a cardinal's hat, and in 1708 was sent by his august patron as viceroy to Naples, while it was in Austrian hands. The Senate, on the commission of the same constitutional misdemeanour by Ottoboni, at once took action, and called on the Cardinal to renounce his new functions at Rome. Instead of complying, he sought refuge in France; whereupon his name was erased from the *Libro d' Oro*, his property was confiscated, and his family was disgraced. Louis was highly incensed at a measure which he chose to interpret as an affront to himself: and the Venetian Ambassador vainly endeavoured to convince him, that the laws of the Republic were entitled to obedience. The French envoy at Venice was recalled, and the Venetian one at Paris received his passports. The Republic, however, was too valuable an ally to be long out of favour. The French Minister shortly signified (December 1712), that his master was desirous of the re-establishment of friendly relations, and that the advantages to the most Serene Republic of a close alliance with the most Christian king were, moreover, manifest.

No direct result followed these overtures; but meanwhile Carlo Ruzzini had succeeded the Cavaliere Foscarini as the Venetian plenipotentiary to the congress, which was now appointed to assemble at Utrecht. The countries represented were England, France, Austria, Savoy, Holland, and Venice. Other Italian States sent envoys to the conference; but only Savoy and Venice had seats at the board. The most active and influential

member of the diplomatic corps was probably Ruzzini, who tried to approach all his associates in turn, and arrive at some practical basis of negotiation. He had an interesting conversation with one of the English delegates, Lord Strafford, who reflected the prevailing opinions at home, and spoke very frankly of the selfish ambition of Austria and its aim at aggrandisement in Italy, which should and could be resisted by an union of the Italians among themselves. Ruzzini testified his warm appreciation of the sympathy and good-will of England; he similarly approached his other colleagues; he found the French Ambassador earnest and cordial enough in his wishes and hopes for Italian happiness and tranquillity and a general European concert; but when he came to the Italian diplomatists themselves, there was little else than irresolution, timidity, and mutual distrust. The bias of the English sovereign and cabinet was adverse to Austria; Lord Strafford told Ruzzini that his country had spent immense sums in these wars, which seemed to promise the acquisition of preponderance either by the French or the Austrians, but that the object of the Queen was to secure a general peace, and to maintain the balance of power for every country, Italy included. After all, however, the grand obstacle to success lay in the reconciliation of the respective claims of France and Austria. Savoy had every disposition to make common cause with the Signory; and the friendly leaning of England toward France had its obvious utility. The probability was that in whatever arrangements the Venetians and Savoyards were able to make, the rest of the Italian Powers would sooner or later acquiesce.

Ruzzini perceived, and advised his Government, that France did not (he thought) really wish to see an united Italy; and even England, when the congress actually met in the spring of 1713, treated that point with an indifference and lukewarmth suggestive of inspiration from Paris or of a fear on the part of the Tories, lest their impatience for a pacific arrangement might be disappointed by the conflict of opinion among so many independent princes.

The Treaty of Utrecht, for which Europe was unquestionably indebted in a very large measure to the indefatigable exertions of Ruzzini, who more than once almost despaired of success, and who had lavished all his eloquence and tact in bringing over to his side Lord Strafford, Lord Peterborough, the Bishop of Bristol, the Abbot of Polignac, Conte Maffei (the Savoyard envoy), and every-

body calculated to promote the desired end, was at length signed on the 11th April 1713 by France, England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy, with power to Spain to join hereafter. But Austria withheld its cohesion till the following year, when, the French under the Marechal de Villars having obtained some successes over Prince Eugene, the two commanders concluded an armistice at Rastadt (March 6, 1714), which was confirmed by the Peace of Baden (September 7). These dispositions, apart from other points, affected Italy in more than one material respect. The greater part of the Milanese, Naples, the *Porti di Præsidio* in Tuscany, and Sardinia, were adjudged to Austria, which also gained Mantua, Monteferrato, and Mirandola. The rest of the Milanese went to Savoy.

The Venetian secretary of legation, writing home in the absence of his chief, did not express himself very sanguinely as to the likelihood of prolonged benefits from all these laborious parleys and discussions. The treaties of Utrecht and Baden, so far as Italy and Venice were concerned, were too much on existing lines and too remote from any attempt or approach in the direction of Italian unity and welfare, to last very long. There was usually a considerable distance even in these comparatively modern times between the text and execution of compacts among States. In 1716 the Porte had not yet fulfilled some of the clauses of the treaty of Carlowitz, then seventeen years old.

The year 1714 witnessed, in the accession of the House of Brunswick to the British throne, a great political and constitutional change; and another twelvemonth brought to a term the extraordinarily prolonged and checkered career of Louis XIV. From the century also dated an event, of which the ultimate importance was not at first appreciated, in the erection of Prussia (1701) into a kingdom under the Margraf of Brandenburg; and not long after another kingdom arose by the union of Savoy and Sardinia in 1720 in the person of Vittorio Amadeo II.

The prominent part readily conceded to Venice in the recent transactions was a flattering tribute to its diplomatic energy and its living political force, yet the nearly chronic neutrality, which partly commended the Republic as a mediator, partly implied its wane as a Power. New conditions and new principles were springing up on every side. The maps of Italy and Europe had been again and again reconstructed. That of the world was periodically receiving fresh and strange names; unknown lands began

to occupy places where the earliest draughtsmen knew only an unbroken watery expanse; and the merchant and the traveller ploughed unknown seas. New channels of industry had been opened. Portugal and Spain had enjoyed a transient ascendancy, and had made way for England and Holland, of which both had their companies trading to the Indies; and the State which was the pioneer and model of them all and the oldest mercantile community in western Europe, played the part of a retired capitalist of an anterior school, whose experience and impartiality were held in general respect.

But while commerce and the revenue were constantly suffering a decline, private expenditure did not seem to abate, and with a luxury and splendour, quite vying with periods of infinitely greater prosperity and affluence, there had in the eighteenth century set in a corruption of manners, a less keen sense of honour, and a less strenuous patriotism. In the closet and at the council-board wise views and lofty sentiments were expressed by certain distinguished men; but the interests of the public service were neglected; money grew scarcer and scarcer; private subsidies, once so prompt and so abundant, were grudgingly contributed in a constantly reduced ratio; additional taxation was resented by the people at large, spoiled by the immemorial and exceptional lightness of their burdens; and when from diplomacy the Government found itself obliged to turn to a different sphere of activity, where men and material of war, instead of speeches and arguments, were demanded, the cry was raised that the Arsenal was nearly denuded of ships and that the Exchequer was nearly destitute of specie.

The Republic, while its Government accepted the position of umpire or referee between the western Powers, and while every effort was being made on its own part to avoid war, had been strongly befriended, so far as the relations with the Porte went, by the aggressive and successful movements of the imperialists and the Russians from different points on the Turkish frontiers, and the heavy and continuous losses of the Sultan; and the opportunities afforded by these diversions should have enabled Venice to organise its resources and place its outlying territories in a posture of defence. It might already be perfectly possible to foresee the not very remote consequences of the reckless policy of Turkey; but at present that empire merely emerged from one war to plunge into another. The Grand Vizier had concluded

peace with Russia. The Emperor Charles VI. was growing tired of the struggle in Hungary, aggravated by the disaffection of Transylvania. Poland was absorbed by internal discord; the Swedes were directing their arms elsewhere; and the juncture appeared to be altogether propitious for returning to the Morea, where Venice was unprepared for attack, and where no Morosini stood between the Porte and so coveted a possession. The Senate had ordered new fortifications in that peninsula in 1712, and some progress had been made with them; but the province was in a deplorable state owing to the vicissitudes of war and rule; the garrisons were inadequate; and ammunition and money were short. The local representatives of Venice were not deficient in energy and good-will; but their employers failed to render them the necessary support.

Heavy armaments had been during some time in progress at Constantinople, and were said to be destined for operations at Malta and in Montenegro; but the Venetian Bailo advised the Signory what their real object was; and the authorities in the Morea equally put the Government at home on its guard by reports of movements evidently threatening the same point. The Signory sought with the usual result to enlist in its cause some of the other Christian communities, with which it had so recently been in active and amicable diplomatic correspondence; and it was therefore vain to reckon on allies in the evidently forthcoming collision. If a pretext on the side of the Porte was deemed necessary, it soon existed in the seizure of a richly laden Turkish vessel and its detention by the Venetian commandant of Cattaro; and the Bailo of the Republic at Constantinople, after a sharp and bitter reprimand by the Grand Vizier, was committed to the fortress of Abydos as a hostage for the Turkish residents at Venice. The Porte notified to the Court of Vienna the fact of the rupture; and Prince Eugene offered his intercession, which was refused. Meanwhile a fleet, which had been placed under the command of the captain-general Dolfino, was found incapable of facing the superior strength of the enemy, and the reinforcements asked and expected never arrived. The consequence was that, the naval squadron being involuntarily passive, and the fortresses being ill-protected, not only the Morea, which it had cost the Republic at the end of the preceding century so much labour and skill to recover, but the reserved places in Candia, were in the course of two years from the outbreak of hostilities entirely and

permanently lost (1714-16); and Corfu narrowly escaped capture by the Turks, partly owing to a successful sortie, and partly to the effect of the total defeat of the army of the Sultan at Peterwardein by Prince Eugene (5th August 1716).¹ The Venetians, it is true, had in the previous April entered into a treaty with the Emperor, renewing that of 1684; but the sole advantage reaped from this arrangement was the goodwill of the prince and his master, and the indirect service involved in the late important military diversion. The want of a capable leader, added to that of the stimulating and sustaining influence of a strong central power, largely explained this capital disaster; yet there seems to have been some sheer cowardice or fatuity, where so impregnable a position as Malvasia surrendered without waiting for the fleet and without firing a shot. Such pusillanimous and unsoldierlike behaviour filled Venice with indignation and the Turks themselves with amazement.² The commandant of Malvasia ended his days in prison.

The Austrian victory at Peterwardein probably, however, saved Corfu itself, and animated the Republic with courage to resume the offensive. The gratification on the receipt of the news was intense. The Government displayed characteristic gratitude toward those who had contributed to redeem the national honour; to Marshal Schulemburg, leader of the heroic sortie which turned the scale at Corfu, it granted an annuity of 5000 ducats for life, presented him with a jewelled sword, and erected a statue to him in the old citadel, with an inscription, in which he was termed the general-in-chief, not of Venice, but of the Christian commonwealth. The battle of Peterwardein and the relief of Corfu, to which the Venetians now brought provisions, stores, and money, were followed by a series of advantages at sea over the Porte and by the invaluable concurrent repulses of its arms on land by Austria and Russia. The Venetian naval commanders displayed equal judgment and heroism; and a contemporary authority³ celebrates the exploits of two vessels engaged in one of the numerous conflicts with the enemy, the *Salute* and the *Madonna dell' Arsenale*.

The Turks found themselves environed by hostile forces on all sides; and the tide of fortune was turning against them.

¹ The evacuation by the Turks of Corfu was immediately succeeded by a tremendous thunderstorm, in which their fleet suffered great damage.—Romanin, viii. 51, 52.

² Romanin, viii. 45, 46.

³ Cited by Romanin, viii. 54.

They opened negotiations for peace with Vienna, and even solicited the good offices of England and Holland in a similar direction. At first the Austrians sought to exclude Venice from the operation of any arrangement, which might be made, and protested that the fall of Corfu was only averted by the victory at Peterwardein; but Carlo Ruzzini, commissioned by the Signory as its plenipotentiary, with his secretary Bianchi¹ eventually joined the other delegates at Passarovitz. There was some farther delay in consequence of informalities on the part of the Sultan, who also placed difficulties in the way, as regarded the concession of a seat to the Venetian representative at the congress, pleading that the Signory had been the main cause of the war; and the Venetians, seeing this state of feeling alike at Vienna and Constantinople, resolved to fight and treat at the same time in the hope, that by the maintenance of a belligerent attitude better terms might be obtained. Ruzzini indeed spared no exertions to secure honourable and advantageous conditions; and the Austrian envoy on his side was not wanting in courage. He demanded the restitution of Moldavia and Wallachia and other territory. But the reported disembarkation of a large Spanish force in Sardinia moderated the tone of the imperialists, and inspired the Grand Vizier with a determination to make peace as hard as possible for the Power which the Sultan had already stripped of some of its fairest and dearest possessions, and toward which at the same time his Majesty cherished the most cordial animosity. Ruzzini had asked for the retrocession of the parts of Candia reserved under the treaty of 1669, of the Morea, Cerigo, and Tino, or, as an alternative, the enlargement of Venetian Albania, so as to include Dulcigno, with certain territory in Dalmatia and Herzegovina; but he was obliged to surrender the Morea, and to be content with a few strong places in Dalmatia, Albania, and Herzegovina; and on this basis, so far as the Signory was affected, the Peace of Passarovitz was concluded (21st July 1718). Upon the exchange of the ratifications, the representatives of the Powers embraced each other, and there were salvos of artillery to celebrate the occasion.

Venice had thus lost since the second half of the fourteenth century an important part of Dalmatia, Zara inclusive, Negropont, Scio, Cyprus, Candia, and the Morea, after the expenditure on

¹ Bianchi subsequently wrote an account of the transactions connected with this important diplomatic business.

their acquisition and preservation of an incalculable amount in life and money. Venetian Lombardy, portions of the Illyric Dominion, and the Ionian Isles, still remained; but as if there had not been sufficient reverses and sacrifices, in the same autumn, on the night of the 21st September, the powder magazine in the old castle at Corfu was struck by lightning, and immense damage and loss of life followed. The place was restored as promptly as possible to even more than its former strength and capability of defence.

The desire of the Signory to gain possession of Dulcigno principally arose from a hope of extirpating the piratical element, which so strongly prevailed in that vicinity; and it happened about three years after the pacification of 1718 that a hostile collision in the port of Venice between a Venetian bark and one belonging to Dulcigno nearly involved a fresh war with the Porte. Terms of accommodation were, however, arranged; and on the side of Turkey it was admitted that the Dulcignots were folks not easily kept within moderate bounds. They were officially enjoined to refrain for the future from frequenting any Venetian ports, and from molesting the subjects of the Republic.

The treaty of 1718 is remarkable as the last active diplomatic intervention of Venice in the affairs of Europe. Thenceforward the Signory, unavoidably sensible of the steady development of new forces, with which, apart from decadent prosperity and resources, it was growing more and more unable to cope, relapsed into a neutrality, which was never again to be interrupted, save in one or two instances, where a special circumstance or an individual of strong character temporarily roused a State, once the most energetic and even aggressive among its contemporaries, from its involuntary apathy.

The loose and imperfect principles of Levantine colonisation or feudal dependence, as distinguished from the more regular government of the possessions in Venetian Lombardy, assist in explaining the comparative ease and celerity, with which the Republic lost them in succession, when the failure of her military and even naval capacity rendered it more difficult to maintain an adequate armed power to protect them from attack or from seizure. Except in Candia, where the revolt of the Calergi and others resulted, in the fourteenth century, in the influx of a more or less numerous Venetian element, the Government had done little in the direction of consolidating its influence, and had been content

to plant garrisons in the fortresses with a military commandant and a civil podesta and his staff; and, looking at its prolonged duration and tolerable success, it is difficult to blame the Venetians for following a plan, which had the Greek and Roman practice as a precedent, and which failed only, because a people, as dissimilar from them as possible in every other respect, but gradually acquiring, like them, both military and naval ascendancy, unexpectedly interposed in European affairs, and after a time, when Venice was no longer the mistress of large and elastic resources, wrested from them, one by one, at immense sacrifices of life and money, the territorial appurtenances of ages.

The neutral attitude of Venice was greatly and happily facilitated by the perpetual dissensions of those Powers, which lay more or less at a distance from her frontiers, and particularly by the almost incessant wars between Turkey on the one part, and Persia, Russia, and Austria on the other; but she occasionally suffered the inconvenience and indignity of a violation of her territory by the passage of troops or even by hostile operations within the lines of the Dominion. The main and central aim of the Signory in the first moiety of the eighteenth century was to avoid expenditure, and to endeavour to retrieve in some measure her commercial rank. A report of the Savii alla Mercanzia (Board of Trade), drawn up in 1733 by direction of the Senate, placed before the eyes of public men of all shades of opinion the facts relevant to the withdrawal of business from Venice, which had been in progress since the commencement of the preceding century, and the drift of trade to Trieste, Ancona, Leghorn, Genoa, and elsewhere, independently of the vast damage accruing from the great fair at Sinigaglia established by his Holiness Clement XII. The matter was of the highest moment and urgency, yet years elapsed without any definitive conclusion. In 1736 the Senate fixed the import duty at a ducat per bale and the export at half a ducat on all goods whatever, with the understanding that the limits of a bale were to be defined. At the same time, the mercantile community was reassured and conciliated by more active proceedings against the buccaneers of Barbary, Dulcigno, and other points.

Venice might have ceased to be a Power of imperial rank and weight; but her Government was still composed of men, who personally or by immediate tradition recollected prouder and happier times, and who were reluctant enough to submit to

affronts or injuries, nor indisposed, if the means were available, to support legitimate grievances by force of arms. The old martial impulse was not quite extinct. The Signory, deposed from its exalted position as a first-rate European Power, remained the first sovereign city in Europe, if not in the world, with no inconsiderable realised wealth and an almost superstitious prestige, partly due to passed achievements, and partly to an aptitude for administrative management, which survived to the very last. So we find the Venetians taking a high ground in passing differences with the Curia, with Ferrara, with Ragusa, and even with Austria; threatening the last Power with active resistance to one proposal in regard to the ecclesiastical government of Aquileia, and declining a second, addressed to it by Maria Theresa, with a view to an exchange of territory not disadvantageous to either party. But the most serious and protracted controversy was with the Holy See, in consequence of the opposition of the Senate to the mischievous practice of granting indulgences, dispensations, and other acts of favour to Venetian subjects direct, instead of such privileges being accorded by or through the patriarch of Venice. There was a suspension of diplomatic relations, offers of intercession from France and Austria, and a long correspondence, when the Pope died (1758), and was succeeded by Clement XIII. of the Venetian family of Rezzonico, who addressed a most gracious epistle to the Doge, and upon a rejoinder in a corresponding spirit from the Senate there came to his Serenity the Golden Rose. The actual outcome of the dispute was the same as on so many previous occasions. The Signory remained mistress of the situation.

While the volume of trade centring in the lagoons had undoubtedly not only shrunk, but was steadily continuing to diminish, considerable activity was visible among the industrial classes; large numbers were employed in remunerative and permanent callings; the population, which had never been great, was maintained at the standard of the sixteenth century; and the capital was the perpetual resort of thousands bent on profit or pleasure. It was a feature in the Grand Tour, which no foreigner of family, who prized his reputation, could omit; and down to the end the periodical visits of crowned heads gave additional zest to the spot and a farther stimulus to local commerce. The Sensa was still held, and in 1730 Venice commemorated by general rejoicings the centenary of the deliverance

from the horrible plague, which exterminated a third of the entire nation. So extravagance kept pace with any amount of income, public and private. The cry of the Progressionists was, *Moderate luxury, moderate luxury!* But the bent was all the other way. The noble Venetian of the later type was an irreclaimable prodigal. Even the ducal election expenses had increased from reign to reign; in 1732 they were four times what they had been in far more prosperous days; and in 1763 they were double the amount incurred in 1732.

The succession of Doges¹ during this interval exercised no perceptible influence over the course of events. Not their deficiency in merit and character, for they were without exception tried servants of their country in various capacities, but the changed relations of the throne to the constitution, and the absence of any critical episode and commanding personality since the death of Francesco Morosini, have united to effect a difference in the aspect of affairs and the treatment of the subject. But it was the fortunate lot of at least one (Francesco Loredano) to witness unbroken tranquillity, which had grown tantamount to life, and which was largely promoted by the universally welcome peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). These intervals of repose were wisely dedicated to works of utility and reform at home, especially at the Arsenal; and attention was given to the woods and forests, on which the Admiralty depended for its supply of timber. But it was an era of projects and reforms of all kinds—legal, economical, constitutional, educational, mechanical. The minds of men seemed to have been diverted from foreign concerns to internal affairs, and the best methods of reanimating a moribund political patient. Attention was directed to the navigation of the Brenta. One of the Grimani family proposed to shorten the transit to and from the Grisons by tunnelling or piercing Monte Martarolo, and conveying goods by the Lake of Como. The expedient promised to save twenty hours; but Austria looked unfavourably on it, and it dropped, whereupon the Signory was prompted to scrutinise an old treaty with the canton made under different commercial conditions in 1706, and to revoke it as almost exclusively to the advantage of the Swiss, a circumstance made more probable by the earnest representations of the alleged

¹ Luigi Mocenigo (in succession to Silvestro Valiero), 1700-1709, Giovanni Cornaro, 1709-22, Sebastiano Mocenigo, 1722-32, Carlo Ruzzini, 1732-35, Luigi Pisani, 1735-41, Pietro Grimani, 1741-52, Francesco Loredano, 1752-62.

beneficiaries. This was in 1766, and three years later a postal service was established for carrying passengers and mails once a week from Verona to Vienna by Milan and Mantua. New roads were formed on the skirts of the lagoons in the direction of Mira, Padua, and Treviso. There had been a few years before a plan for building a viaduct to connect the city with the mainland; but it was postponed. The communication between Venice and Germany, however, was facilitated and expedited by a new route with an outlet at Portogruaro. So far back as 1716 Vincenzo Coronelli had in his *Giornale Veneto* urged the permanent protection of the *lidi* by embanking them with marble and placing landing-stairs of the same material at intervals; and in 1744 the construction of these *murani* commenced under the superintendence of the engineer Zendrini, and was carried on year by year at great expense. It is surprising that it should have been reserved for so advanced a period to undertake this work; but it is the more creditable to the country that it should have incurred so interminable an outlay for the benefit of after-comers.

Throughout 1761 and the succeeding year the question of the authority of the Council of Ten and Inquisitors of State was again energetically canvassed; but no practically important fruits resulted from a controversy which retraversed much of the old ground. Even the expulsion of the Jesuits, in conformity with the course adopted by other countries and other Italian States, became the motive for placing the teaching system in popular schools on a better footing, and introducing new textbooks.

There was quite a commercial revival. Fresh treaties were concluded with different Powers in Europe and Africa; the intercourse with Holland grew more and more regular and constant; additional consular establishments were opened;¹ and seeing the inability to prevail on other countries to join in repressing the Barbary pirates, the Signory deemed it best to continue the annual tax of 10,000 ducats, in addition to 70,000 more distributed in gifts or bribes—a proof that the profits on trade were yet tolerably handsome. A Chamber of Commerce on the model of that instituted by Colbert in France was mooted in 1763; but the existing authorities (*savii alla mercanzia*) dis-

¹ Nicolo Veniero, writing from Antwerp in 1783 to Caterina Cornaro, stated that he had been making at Amsterdam observations likely to be useful to the Republic, and that the latter ought to have a consul at that port.—Molmenti, *La Vie privée à Venise*, 1882, p. 430.

approved of the idea on the ground that the interests of merchants were better safeguarded by independent officials.

Whatever might be predicated or augured of all these tardy movements, they were more profitable than a participation in the endless feuds of the continent of Europe. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was scarcely more than a recent recollection when the Seven Years' War broke out between Prussia and Austria. Venice remained absolutely aloof, nor did the operations affect her interests or her territory.

CHAPTER XLI

A.D. 1762-1797

Marco Foscarini, Doge (1762-63)—Antecedents of Foscarini—His share in the constitutional agitation of 1761-62—His literary tastes and productions—A favourable type of the latter-day Doge—His sudden death and last moments—Inauguration of his successor, Luigi Mocenigo (1763)—Diplomatic arrangements with Tunis, Tripoli, etc.—Constitutional agitation continued—Giorgio Pisani and Carlo Contarini—Their arrest and expatriation—Their final fortunes, and those of Angelo Quirini—A curious episode in 1774—The case of Pier Antonio Gratarol—Danger of a war with the Netherlands (1772)—Distinguished guests at Venice—Angelo Emo and his extraordinary triumphs at sea (1784-92)—Paolo Renier and Luigi Manin, Doges (1779-97)—Approach of the end—The French in Italy—Negotiations of the procurator Pietro Pesaro with Bonaparte—Correspondence of Pesaro with Caterina Cornaro (1795-96)—Last act of the Venetian Senate (1797)—Surrender of the city to the French—The one hundred and twentieth Doge abdicates—Farewell of Pesaro to his country and to La Corner before his departure for England.

THE Doge Marco Foscarini, who crowned a distinguished and active career as a public servant by succeeding to the throne in 1762, had borne a prominent share in the constitutional and parliamentary battle of the day on the jurisdiction of the Decemvirs and the Inquisitors of State. The experience of Foscarini, his discharge of the highest official functions, and his ability as a speaker, united to render him an influential advocate and partisan; and he had thrown the weight of his opinions and character into the scale in favour of the existing order of things, and against the revival of the movement for modifying the powers of the oligarchy. The new Doge was not therefore the popular candidate; for although as the descendant of the unfortunate Antonio Foscarini, who owed his violent death in 1622 to an egregious miscarriage of justice on the part of the Inquisitors of State, he had the strongest private reason to look with dissatisfaction on that body and institution, he insisted that it was one peculiarly adapted for the purpose which it fulfilled,

been transacted in the course of ages than in all the other capitals of Europe combined.¹ Hither came the scholar to examine rare books and manuscripts, the political economist for the study of institutions, and the exile in quest of an asylum. Even that much misunderstood celebrity Faust of Knütlingen is made by his biographer to take the queen of the Adriatic in his way to see the wonders of the world, and to admire the water running through every street, the beauty of Saint Mark's, and the cheapness of food, although nothing grew near at hand.²

The last quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed a renewal of the martial exploits and triumphs of Morosini in the Peloponesus on other ground and under different conditions and prospects. In 1769 Angelo Emo, born in 1731, the son of the procurator Giovanni Emo, an eminent soldier and diplomatist, by his wife Lucia Lombardo, appears on the scene as the successor of Jacopo Nani, who had contributed to repress the pirates of Algiers and Tunis without bringing the war to a definite conclusion. Emo, now in his thirty-eighth year, had distinguished himself from his earliest youth by his fondness for mathematical and geographical studies, and was a keen admirer of the great deeds of those Venetians who had gone before him by sea and land. In 1758, before he was thirty, he was sent to Cadiz to negotiate a new commercial treaty with Spain, and on his return would have been lost in a hurricane, after passing the Straits of Gibraltar, had he not stimulated the crew by his directions and example. It was the ambition of this extraordinary young man to restore the maritime ascendancy of his country, and to replace the Arsenal on its former efficient footing; for he perceived with sorrow and shame the decline in the resources of that noble institution, and the neglect of the Republic to avail itself of the improvements periodically introduced into the English and French naval systems. His career, however, was destined to be that not of a reformer, but of the last, and one of the most illustrious, of the long roll of heroes who had made the Venetian name feared and respected on all waters; and he displayed his qualifications for the first time in 1768, when he compelled the Algerines under the treaty of 1763 to surrender certain prizes, to set at liberty the captives whom they had reduced to slavery, and to pay 14,000 ducats for damages.

¹ A more particular account of distinguished visitors to Venice will be found in a later chapter.

² Hazlitt's *National Tales and Legends*, 1892, p. 120.

From 1784, when hostilities broke out again with the Bey of Tunis, till 1792, when Emo died at Malta after a brief illness, to the inexpressible grief of all his countrymen, not without suspicion of poison, the life of the great soldier was devoted to maritime enterprises, in which his success recalled the days and fortunes of Morosini the Peloponesan. His splendid services in clearing the seas and in humbling the Bey were universally appreciated. The inhabitants of Zante presented him with a gold sword, and struck a medal in his honour. Eulogiums in prose and verse on his victorious progress, wherever he turned his arms, freely flowed from the press. In 1786 he was created a cavaliere, and subsequently a procurator of Saint Mark; and in 1789 the unique distinction befell him of becoming the immediate subject of a communication from the Government of Louis XVI. to the Senate, where the benefits accruing to French subjects and commerce by the enfranchisement of navigation from the Corsairs are signalised, and where the credit is exclusively ascribed to the Venetian Admiral. The minister of Louis concludes by saying that if the usage of the Signory had permitted such a course, his Majesty would have caused the Cavaliere Emo to be personally addressed, and that he hoped that the Senate would be pleased to communicate to that personage the sentiments of the King.

The remains of Emo reached Venice on Thursday, 24th May 1792, in his beloved flagship *La Fama*, and were followed to the grave by an immense procession of every class of the community, in which the public officials, the mariners, the sea-gunners, and all who desired to mark their professional admiration and sympathy were conspicuous. On the funeral bier was the inscription: *To Angelo Emo, Cavaliere and Procurator of Saint Mark, Admiral of the Venetian Fleet, the Senate*; and for the armoury at the Arsenal Canova executed a design shewing an obelisk, against which the raging billows dash in vain, while a maiden occupies herself in writing upon it the name of the departed, and a genius descends from heaven to lay on the apex an immortal crown.

While Emo missed the opportunity of accomplishing at home those changes in the management of the Admiralty, of which he so well understood the necessity and value, he did not fail to utilise his experience where the occasion arose in the course of his own campaigns; and in 1785 we find him bringing into play

deadlock. Such was the source and commencement of a difficulty which lasted, with intermissions, till 1780, and which two other champions of political liberty, Giorgio Pisani and Carlo Contarini, assisted in aggravating and prolonging. The committee appointed to report to the Great Council on the whole subject discharged its duty in the most elaborate manner, and formulated certain conclusions, based on the constitutional precedents of 1628 and 1667, which were adopted; but Pisani and Contarini pursued their intrigues and declamations; there was even a *Società Pisanesca* to promote and disseminate the views of the agitators; and the supporters of Pisani carried his nomination (March 8, 1780) as procurator of Saint Mark, which entitled him to a public ovation and a solemn audience of the Doge. The celebration not unnaturally partook of the twofold character of a splendid compliment to the successful magistrate and a wanton bravado to the unpopular tribunal. A ball and musical entertainment were given at the Pisani Palace; there were songs in honour of the hero of the occasion, illuminations, and fireworks; the walls of the rooms were covered with inscriptions and symbols allusive to the subject of reform; the cards of invitation, instead of the words *Pax tibi Marce* usually accompanying the effigy of the patron-evangelist, bore *Pasti fuistis*; on the sweetmeats and confections were such mottoes as—

La science, le bon cœur, l'amour patriotique
Sont-ils le fondement de la République ;

and about the saloon were scattered slips on which was: *Oggi bordello, domani castello : oggi l'ingresso, domani il processo. Dio ti guardi !* Revolutionary projects were broached or recommended on papers found in the balloting urns. At a dinner given by Pisani at the Bragora, he openly said: "Courage! let us be steadfast, and all will go well."

The Inquisitors had been tolerably forbearing; but they now deemed that the matter had gone far enough; and on the night of the 31st May 1780, Pisani and some of his friends were arrested. The secretary of the Inquisitors, with whom was a Dalmatian military guard, demanded the keys of his bureau; the prisoner addressed a few words of consolation to his wife, and then proceeded to a gondola in waiting, which conveyed him to Fusina. The party then took a carriage to Padua, and so on to Vicenza, where Pisani bought a Horace to beguile the time; and

finally he also became an inmate of the castle of San Felice. Carlo Contarini was sent in a felucca to Cattaro; but he did not long survive his imprisonment. At the end of ten years Pisani was allowed to retire to his own villa of Monastier, where he resumed his former tactics, and wrote an account of his life, trials, and thoughts, of which the first volume only appeared¹ after his death. But he does not seem to have subsequently exercised any political influence.

Nor did Angelo Quirini take subsequently to the resettlement of the question, so long, so keenly, and so angrily discussed, any immediate part in the debates or in the affairs of the Government. But he manifested to the last a cordial sympathy with the democratic movement in France and with the sentiments of Voltaire and other thinkers of the same school or bent. In common with Pisani,² he does not seem to have desired to see any violent revolutionary changes at home, but merely a reduction of the power of the Ten and the Inquisitors within more moderate and secure limits; and his course of action was the more disinterested, that, as a prominent official, he resembled his predecessor Reniero Zeno, the reformer of an earlier century, in an effort to trench on an authority which it might well have fallen to his lot to wield, while we must admire the freedom from bias and favouritism, which the decemviral body evinced in dealing with a public servant who was almost one of themselves. Zeno and Quirini, equally scions of ancient ducal families, were types of that school of statesmen, not unknown to the less advanced stages of Venetian political life, nor indeed peculiar to that soil, where men of family, wealth, and worldly distinction are found in the ranks of an opposition composed of those who may gain much by success, and by failure can lose little. The ex-avogador passed the latter portion of his life in the society of men of culture like himself; he visited France and Switzerland, and made in the latter country the personal acquaintance of Voltaire. Part of his time was spent at Venice, where he was one of the promoters of a scheme for improving the navigation of the Brenta, and part at his superb villa of Altichiero near Padua,

¹ At Ferrara in 1798. He lived till 1811. He had been committed in 1794 to the fortress of Brescia, and was only released in 1797, when the French entered into occupation.

² The writer, in his *Life*, 1798, explicitly declares: "Sapevasi da tutti ch'io non voleva far nascere una repentina morte dell' aristocratico usurpato dominio, . . . ma che voleva richiamare il governo già sussistente nei termini di giustizia."

where he was surrounded by the monuments of his taste as a collector.¹

Concurrently with the crusade of Quirini, Pisani, Contarini, and their partisans against the Inquisitors of State, rather (after all) than against the Ten, circumstances occurred about this time, which farther tended to create friction and discord. On the 6th March 1774, one of the Quarantia, Pietro Semitecolo, passing along the Fondamente Nuove, observed the maltreatment by a butcher named Milani of a poor itinerant hawker of books, and remonstrated with the assailant, whereupon Milani dealt Semitecolo himself a violent blow with his fist in the cheek, drawing blood, and necessitating the withdrawal of the magistrate into a neighbouring house. An application was addressed to the Ten for the arrest of the offender; but Pietro Barbarigo, one of the chiefs, pointed out that the council could not act till a full and formal statement of all the facts was before it; and meanwhile Milani escaped. There was a general clamour, and the case was the topic of conversation in every café and restaurant in the city; the Government was bitterly abused, and the Ten, instead of improving the position, rendered it worse by ordering an earlier closing hour for all the coffee-shops and eating-houses, which were supposed to be the focus of popular and seditious cabals. The step produced farther irritation, and a lampoon was found in one of the public thoroughfares, thanking the Capo Barbarigo in the assumed name of the night thieves for enabling them to get their crust of bread a little sooner.²

Another grave misadventure, which involved the Executive in unpleasant consequences and exposed it to hostile criticism, was of a different and more complex character. Pier Antonio Gratarol, Secretary to the Senate, a married gentleman, was the rival of Carlo Gozzi in the affections of an actress named Teodora Rizzi; and Gozzi resented the intrusion by drawing one of the characters (M. Adone) in his *Droghe d' Amore*, first performed at the San Luca theatre by the Sacchi company on the 10th January 1777, so as, with the clever impersonation of the actor Vitalba,

¹ He was seized by an apoplectic fit as he was coming out of his house at Venice on the 30th December 1796. He was in his seventy-fifth year, and was spared the pain of actually witnessing the fall of the Republic, although the crisis was then imminent.

² "La compagnia dei laddri notturni ringrazia l' eccellentissimo capo Barbarigo per aver somministrato ad essi il modo nella corrente carestia di procacciarsi un pane in ora molto più discreta e comoda."—Romanin, viii. 196.

to leave no doubt on the mind of the audience who was intended. Gratarol complained to the Inquisitors of State, who did not see their way to interfere, and thought that the secretary was too imaginative; but he was neither to be pacified nor reassured. Visions rose before him of ridicule and banter wherever he shewed his face; and he was a man who from his official rank was admitted to the highest circles. He was one of the set which frequented the drawing-room of the procuratessa Tron, then the leader of fashion, as her husband, Andrea Tron, procurator of Saint Mark, was the leader of political society and ideas. The unfortunate man was not free from a suspicion that the lady in question had had a hand in the mischief. All his prospects in life seemed to be suddenly blighted. He was only just over thirty, a person of culture, with a reputation for talent and amiability; and he was on the point of receiving a new diplomatic appointment at Naples. He wavered in his resolution, and went to Padua for change of scene, and to be better able to decide on a course. But on the night of the 11th September 1777 he quitted Venice and his official post without notice, proceeded to Ceneda, where he stayed a few days, thence travelled to Germany, and so on to Stockholm, where he published in 1779 an *Apologetical Narration*, seeking to account for his conduct.

His Government does not appear to have acted with any particular promptitude, although his absence from his duties must have been equally inconvenient and notorious; and it was not till the 6th November, when he had long removed himself beyond Venetian jurisdiction, that the Inquisitors submitted a report on the subject to the Ten. The latter, on the 22nd December, passed a sentence of deprivation and forfeiture of goods, and set a price on the head of the fugitive, who, in deserting his employment without leave, had violated a rigorous ordinance passed in 1665, in view of the danger calculated to arise from indiscreet or malicious political disclosures. Meanwhile Gratarol had crossed over to England, where he was treated with much kindness, and from England went to Lisbon. He subsequently travelled in the United States and in Brazil, and finally undertook with the Count and Countess Adelsheim a voyage to Madagascar, where he and his companions met with misadventures, and where he himself died (October 1785).¹

This affair, so far as the immediate penalty attached to the

¹ Romanin, viii. 214-219.

misdeemeanour of Gratarol in quitting Venice *proprio motu* went, created a great stir and consternation, owing to the social status of the offender and the supposed complicity of La Trona in procuring his disgrace; and the *Apologetical Narration* and the accounts of the unhappy business which found their way into the press contributed to lay the oligarchical authority and the barbarously drastic code which it administered open to fresh animadversion.

But such unbending sternness and stringency had not been thought unsuitable to the public welfare even by a personage so relatively progressive and modern in many of his opinions as the late Doge Foscarini; and when the Inquisitors, after the culmination of the constitutional difficulty, laid before the Great Council on the 4th June 1780 a statement of the case and of their method of dealing with the culprit, the assembly on the 21st of the following month resolved that, having regard to the passed danger, the triumvirs had deserved well of their country. What more can be said?

A singular instance of the evolution, from an apparently trivial and a purely private incident, of an international rupture which lasted four-and-twenty years, and almost threatened to become of European character, occurred about this time—in 1772—through the nefarious proceedings of a certain Albanian adventurer named Zanovich, who, partly through letters of recommendation procured under false pretences from Simone Cavalli, Venetian resident at Naples, succeeded in obtaining a heavy credit from the firm of Chomel and Jordan of Amsterdam. As soon as that house discovered the fraud, it appealed for protection and redress to the Dutch Government. Zanovich had alleged that he had a valuable cargo of oil, on which he desired an advance; and he represented his brother as the head of a wealthy mercantile establishment. The Signory recalled Cavalli from Milan, whither he had been transferred, and instituted an inquiry, as the matter began to assume serious proportions, and the States of Holland were trying to induce the Emperor to support the claim, through a select committee of the Senate. But the result was that Cavalli was judged to have been simply very credulous—the firm at Amsterdam was surely not less so—and that process was issued against Zanovich and his brother, whose property was confiscated. When the correspondence had continued some time longer, the Government even offered, in the

interests of peace, to pay, not officially but on the part of Zanolich, 10,000 ducats in full satisfaction of all claims. The affair was acquiring meanwhile wide notoriety, and the general consensus of opinion was adverse to Holland. This did not deter that State from deliberating, when 1785 had been reached, on the propriety of suspending diplomatic relations, of ordering an embargo on Venetian ships, and of instructing the commander of the Dutch squadron in the Mediterranean to be prepared to take the offensive. The French minister, M. de Vergennes, solemnly warned the court of the Hague against the grave responsibility of taking the initiative in disturbing the peace of Europe; the prospect of difficulties with the Emperor was increasing; the ambitious projects of the Stadtholder were productive of internal disagreement; and the views and demands of Holland were not shared by the other members of the Union. The Venetian Senate took no farther cognisance of the matter, and it resolved itself into a desultory negotiation, which survived the removal of the house of Chomel to France in 1791, the French Revolution, and the conquest of Holland under the Directory. In 1796 Chomel addressed a memorial to the Doge, ten years after the conclusion of the career of Zanolich, who subsequently posed as an Albanian prince, in the dungeons of Amsterdam. He was tenacious even for a Hollander. His suit had enjoyed a duration of nearly a quarter of a century; it was wholly due to the greedy credulity of his firm; and it was not his blame that it did not involve costly and sanguinary hostilities on an extended scale.

The Doge Paolo Renier, who succeeded in 1779, entertained the view that the primary need of the country was peace—a consummation at that point of time less difficult than it had before been or afterward became. For it was a matter of possibility, with a narrower territorial interest and diminished expenditure, to play a passive part, so long as all ideas of conquest were abandoned, and the dominion which remained to Venice was substantially intact. Yet to careful observers the political horizon was already far from reassuring or comfortable. The advanced French school had spread its influence over Europe, and had its pupils even at Venice; and in 1777 Angelo Quirini had travelled to Switzerland with his friend Dr. Festari of Valdagno to make the personal acquaintance of Voltaire, and to offer to his acceptance a medal struck in his honour, in which Philosophy was represented overthrowing Superstition; nor was it likely that

in literary circles at Venice the deism of Rousseau and the free thought of Holbach would be without their influence on their disciples. One of the earlier acts of the Americans after the Declaration of Independence was a proposal of alliance from Benjamin Franklin and his fellow-delegates at Paris between the United States and Venice, in a letter to the Venetian Ambassador at that court, representing the step as one of mutual advantage. But the Senate thought that as the States had previously entered into treaties with other Powers, and the distance was so great, it would be better to study the eastern trade by way of the Black Sea. The American Union was a republic too; but beyond the name there was little in common. The Americans were removed out of the sphere of revolutionary agencies, which were soon to alter the political face of Europe, and to uproot or dislocate nearly every constituent of the old regime, Venice among the rest.

Some Venetians discerned the coming hurricane. The Doge Foscarini, who died in 1763, already foresaw that a terrible time was approaching for the new generation.¹ A secretary of the Inquisitors of State, writing to his brother in France in 1779, expressed the opinion that, unless the Signory was forearmed against contingencies, all would be lost, not in a campaign, but at one blow. The governing body was kept well and constantly informed of the progress of discontent and anarchy in France, and of the approach of a financial and constitutional crisis. At Venice statesmen knew more about French affairs than the French themselves outside Paris; but neither here nor anywhere else probably was any correct estimate formed, or capable of formation, during the preliminary stages of the ultimate dimensions and range of the movement.

One of the most interesting illustrations of the approach of the crisis is the intimate correspondence of the procurator Pietro Pesaro, ambassador of the Signory at Rome, addressed in 1795 and 1796 to the same lady, whom we have already seen in receipt of communications from Nicolo Veniero. Pesaro pictured the French descending on Italy by rapid marches: Sardinia prepared to make peace on any terms from inability to resist: the Signory inclined to go to war, but without the means: and amid all the uncertainty the certainty that nothing would be done. On the

¹ His words were: "Questo secolo dovrà essere terribile ai nostri figli e nepoti."
—Romanin, viii. 302.

31st May 1796, the procurator writes to La Corner, that there is no talk but of war, that it is difficult to extract the truth from three hundred contradictory rumours, and that at Rome everything is in confusion. "O!" he ejaculates, "the terrible time."

It was a season of painful and humiliating suspense. The Doge declared that they were no longer safe in their beds, so long as the French had begun to construct works on the skirts of the lagoon with a clear intention to command and intimidate, if not to storm, the capital. At an extraordinary meeting held on the 30th April 1797, to consider how the French should be approached with a view to a change in the Government, the procurator Pesaro gave expression to the prevalent feeling, when he said, with tears in his eyes: "I see that there is an end of my country; I can do nothing more for it. To a man of spirit every land may be a country; one may go to Switzerland, and live there."¹ On the following day Bonaparte issued at Palma Nuova his manifesto, setting forth the grounds which justified him in declaring war against Venice, and treating all Venetians as enemies of France. Before he took this step, he had already violated the territory of the Republic.

Pesaro, who had been charged with the equally delicate and unpleasant duty of treating with Bonaparte, was obliged to exercise the utmost self-command, and to be prepared with replies to all the charges put forward by the general-in-chief as so many pretexts for seizing the City, and annihilating its freedom. He accused the Republic of raising troops to oppose him, of surrounding him with spies, of spreading disaffection, of having shot a French naval officer,² and so on; and his language and attitude were full of bluster and menace. In the course of his interviews with the Venetian representative he exhausted the vocabulary of reproach and impeachment, and even, when he invited him to take some refreshment, he availed himself of the opportunity to ask a variety of questions respecting the institutions, prisons, punishments, and secret practices of the Government, about which

¹ "Vedo che per la mia patria la xe finia; mi non posso sicuramente prestarghe verun ajuto; ogni paese per un galantomo xe patria, nei Suizzeri se pol facilmente occuparsi."—Romanin, x. 139. Pesaro, however, came over to England. See Molmenti, *La Vie Privée*, p. 435.

² Laugier, who insisted on entering the port, in spite of the warning of the officer on duty at Lido, and was killed by one of the guns of the fort. Bonaparte demanded without effect the surrender of the commandant of Lido and of the Inquisitors responsible for such an act.

the French press and literary world had disseminated all sorts of fables and exaggerations.

A Venetian deputation had waited on Bonaparte at Gratz, and found him at first tolerably moderate in his tone and willing to listen to what they had to say. But he insisted on the release of all political prisoners, and upbraided the Republic with having perpetrated every species of atrocity. The general-in-chief became more excited and vehement, as the conference proceeded, and complained of Venice having troops under arms, and not having made its choice between France and England.¹ He declared war against it. He had come to an arrangement with the Emperor on this account. He had 80,000 men and twenty gun-boats. He would have no Inquisition; he would have no Senate; he would be an Attila to the Venetian State. He wanted no propositions; he should dictate to them his pleasure. They had merely come there to gain time. Such language, whatever its impression at the moment may have been, is apt to awaken a feeling that Bonaparte looked on the forcible reduction of the City as an enterprise of not inconsiderable magnitude and difficulty, more especially as he had room to apprehend the existence among the Lombard boroughs² of a strong Venetian bias, which merely awaited a signal to assume an active and dangerous form.

There was slight room to doubt, however, what the issue would be; but the Government, as a precaution, laid in ample stores of all kinds, and secured a constant supply of fresh water. Pesaro had assured Bonaparte that nothing had been done beyond what was necessary for self-protection; and a Frenchman (Lallement), writing from Venice on the 25th July 1797, corroborates this statement, as far as any aggressive movement was concerned. But the general-in-chief had it equally within his power to destroy the Republic, whether it was defenceless, or created a *casus belli* by defending itself. The provision against a blockade and a vote of 2000 ducats to the Commune of Pordenone as an indemnity for damages sustained through the French

¹ Romanin, x. 126, remarks: "Molto si è parlato altresì d'una alleanza proposta anche dall'Inghilterra. Non pare: anzi dalle lettere del residente Giacomazzi da Londra se ne caverebbe tutt'altro." It appears that Great Britain was in favour of a league between the Italian States and the Emperor against France, but left the matter in the Emperor's hands.

² It has been said that in the Bresciano alone 8000 men were prepared to march to the relief of the capital.

invasion formed the last act of the Venetian Senate—of a body which had sat uninterruptedly almost eight hundred years, and had, on the whole, discharged its functions with equal efficiency, dignity, and success.

The Republic composed its own epilogue. At the sitting of the Great Council, present the Doge, who was visibly agitated and depressed, the Signory, and altogether 537 members *ex officio* and otherwise, it was resolved by an overwhelming majority to submit to the force of circumstances by accepting the provisional government proposed by General Bonaparte. This was on the 12th May 1797; and on the 16th, partly under the apprehension of a popular tumult against the concession, the French troops took possession of the City. On the 17th of the following October the Treaty of Campo Formio transferred the greater part of the Venetian territory in Lombardy (including the Adriatic islands and the capital) and Dalmatia to the Austrian empire.

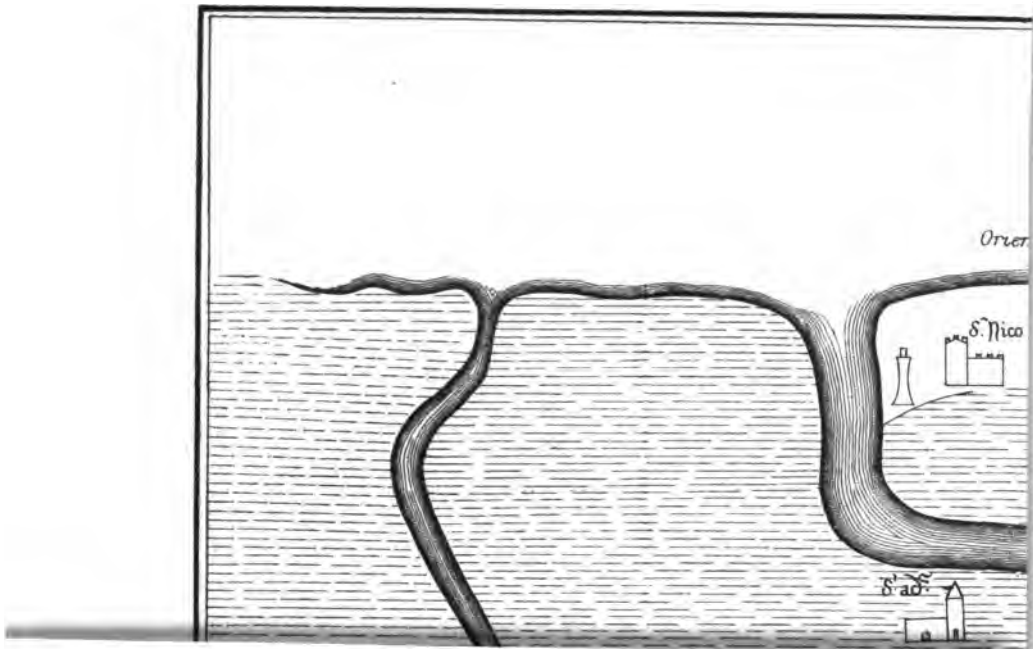
When the Doge Manin returned to his apartments, he might well, in removing his bonnet, and handing it to an attendant, say, "Take it away; we shall not want it again." Precisely eleven hundred years had come and gone, since the first brand-new ducal cap was made for Pauluccio Anafesto in Heraclia, centuries before even Malamocco became the capital. What acted drama has the world to shew so long in its duration, so varied and checkered in some of its scenes, with so many splendid passages, and with a close so melancholy and ignoble? States, like individuals, may live too long. Venice did so. *Infelix opportunitate mortis.*

The last of the Doges, of whom Venice had seen one hundred and twenty since 697, retired to his own house near the Fabbriche Vecchie, a mansion originally built by Sansovino, but of which the interior was restored by Selva in the last century; and there he died in the course of a few days from the pain, it is said, which the abdication had caused him, and his keen chagrin at the national ruin. He had succeeded Paolo Renier in 1789; and his accession cost the country more than it had ever defrayed on any previous occasion in festivities and largesse. The Oriental profusion, the lavish hand, the spirit of the spendthrift, were still there, when the national life and the national purse were alike on the ebb; the Republic could not renounce the proud traditions of her splendid prime, even with a failing recuperative faculty and the acknowledged imminence of an acute political crisis. Manin

is usually described as a personage of the most sensitive patriotism and the highest respectability without much energy of character. Had the latter been stronger, it is possible that he might have committed his country to a vain and ruinous struggle against that new and strange force which the rest of Europe found irresistible.

On the fall of his beloved country, that Pesaro, of whom mention has already more than once occurred, left Venice and Italy, and settled, not in Switzerland, but in London. Before he went, he wrote a touching note to Caterina Cornaro, in which he said: "I go, Madam, because I cannot do otherwise; it is written in the book of my destiny. I do not come to see you, in order not to renew your sorrow and mine, and in order to lend me better courage to depart. I still have the echo in my ear and my heart, the *Caro ti*. I commend myself to your remembrance; you will ever be before my eyes. Your image is deeply engraven in my mind; it is uneffaceable. I kiss your hands. Adieu." This was the language of a Venetian gentleman toward a lady for whom he entertained a warm and chivalrous regard; the wax seal, which fastened the sheet of paper, shewed the device of an expanding leaf with the French motto: "*je ne change qu'en mourant*;" yet there is no suggestion of a possible tenderer tie. La Corner had rejected a proposal of marriage from Veniero. She is said to have been in love with Pesaro, who perhaps did not afford her the chance of refusal. As letters were already passing between Veniero and herself in 1783, she could have been no longer very young, when she was in correspondence with her later admirer.

VENICE AND T
FROM THE EARLIE



CHAPTER XLII

The Foundations—Primæval Venice—Letters of Cassiodorus (520-23)—Their unique value—Traces of the earliest Venetian life—The original Walled City—Great Abbey of San Zaccaria—Different aspect of localities—Solidification of the Islands or *lidi*—Servile labour.

THE traveller, who disembarks at Venice to-day, and brings with him a knowledge that the earliest history of the Republic was one of humble endeavours, severe trials, and slow evolution from barbarism and insignificance into wealth, splendour, and power, —even such a person as this is apt to form a fallacious estimate of what Venice and the Venetians anciently were: how far removed from the picture which fancy draws of them both in their prime of life, yet possessing within already in adolescence all the elements which made them strong, and nearly all those which took that strength afterward away. Some of the oldest topographical *data* have outlived the government and the order of things with which they were so long associated. The modern visitor to the city passes along the Riva dei Schiavoni, and crosses the Ponte della Paglia, names and spots sanctified by a thousand recollections. He sees the Calle delle Rasse, now silent and listless enough, where the murderer of a Doge was hanged before his own door in 1172, and where the government printing office was situated in 1477. His foot touches at every turn ground which has been trodden by still unforgotten men and women of all nations and every century. He may plant himself on the Piazzetta, and repeople it in thought with some of the proudest scenes, and some of the saddest, which make the annals of that State. The imagery which rises up before him is almost too rich for use, almost too bewildering for realisation.

The Lagoon has been described as a vast morass, of about a

to have framed for itself any definite ideas of government, and too full of the bitter past, too poor and too anxious, to have any stomach for internal disagreement. Cassiodorus depicts the Republic of Venice as it appeared to him nearly two hundred and fifty years before the choice of the first Doge.

We must figure to ourselves a phase of life not very different from that which we know more or less certainly to have prevailed at this period, and to have continued far later elsewhere, among free European societies; a rude system of warfare, in which the maturity of the Roman discipline was altogether lost, and a scheme of fortification as imperfect and barbarous as the architecture of the time. The Venice with which we are immediately dealing was, we may feel sure, substantially similar to all other coeval places with possibilities for the support and protection of life equally straitened; and as one stands on the summit of the Campanile, one has to substitute for the busy and conventional scene below another, to the anthropological student perhaps not greatly inferior in interest, but of course unspeakably humbler and less artificial; insulated clusters of huts or wigwams composed of wood, thatch, and mud, within enclosures of wattle, forming little townships, of which the indigent and scanty population surrounded themselves, in lieu of walls, with stockades, and waxed great and powerful in spite of disunion within and aggression without, by virtue of some force as mysterious as it was irresistible.

There is one point in the second letter of Cassiodorus, which seems to demonstrate with tolerable plainness the Prefect's personal knowledge of the customs and habits of those, who from first to last made the sea so much their study and their home. It is by no means too much to take it for granted that the minister of Theodoric had often set foot on the islands, and trodden Venetian soil, before Venice had afforded the faintest sign of what she was going to be or to do; and he may be treated as the earliest of a long series of travellers who have left behind them a record of their feelings and impressions. But it is to the concluding sentence of his epistle that we wished to solicit attention, to the place where he alludes to the mariners having their boats, as if they had been living creatures, tethered to the walls of their dwellings, ready for instantaneous use.

Cassiodorus does not specify what class of craft the Venetian carriers employed to bring up the king's goods to Ravenna or

elsewhere. But whatever provision might be made for a service of this kind outside the lagoons, there is no doubt that the necessity for resorting to vessels of the shallowest draught soon brought into use some prototype of the keelless gondola with its covered deck-cabin. The nature of the waters governed the construction of the vehicle upon them in the same manner as among the Hindoos, who from generation unto generation build on the same lines their flat-bottomed dingies and penchways to accommodate the conditions of their own peculiar river traffic. We see that the Prefect alludes to the habit which the islanders had of mooring their boats to their own premises; but he does not, of course, help us to understand how they housed them in a hard winter or during disuse, or laid them up for repairs, or what rudiment they had of a Dock. From an independent source, however, comes to us an intimation of a system of primitive boat-shelters (*cavane*) at different points along the shore. These humble refuges were most probably basins roughly fashioned by servile manual labour of embanked earthwork, strengthened by piles and fascines; they were to the first Venetians at once arsenal, docks, and boat-houses. Temanza enumerates two or three, of which the precise situation is definable, and which were subsequently converted to other purposes; the site of one was occupied by the Hospital of S. Giacomo del Palude at the back of Murano; and it is by no means unlikely that at first each man built, mended, and painted for himself, like the Red Indian and the Briton of a parallel antiquity.

The most rudimentary form of vehicle for passage by water seems to have been universally composed of leather or hide stretched at need by a transverse internal apparatus of wood or wicker. This is the medium which the fisherman on the coast or on the fresh-water course has employed in all ages and regions from the most ancient records of Egypt to modern days, when those engaged in this branch of industry may yet be seen employing boats which are at once portable and independent of external accommodation; and such was the practice followed beyond doubt in *Venetia Princeps*.

A second very acceptable witness, and presumably the second distinguished guest of Venice, was the imperial exarch Longinus, who found himself here forty-five years later, and whose tangible footprints and first-hand evidence are of unlimited worth in disclosing to us the immense progress achieved by the Republic in

less than half a century. An account of this incident has been narrated elsewhere; and it offers to our consideration a society already arrived at a considerable measure of power, repute, and self-reliance.

The gondola, which Mr. Theodore Bent traces from the Greek *κοντελάς*, and which, like most of the ancient water carriages, was high at bow and stern, somewhat crescent-wise, seems to be first mentioned by name in 1094; but in the tenth century there were *lintre*, or small open boats, for personal traffic—the *lynter* or cockboat of the early English vocabulary of John Stanbridge—and *barche*, which must have been of more than one kind and size. In 1328 one is mentioned as employed to bring the Doge's daughter secretly to Venice, and as being covered; and this answers to the description of the more modern *peota*, which was capable of accommodating many sitters. A *lintra* is specified as the conveyance in which the corpse of Domenigo Morosini was allowed to drift from San Pietro di Castello in or about 980 to the water-gate of San Zaccaria below the Piazzetta. The author of a poem on the Northmen, Gulielmus Apulus, speaks of being obliged, when he was at Venice in the eleventh century, to employ barks in his excursions. During the war of Chioggia (1379-80) *ganzuaroli* or long barks are cited in an official minute; but these were constructed for belligerent purposes, and received detachments of arbalisters or crossbowmen; and prior to the introduction of tolerably ample facilities for locomotion to all parts of the city, the communication of the islands with each other must have been seriously restricted, since, before bridges of any kind connected the metropolis and its more immediate environs together, pontoons or *soleole* were the only resource. Of these primitive contrivances we have traces so far back as the eighth century; and they were probably superseded by wooden bridges, when the advent of the Lombards brought into the region, ever after to bear their name, the art (among many others) of building in its various branches.

In Venice itself and its suburbs horses, asses, and mules were extensively employed by persons of rank. Temanza draws an edifying little picture of the members of the Great Council coming from different points to attend the meetings on horseback, and fastening the animals, until the sitting was over, to trees, and of the sloughy state of the thoroughfares before pavements came into vogue, and the quays and canals were dressed with masonry.

The mules of which the same author tells us were perhaps chiefly used by ecclesiastics and ladies; but the latter, and women in general, had recourse to pattens so constructed as to lift them out of the mud and the street refuse. A mule was provided in 1177 for the use of Pope Alexander III.

The practice of riding on horseback in the public thoroughfares was probably more or less habitual on the part of privileged personages, so long as the state of the traffic and of building permitted. In 1292 a decree of the Great Council, reciting an earlier order, exacted from all who rode to or from Rialto by San Salvador a penalty of 20 *lire di piccoli* instead of 25 *lire*. The object was clearly to discourage the use of that approach. It was found necessary to prohibit it at last, when, in fact, circumstances made it impossible; and during a length of time the regulation that equestrians should hang a bell round the neck or on the collar denotes the survival of an usage, when it had become inconvenient and even dangerous. It would be a picturesque spectacle, scarcely accordant with the ordinary notions of such matters, when the Doge Celsi entered the city after his election, escorted by twelve noblemen, all, like himself, on horseback in 1361. But even at that date the practice was beginning, except on ceremonial or special occasions, to decline, although the Doge Steno, who survived till 1414, also prided himself on his stables. The *Serrar del Gran Consiglio* in 1298, in restricting the eligibility to seats in the Assembly, contributed to such a result. It is curious, however, that the bell, which rang to summon the legislators, was long known as the *Muletta*, and that *Trottiera* was the designation conferred on the route habitually taken by the equestrian members arriving from a distance.

Of the founders of Venice, their habitations and manners, we know nothing more than is to be gleaned from a collation of Cassiodorus with one or two other early charts. Still, there is only the obscurity which surrounds the beginnings of London and Paris, of Moscow and Berlin; and no contemporary letter-writer or mediæval cartographer has illuminated the darkness for these in any manner. Cassiodorus these had none.

The men who created Venice did their grand work step by step, adding and altering, first of all, as their wants dictated or their means allowed, but ever slowly and of forethought, as if they had the faculty of knowing how long the power, which they contributed from life's end to life's end to lift and to widen, was

to be a living fact in the world, and how durable correspondingly it should be rendered. Century after century, the narrative penned by the Prefect of Theodoric continued in the main to be a faithful view of the condition of the lagoon and its colonists. Only by the most imperceptible degrees at first was this haven of shelter, this miraculous sanctuary, converted into a new world's wonder.

Before the great fire of 1106 many relics of the past or mechanical reproductions of ancient human dwellings, agreeably to the conservative temper of the Italians, doubtless existed. But when we have exhausted the suggestions and twilights of the Gothic documents of 520-3, there is little enough to assist us in an inquiry of the present character beyond analogy and conjecture.

The plan of Venice, published by Temanza in 1781 from a MS. draft in the Marcian Museum, shews, in a certain measure, what kind of aspect the Dogado presented from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. This excessively important coadjutor requires a certain degree of caution in its use, however; for it is both imperfect and inaccurate. It appears to be an unrevised reproduction in the fourteenth century, yet with additions, of an original design belonging to the twelfth, and now unknown. The later artist has inserted names and localities which could not have existed in the prototype, but has retained certain characteristics, which had actually disappeared in his own time. For instance, the Piazza of Saint Mark is represented as walled round, while beyond the Arsenal occurs the hospital of the surgeon Gualtieri, not erected till after 1334, and in the direction of Chioggia the Lova Fort, built in 1379. A large number of churches and secular edifices had then been rebuilt in stone, or even possibly in marble, rather as a precaution against fire than from any arguable taste for elegance or luxury. But whatever new opulence and beauty architecture might by that time have disclosed was almost exclusively reserved for God and His saints. A certain share of solicitude was undoubtedly bestowed on rendering the walled and fortified enclosure, which comprised the ducal residence, with all its appurtenances and muniments, secure and commodious; and the bulk of the population did what the bulk of the population does everywhere still. But, comparatively speaking, the peculiar circumstances to which the Republic owed herself, and the original disparity of her inhabitants, with their

unusually wide range of callings and associations, helped to influence the development and character of building, just as it accelerated the formation of an orderly society and a stable rule. It was perchance an ultimate benefit that the fire of 1106 was closely succeeded by others of a more or less grave character in 1115, 1120, 1149, and 1168. These consecutive disasters condemned the general employment of timber and thatch, and made a new era in architectural development.

London and Paris have witnessed extraordinary changes; but neither can for an instant be put in comparison in this respect with Venice. The metamorphosis which the latter underwent at the hands of its makers is barely credible. Where the incomparable Piazza of Saint Mark at present lies before you, with its princely colonnades, its dazzling Basilica, and its wonderful old Campanile, there existed in the days of which we are thinking a naked unpaved plot of ground, girt by a massive and lofty wall, pierced with loops, and down the centre ran the stream Batario (a branch of the Rivus Altus, the *Præaltum* of Livy), to its point of egress in the modern Rio di Palazzo. At the top, where the Cathedral now is, on the right and left banks of the rivulet, were the Oratories or small primæval churches of San Teodoro and San Geminiano, the former the tutelary saint of a nation, which yet knew not Saint Mark. Both these of timber, with roofs of straw thatch, like the savage heterogeneous dwellings to be seen at intervals, some standing apart within a fence of wattle or fascines to protect the property and its tenants against the sea, a more dangerous enemy than man; and for a vast extent of time nothing more hereabout. No public offices, no palaces, no prisons, no monuments, no Saint Mark's.

Although Heraclia and Malamocco were the earliest titular capitals of the Republic, we have to look for the oldest landmarks elsewhere, in Rialto itself and in Dorsoduro or the Giudecca, where the subsoil, as the ancient name proclaims, was exceptionally solid. It requires a vigorous effort to conceive that once the whole area at present occupied by the Piazza, the cathedral, the Government buildings, and the palace, constituted the temporalities and grounds of the Abbey of San Zaccaria, the first and for a long time the only conventual institution in Venice. It was established, and the site appropriated, before the settlers in the lagoon had had leisure to form any plans for the future, in what was recognised as the district of Gambarene, an appellation

which is familiar to the topographer from certain localities in the neighbourhood of Florence, and which must have been bestowed on this spot, and on those other Tuscans, when they were only the desolate resort of the shrimper.

Where the brick Campanile raises itself up against the sky, a huge elder once spread its branches. At San Salvatore the arms of a luxuriant fig were in the old time used for tethering horses; and many trees grew in the Merceria, where, however, as the traffic increased, no stray beasts were permitted. Even the Grand Canal, which is supposed to have originally branched off from the Adige, not far from its outfall, was unknown under such a name. At the very first outset, it was the Rivus Altus, which ran like a girdle round the cluster of islands, which we only identify as Venice, unconscious of being destined to give its name first to a township, then to a bridge, and finally to the square on which that bridge abuts—the Piazza of San Giacomo. For even in the early Middle Ages it was called *Canale della Zirada* as far as San Andrea, and *Basinaco* or *Businaco* as far as San Benedetto, while the Canale della Zecca, an arm of this same Rivus Altus on the other side, would only have been recognised as the *Canale Vigano*; and the site of the Rialto was occupied by no marvellous piece of masonry, by not so much as a timber Bridge of Money—even that had not yet come—but by a rude structure, which is mentioned as a kind of pontoon resting on barges. A person had only to thread a few tortuous lanes in any direction to find himself in the open country, among plantations, in a jungle, or on the skirts of a morass. The wars of the Factions in the seventh century had been fought not on the water, nor in the streets or squares, but amid pine-forests, not free from the presence of the wolf, the fox, and the bird of prey: traces of which lingered long after the multiplication of buildings and the rise of demands inseparable from more populous and practical requirements. It is apt to take a casual reader or a fresh student by surprise, when he learns that the mediæval Doge, when leisure or opportunity served, followed the chase in the neighbouring woods of Loredò. His Serenity, as we augur from a document of 1255, was permitted to import or export his own hawks and hounds duty-free—a necessary faculty on account of the old hunting and sporting grounds lying outside the Dogado.

Much of Venice overlies the frowning cypress-grove, the sunlit pasture, the dense coppice, and the bog; the name of Canareggio

imperfectly suggests the former existence of a marsh, where the sole product was the reed utilised for a variety of purposes—for building, for articles of dress, perhaps for musical instruments of a rude type. So late as A.D. 982, San Giorgio Maggiore (or the island of cypresses, as it is named in a mediæval plan), directly facing the Piazzetta, had no inhabitants and no abbey, merely a vineyard and a windmill. The twelfth-century map of Temanza shews nothing there but a church of primitive fabric, though of large dimensions, with a Campanile, which is probably a copyist's addition; even in the thirteenth century the vicinity was open and lonely; and, in spite of continual drainage and enclosure, we become aware that the salterns and fish-ponds remained at Chioggia, and in many other outlying portions of the Dogado, for centuries, the former constituting a large source of income to the proprietors, who, if they did not work them, let them on lease at a royalty; though some, as the terms of the Loan of 1187 establish, were public property, and contributed to swell the national revenue.

Sundry entries in the archives of the Republic, from 1170 downward, point to disputes and legislative interference, in the interest of health and general convenience, in connection with the piscine or fish-ponds, of which the owners sometimes resisted the adoption of sanitary measures on the part of Government officials. It is more than possible that these stagnant pools of water experienced organic pollution, as anything less serious would scarcely have attracted the attention of the authorities. The question of sewage was one which never entered into the thoughts of the Venetians, as they derived their drinking water from deep-sunk wells. Nor does the Italian to this hour concern himself with it. The canals received all. During fourteen centuries the daily needs of a great city, and every species of rubbish and offal, have been committed to the assimilating agency of the sea and its omnivorous freeholders; and the visitor to-day partakes for his breakfast of a particular fish, which has thriven from this source all the time.

The greater part of the future capital was a marshy and sterile waste, broken by sheets of brackish water (*lagi* and *piscine*), of which many were subsequently converted into fish-ponds for monastic and abbatial institutions; while the larger proportion were gradually filled up and levelled; and the general surface must in many places have been incapable of sustaining any considerable pressure of brickwork and masonry. It seems from the

archives, more especially from a decree of 1303, that before the Lidi or Tombe, which compose the city, were covered with buildings, a great deal had been accomplished in the way of deepening the channels, and utilising the material to fill up some of the smaller water-courses, or to prepare the foundations of the Lidi for their lifelong burthen. The general process of embankment, the stone facings and other artificial expedients, which were employed at a much later time to beautify Venice, and at the same time to guard her at all points from the action of the sea; obliterate the archaic lines of the shore, and make it nearly impossible to judge what the mediæval levels were; but repeated entries in the proceedings of the Great Council, particularly in 1303 and 1305, prove that the Government spared no trouble in securing a firm bottom everywhere, and that a considerable part of the capital and the adjacent islands rests on made ground of a date much posterior to the natural uprise of the lagoons; and this may be taken to be the true interpretation of the terms *fundamentum* or *fondamento*, and *Dosso* or *Dorso*, which we find so frequently applied in documents to prepared sites for building, as well as established routes, and of which the latter only survives in the modern nomenclature. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century, as Temanza clearly shews, that the eastern part of the Giudecca (Giudecca or Zecca Nuova) was rendered fit for habitation, to some extent, by the deportation of immense quantities of soil in 1339 from the Puncta Luporum on the mainland; and certainly the earthquake of 1221 proved more destructive to the monastery of San Giorgio than to the metropolis exactly opposite. The Government was very energetic here from 1252 to 1340 in raising and levelling, and carried out its object by concessions to individuals on terms which were regarded as acceptable, but which, inclusively of the construction of any new bridges, involved no charge on the general community. Here it seems in place to suggest that the notices, with which we meet in the early chroniclers of earthquakes, coupled with the comparative absence of such natural phenomena at later epochs, are possibly explainable to some extent by the periodical recurrence of settlements, owing to the great weight laid on foundations imperfectly and unscientifically knit together, rather than to ordinary subterranean agencies. But modern observation shews that even in the case of the Basilica the ground has imperceptibly yielded, so as to communicate to the floor an undulating aspect once taken to

have been an intentional treatment by the builders emblematical of the broken surface of the circumambient waters.

In 1334, at San Clemente, between the old Arsenal and Santa Anna, on the Rio di Castello, an enlightened and philanthropic surgeon named Gualtieri obtained a grant from the Government for an hospital, which has long ceased to exist, but may be seen in the Temanza chart, with a Sailors' Infirmary attached to it; and it is interesting to hear that the allotment comprised the necessary ground for a Physic Garden for the founder's professional purposes, where he kept an assortment of sweet herbs, medicinal plants, and other specialities comprised in the fourteenth-century pharmacopeia. This was probably the first of its kind in Europe, and preceded those established at Hackney by Lord Zouch and at Oxford by the Earl of Danby, by about three centuries. But the Botanical Garden at Padua is also very ancient. The Gualtieri establishment was subsequently converted into alms-houses, and the site was at last cleared, and the proceeds of sale invested for the benefit of poor mariners.

It was almost certainly after 1421 that, the Glass Works having been formally suppressed at Venice itself, and Murano having been selected as the future seat of the industry, the necessary measures were taken, before any buildings were erected, to rectify levels and consolidate the foundations, doubtless, as elsewhere, at the cost of the professors of the Art.

Till 1332, there was no dwelling of any kind on the eyot of St. Christopher, between Luprio and Zimole; in that year a windmill was erected by Bartolomeo Verde on the site, when the bottom had been rendered sufficiently firm; but the speculation proved a failure, and was converted into a Magdalen. This was the precursor, however, of other experiments, which had a happier fortune; and the island was considerably amplified by excavations from the canals, which, whatever the inconvenience and cost might be, proved a perfect cornucopia for the first race of Venetian builders, as it is yet doing for their successors. But, at the same time, we do not fail to perceive how, down to the fourteenth century, parts of Venice remained uninhabitable or insecure, while through much of the earlier times, when the Republic was already advancing in power and wealth, wide tracts of land on some of the islands, and even a few of the islands themselves, were haunts only of the fisherman and water-

fowl. Toward the close of the ninth century, when almost five hundred years of political freedom had elapsed, it was thought sufficient to banish accomplices in the murder of a Doge to these low and desolate spots, washed by every flood-tide; and to-day a locality (S. Elena) has been selected as the site of a new ship-building establishment on account of the absence of buildings.

It is curious enough that in the accounts of these laborious operations, which must have extended at intervals over centuries, we meet with the term *scavare a mano*. Like the navvies who helped to make St. Petersburg, and like the modern Egyptian fellah, the workmen scooped out the canals with their hands. They had no suitable implements, or their employers, to whom they stood in a servile relationship, were indisposed to furnish them with any. They did not fare worse, perhaps, than the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman serfs, whose collars and chains have been found buried in the peat of the Cambridgeshire fens.

The true foundations of Venice were laid by men who ate and slept like the beasts of the field, and whose wages were their daily bread and the grace of life. The free work we see; but the other lies beneath us, wherever we move: a gigantic task of preparation by such as knew not for what they were making ready, nor cared. But in the early years of the fourteenth century hydraulic machinery was brought into service for these and other similar purposes, and in the case of water-ways the cost apportioned between the riparian owners and the State.¹

We find, on excellent authority, that in the seventh century, when Venice was advancing toward the completion of her second centenary, the water nearest to the *terra firma* was sufficiently shallow to allow horsemen to cross over to Luprio and other contiguous points; and the accumulation of river-drift was necessarily increasing, so that the insular safeguard would, in the absence of permanent precautions, have been gradually destroyed. The government engineer Zendrini, in his elaborate monograph on the Lagoon, affords an insight into the vast labour and outlay which the Republic bestowed on the canals; a distinct departmental function, even in the fifteenth century, was the proveditorship of the lagoons; but apart from the inherent tendency of the river-ways to become choked and unnavigable, there is a very serious possibility to be received into calculation. For it was the opinion of Zendrini, as well as that of his pupil Temanza,

¹ Romanin, iii. 349.

that even in the sixteenth century the sea was shewing a tendency to gain at Venice, and that such continued to be the case in the eighteenth. So long as a vigorous system of dredging was observed, and steps were taken at intervals to deepen the channels, this encroachment was not so grave a source of peril as now, when the languid action of a municipality is substituted for the old strong hand, and the hot restless pulse beats no longer; yet Temanza testifies to the damage which occurred in his day (1720-80) from the periodical visits of high spring floods. Thus the city and State lay between two grave dangers of a diametrically opposite nature.

CHAPTER XLIII

Circumstances which led to the final choice of a Capital—Rialto the ultimate Venice (809)—Indications of the growth of a City and of a distribution into thoroughfares—Feudal life—Afforested condition of Venice and its environs—Communications established between the Islands by wooden bridges—Bridge-Toll—Bridges of boats—Saint Mark's a feudal fortress—Changes in the appearance of the central part of the City in the twelfth century—Removal of the wall round Saint Mark's and provision of an Arcade round part of the Piazza—Paving of the Broglio—Preservation of open spaces (*campi*)—Erection of the Red Columns—Want of Police—Horses and pigs allowed a free range in the Capital—Earliest vestige of places of business—Markets, fairs, and auctions.

TILL the irruption of the Franks in 809, the great centre of action and movement lay at Heraclia or Malamocco. Of what eventually grew into the Venice of the Crusades, of the deadly Chioggian struggle, of Titian, of ourselves, the men of whom and of whose time this immediate page treats, knew positively nought. The timber residence of the Doges, embracing within its compass all the varied requirements and accessories of the old Palace Life, and the whole machinery of the Government, political, judicial, and financial, was pitched on a far more exposed and far less happy site; and around its walls lay dispersed the sleeping cabins of the labouring population, who then, as now, chiefly used their dwellings as dormitories or stores, and conducted the business of life *sub dio*: the not very ambitious mansion-houses of the wealthier: and sundry places of worship, as we see them dotted about on the plan of Temanza.

But of Heraclia, the first metropolis to which we are introduced, and the seat of the earliest Doges, we remain without tangible information, unless one classes as such the miserable story of discord and bloodshed which was the almost unvarying characteristic of its flourishing era; it had lost its importance in 742, when the ducal residence was removed to Malamocco; and the sole surviving vestige of any definite architectural theory or

scheme at the latter, while it still retained its political rank, is the casual allusion to the Strada of San Martino there in the ninth century. It was in this street, perchance in front of his ancestral abode, that the head of the ex-Doge Obelerio was exposed about 830, and the place was also the theatre of the periodical silk fair, even when Malamocco had long parted with its original consequence. The annihilation of this antique town-ship and second capital of the Republic by the combined action of earthquakes and floods in 1110 was so utter, that even its position is not with certainty known, though Temanza was of opinion that Old Malamocco lay a little beyond the island of Santa Maria in Nazzaret. Some of the valuable remains were transferred at the time partly to Chioggia and partly to Rialto or Venice.

It was a rupture between the eastern and western emperors, occasioned by an attempt on the part of the former to acquire possession of Commacchio, which is to be regarded as the proximate cause of what appeared to the Venetians a terrible calamity at the moment, and when they could look back upon it, something very like an immense and enduring gain. They had furtively helped the Greeks to hold Commacchio; but Charlemagne, either not fully aware of this, or desiring to put the policy of the little Republic to a practical test, now asked her succour in an expedition which his son Pepin was instructed to make into Dalmatia. Venice refused the demand; and Pepin, perhaps not displeased at the pretext, resolved to turn the forces which he had at least ostensibly levied for service elsewhere, against the recalcitrant people in the lagoon. It is commonly asserted that he commanded the enterprise in person, but this statement is as unlikely as that the armament itself was of formidable proportions.

It is better to confess that a collation of the writers with maps of mediæval date leaves it extremely doubtful by which route the enemy penetrated into the heart of Venice; the enterprise was all the more difficult and hazardous, because certain parts yet remained in their primitive condition; Olivolo was still little more than a marsh tract. But as they are said to have passed Pelestrina, Albiola, and Malamocco, all of which they found deserted, it is probable enough that they entered by the *Portus Rivoalti*, which was then an open water-way. The Venetian leaders had not had time probably to sink hulks or piles here;

but the Franks, on their side, had not taken into account the long distance to be traversed, before they reached the point whither the islanders had sagaciously retreated; and their progress was presently arrested by a natural, yet unforeseen, difficulty. The receding water was becoming at length too shallow to admit the somewhat heavy draught of the vessels which brought the troops from Ravenna, or to allow their retreat; the unfortunate project was hereupon seemingly adopted of disembarking before the flotilla was stranded by the ebb; and it was only then that the invaders discovered that their access to Rialto was barred by a canal which emptied itself just below Rialto into the lagoon. It was at this point that the Venetians stood at bay, some in their shallow skiffs ready to act at any moment, some on the Rialto shore of the canal, prepared to resist any farther advance to the last man. The situation of the Franks was growing desperate. They were exposed to a destructive fire of stones and arrows both from the water and the shore; their vessels were tide-bound; and many of these the Venetians succeeded in reaching with lighted tow. There seemed to be no alternative but to throw a temporary bridge over the canal, and take the position by storm.

This structure promptly yielded to the pressure; the greater part of the assailants were drowned or suffocated in the ooze; and the remainder were soon overtaken and slaughtered by the alert and experienced islanders.

A comprehension of this remarkable affair might be assisted by a conversance with the topography of the vital hand-to-hand struggle. It seems evident from the common language of history that the enemy advanced beyond Albiola, and penetrated into the inner lagoon in search of their opponents, who had advisedly retired on Venice. The supposition that the conflict occurred at Albiola, or, as Temanza appears to have thought, in the vicinity of Poveja, is not supported on geographical grounds, as in either case it would of necessity be implied that the Venetians advanced a long distance, and into deeper water, to meet the aggressors; whereas we know, and it is indeed obvious, that their cardinal object was to draw the latter into the shallows, and that with this motive they concentrated themselves on Rialto. It seems, then, as if it was in the neighbourhood of Rialto that we should seek the spot where the conflict occurred.

It is true enough that the Canal^oArco, of which the Low-

Latin appellation was *Archimicidium*, has been named, in the first place, as the battlefield, and secondly, as identical with the modern Canal Orfano. Blondus of Forli, a writer of the fifteenth century, affirms that the name Orfano was substituted to commemorate the mortality on this very occasion; but of that there is no convincing proof, while the locality itself does not apparently answer very well to the conditions of the encounter, so far as they are known. On the other hand, the Canal Arco, judging from analogy, owed its designation to the character of its course; it was bow-wise.

Standing on the Ponte della Paglia, which did not then exist, and looking toward the Riva degli Schiavoni, one may speculate whether this was not the scene, whether the Rio di Palazzo, undoubtedly broader in its unenclosed state prior to the reception of a frontage of stonework, and very possibly deepened on the emergency by the defenders, was not the Canal Arco. For, as to the inapplicability of the name, it should be recollected that the most extensive changes were made in the Middle Ages in the lesser water-ways of the city, and that the Canal Arco of 809 may very well have altered its aspect without relinquishing its name, as the Fleet in London dwindled from a navigable river first into a brook, and finally into a ditch. We have to keep before us the two accepted facts, that the Venetians fell back on Rialto or Venice, and that the theatre of operations was upon the banks of a canal sufficiently narrow to inspire the Franks with the idea of bridging it with casual appliances; and this contracts very much the range of inquiry. It might be too adventurous to identify the name of the *Riva degli Schiavoni* with this critical event; it would more probably refer back to an earlier hostile irruption by Hun or Goth. The Canal Arco was of such a span as to allow the construction across it of a rough temporary causeway by very unskilful hands for the purpose of a simultaneous assault. That it was positively the present Rio di Palazzo is a mere theory, only warrantable, perhaps, by the interest attendant on the precise ground where a momentous issue was decided eleven centuries ago; but that it was the Canal Orfano does not strike one as moderately probable.

The selection of Rialto as the capital was purely dictated by a persuasion of its exceptional security, for otherwise, as Temanza suggested long ago, there were respects in which Torcello might have been preferable.

There was, in fact, no city or even town, strictly speaking, anywhere, till the transfer of the seat of administration to Rialto, in consequence of the Frankish invasion. From the ninth century (814) may be reckoned the first serious attempt at centralisation and unifying order: the rise of a new palace, the choice of a new patron saint, the development of thoroughfares converging from the various churches or from the ducal home: the binding together of Venice and its environs by tentative bridges: the supply of a police, ancestors of the Sbirri: and the relief of the leading *contrade* after nightfall from utter darkness by the agency of dingy oil lamps. It was about now, one apprehends, that an effort was made to lay out a city on what appeared to be a convenient model. There are contemporaneous documentary vouchers for such thoroughfares as the Calle delle Rasse, the Calle dei Fabri, the Calle Valaresso, the Calle San Moisé, the Calle dei Casseleri, the Strada of S. Salvatore, afterward known as the Merceria, the Pescheria, the Riva dei Schiavoni, the contrada of SS. Filippo e Giacomo where, after the destruction of the palace in 976 by fire, Orseolo I. transacted the business of the State; of San Giuliano, where the Ziani had considerable property in the twelfth century; of San Moisé, San Bragola, and San Pantaleone, the freeholds of the Michieli family; of Santa Maddalena, where one of the actors in the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy of 1310 was then residing; of San Polo, where in the first half of the sixteenth century there is an emporium for the sale of maiolica; and of SS. Gervasio and Protasio, where the home of two brothers, successive Doges, stood in 1510: of San Agnese, the presumed birthplace of the famous Veronica Franco: and, once more, of San Hieronimo, where in 1607 Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, and Fra Sarpi, were near neighbours. Then we have the Ruga degli Orefici and the Ruga *domorum de Sergeantibus*, the last not far from the courts of law, and the seat of the sponging-houses. All these footways were gradually formed over irregular sheets of water or marshy areas, and obviously owed their nomenclature to the proprietor, who had reclaimed them, to the church immediately abutting on them, or to the particular purpose to which they were chiefly appropriated. We perceive that the street-vocabulary was already fairly varied; *Strada*, *Contrada*, *Ruga*, *Calle*, to which such supplemental forms as *fondamento*, *campo*, *campiello*, were in due course added. But we miss the Roman and Tuscan *Via*.

But the pace at which this development proceeded was slow,

and the improvement sectional. Fifty years after the victory over the Franks, we see the Government granting concessions to persons who were desirous of bringing under cultivation the marshes in Rialto, and of building houses in the direction of Castello. A document of the year 1098 includes, in a ducal grant to the Church of San Cipriano in Malamocco, both fishing and fowling rights.

The ground-landlords or lessees of residences were invariably anxious to secure for their tenants or themselves, as an indispensable feature in the property, a free access to the nearest water or *comenzaria*, a right of entrance and outlet to the landing-stairs or stage, where the occupier might moor his boat, and have facilities for transacting business, and procuring supplies of provisions for his household. The topography of Venice ruled its laws; and the regulations concerning riparian easements, the use of fish-ponds, and cognate matters, are infinitely numerous and minute.

During the Middle Ages, or even later, there were many blind courts, leading to private residences, and closed against general traffic; and it originally sprang out of the cliental system, that these alleys or avenues were occupied by the dependents of the master of the *casa* or *palazzo*, who thus often lived in a manner surrounded and protected by his clan. The introduction by degrees of a municipal government tended to modify such an archaic and inconvenient state of society, and the noble, when his feudal environment was withdrawn from him by legislative changes, was glad to answer a gradual demand by converting his old-fashioned tenements into handsome shops, and to take high rents in lieu of the barren homage of his forefathers' tenantry.

A glance at a mediæval map of Venice and the adjacent *terra firma* is sufficient to satisfy any one, that the supply of fuel for domestic purposes, and of timber for building, was probably in excess of any early demand. Even where other materials had come into use for the latter object, the growth of manufactures, particularly of glass, tended, however, to the exhaustion of the local supply; and an ignorance of the law of renewal, and the absence of facilities for importation from the more remote timber-yielding regions, must have prevailed long enough to disafforest the Venetian territory to a considerable and serious extent. But the woods within the frontier of the Republic were at one time tolerably extensive, and the Marches of Padua and

Treviso abounded with forest land, where the boar, the wolf, and the fox had ample cover and lair, and where, subject to the laws, wood of various kinds might be had. One of the large coppices near Venice was the *Lovo*; and a primitive bridge, leading to the capital, was called the *Ponte del Lovo*. The names of the islet of *Luprio* and of the priory of Lovoli were due to the same traditional circumstance; and in 1379 the Fort erected at Fossone was christened the *Lova*. A point on the Paduan coast opposite Castello was known, we see, as *Vulpegus* or Volpadeago; and farther up, a good deal nearer Rialto, the *Puncta Luporum* ran out into the sea. This headland was so dangerously close to Venice that the idea of destroying it, in order more thoroughly to isolate the capital, gained strength, until at last in 1339 the design was carried out, and the soil applied to the embanking and levelling processes of which the Government could never afford to lose sight.

Turning to the actual confines of old Venice, we meet, as has been elsewhere universally the case, with such forms as "In the Marsh," "In the Wilderness," "In the Vineyard," "In the Seaweed (*M. alga*)," applied to localities while such a nomenclature was literally exact, and retained by them, when it had merely a traditional value.

Before any system of communication by bridges was undertaken, a series of ferry-boats had enjoyed the important monopoly of conveying passengers from island to island. The Board of Works, instituted between 809 and 827, threw certain bridges of timber across some of the leading thoroughfares; and to these the allusions are not unfrequent. The Ponte della Paglia, between the Palace and the Abbey of San Zaccaria, formed successively the scene of two acts of regicide. The Doge Tradenigo was assassinated there in 864, and a second Doge in 1172. Temanza fixes 1360 as the date of its reconstruction in stone much in its living form; but he, at the same time, offers an explanation of the name, which can hardly be accepted. He desires us to believe that eighty of the members of the Great Council left their horses at this point at bait, while they were engaged in their official duties. But the appellation seems to have existed long before the Great Council was organised, and before the city was knit together by bridges; and by far the more reasonable hypothesis is, that the Ponte della Paglia was originally built and maintained out of the duty on straw, of which large

quantities were used in mediæval Venice for thatch and litter, in the same way that, the cost of old London Bridge having been defrayed out of the wool dues, it was popularly said to be built upon woolpacks. Between 1172 and 1178 the Government found it desirable to rebuild many of these primitive structures; and the Ponte della Moneta or Bridge of Money, from the toll of a farthing (*quartuarolo*) levied on passengers, presumably to defray the cost of construction or repair, where the sixteenth-century erection at present over-arches the Grand Canal, superseded the rude contrivance laid on hulks, which had been the earliest experiment. The bridge-toll here apparently shadowed is the earliest example of the kind; it possibly represented the tariff of the ferryman. But the latter continued, even when the capital was amply furnished with inter-communication of this kind, to find plenty of custom. The bridge by no means displaced the gondola; even the steamer cannot do so. Lacroix engraves part of a painted window in the Cathedral of Tournay, illustrating the levy of a toll; but it belongs to the fifteenth century.¹ In the will of the Doge Ziani, who died in 1178, the Ponte de' Baratteri is cited as situated somewhere in the vicinity of San Giuliano. In 1310, the singularly minute details which have been transmitted to us of a great political plot bring to light the Ponte del Lovo and the Ponte del Malpasso, the latter between San Matteo and the Square of Saint Mark, and identifiable with the present Ponte dei Dadi. In 1379, we are apprised of a drawbridge over the canal of Santa Caterina between Great and Little Chioggia (or Brondolo), and in such a manner as to make us surmise that it was then hardly a novelty; and the canal behind San Moisé was perhaps spanned by a second communication of the same class, so long as the Piazza preserved its feudal cincture. In the sad incident of the son of the Doge Veniero, where an offensive lampoon was attached to the door of a house, the latter is described as being built on a bridge—that of the Holy Trinity; criminal proceedings in the court of the Quarantia in 1397-8 specify the bridges of Orto di Castello and San Basilio; and through the case of Bianca Cappello in 1563 we become aware of the Ponte Storto near the Casa Cappello at San Apollinare. But as late as 1441, on the occasion of an important ceremonial, recourse was had to a bridge of boats to transport the bridal party from one point

¹ *Mœurs et Usages*, 1872, p. 341.

to another; and it is ascertainable from a multiplicity of sources, that the less central and frequented parts of the Dogado were furnished with regular means of intercourse only by a gradual process, and that in many cases, even where a new bridge was thrown over some canal, it was retained as private property by the individual who had built it, agreeably to the terms of the original grant of the land, in the same manner as some of the lanes or courts created under similar auspices; while a visit to the more remote islands involved, as it even now does of course, the services of a gondolier or a steam-boat. Generations were to come and go before the canals were to see the noble architectural works which arrest the eye of the modern traveller—works which give an impression of solidity and symmetry, and sometimes of gloom. Yet, as an engineering achievement of the expiring years of the sixteenth century, the historical bridge of Antonio da Ponte is unapproachable in historical interest and professional merit.

One of the latest primitive survivals was the boat-bridge or pontoon at San Girolamo over the water-way, which is still known as the Canal del Battello.

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries the Republic was engaged in enfranchising itself by degrees from the narrowing and cramping influence of mediævalism, and became something more than a Bond of Villages under a chieftain, by name a Doge.

The beneficent sway of the Orseolo family from 976 to 1025 witnessed a development of the good work commenced on the final adoption of Rialto as the metropolis; and there was at that time a recognised officer or magistrate, intrusted with the superintendence of repairs and improvements in the city. But it was during the close of the twelfth century that the first marked stimulus was given to metropolitan improvements and embellishments; and, on the whole, it is to the third quarter of that century that we should date back the original production of the highly important chart of Venice, first engraved by Temanza (from an augmented fourteenth-century copy) in 1781. The author was doubtless an ecclesiastic; and he has done for us scarcely anything beyond the delineation of the relative positions of the churches and conventual establishments scattered over the city and suburbs. It is quite possible that he would not have included the Piazza, had it not been for the sacred edifice which formed part of one side of the irregular square. The representa-

tion of the Church of Saint Mark (originally the ducal chapel) and its immediate vicinity, the mother Abbey of San Zaccaria, the primitive San Giorgio Maggiore, forerunner of Palladio's building, and the old Arsenal,—all of which he has sketched to our great profit,—makes the real value of this archive.

The Marcian MS. employed by Temanza may thus be assumed perhaps to depict with tolerable fidelity Saint Mark's and its precincts, prior to the notable alterations made during the short but fruitful dogate of Sebastiano Ziani (1173-8). The Government had at this juncture the happiness to meet with a capable Lombard engineer, named Nicolo, who seems from some cause, perhaps his addiction to play, to have been called Barattiero; and, the necessity for action having long been felt, the most likely view is, that the foreigner submitted plans to his employers, and received a commission to execute them. The effect of these operations was to transform the space at present occupied by the Piazza and Cathedral into an area, which in general followed the modern lines; and in order to carry out such an object it was necessary to level the Brolio (or Bruollo) by filling up the ancient canal in the centre, and to remove not only certain dilapidated buildings, but the sixth-century church of San Geminiano. Barattiero unquestionably found plenty of scope for his ingenuity and enterprise; but how far the Government was induced to go with him seems altogether uncertain; the Venetians throughout evinced a partiality for fractional progress in public works, germane to that displayed by them in perfecting their Constitution; it was assuredly rather a question of temperament than of finance, however loth a commercial nation might at times feel to allow more or less sentimental improvements to trench on funds demanded more imperatively elsewhere; and we must confess ignorance of the precise date or dates at which the fortifications of Saint Mark's Square, the Palace, and the Riva successively disappeared. Without being too incautious, one may presume that the ducal residence became, through this able and ordering agency, the building which Geoffroi de la Villehardouin so warmly admired and eulogised, when he saw it in 1201, but of which nothing now remains.

Round the Piazza and Piazzetta centred always more or less the life of Venice; and it was there that Barattiero, so far as one can collect, bestowed his exclusive attention. The private resources of the Doge went very far toward the liquidation of the heavy outlay, and his personal wishes as a matter of course, would be

largely consulted. It is certainly reported that Ziani caused the Square of Saint Mark to be furnished with an arcade, and in that case the existing wall was necessarily taken down.

The original paving of the Broglio, which had formed part of the vast abbey grounds of San Zaccaria, and which now underlies the marble flags of the Piazza, with small bricks or stones, perhaps of the same kind which Philip Augustus laid down at Paris, and which are at present eight feet below the surface, was undertaken, while Reniero Zeno was Doge (1249-68). This improvement was a vast boon to many: to the saunterer and to the busy passenger, and to the ladies who, in spite of their stilted shoes, cannot have failed to appreciate a clean and dry promenade. But it is only justice to the administrative spirit and foresight of the thirteenth century to accentuate the stress even then laid on the preservation of open spaces in a metropolis, where such features might have been without such timely provision rapidly and completely obliterated. Those, whose feet press the pavement of the *campi* to-day, have to thank men, who lived, and thought, and worked for their country in days parallel with the earlier Plantagenets in England, and before the advent of a Valois to the throne of France.

A covered walk for the citizens similar to those still seen in Como, Bologna, and other arcaded cities of Italy was, in the absence of more modern conveniences for public resort, both commercially and socially scarcely more than a common need; and something was effected perhaps by Barattiero in this direction, though his promenade was beyond a doubt widely different from that which later men put there.

The Lombard contractor crowned his performances by the proud exploit of raising, where they still exist, two of the three granite columns, brought from Scio a few years before, and laid aside till some site could be found for them, or perhaps, rather, till some person of genius presented himself to lift them into position. So far back as the sixteenth century a search was undertaken for the third monolith without success.¹

An appreciable advance in the direction of rendering the city worthier of its political rank and fame must have been anyhow accomplished; but we must not suffer our fancy to portray for us

¹ A paragraph appeared in one of the newspapers in 1893 to the effect that the third column had been unexpectedly found in dredging; but this was a misapprehension. A column was found, but not the lost one.

more than a feeble and distant approach to the ultimate result. Yet we may indulge ourselves so far as to speculate with what wondering eyes an intelligent contemporary observer would follow the successive destruction of so many time-honoured objects: the gradual demolition of the tenth-century wall built along the Riva to keep out the Huns (perchance the very Schiavoni after whom it was named), where, instead of the broad expanse of the Molo toward the sea or Grand Canal, there was long nothing but a narrow causeway between the rampart and the water, and the dismantlement piecemeal of the Doge's vast and gloomy dwelling, once a feudal stronghold. To Barattiero, whatever was the precise limit of his labours, was undoubtedly due the credit of having done more than all his predecessors to impart to Venice an architectural tone and an incipient regularity of outline. He was soon followed by men greater than himself, and the temper of the Venetians, flexible and passive enough where no dark and sanguinary passions were kindled, readily adapted itself to new conditions and demands. Subsequently to the conspicuous reforms set on foot by the rich Doge Ziani, and (obsequiously to the proprietary genius here thus early masterful) effected in no unimportant measure at his own expense, many years elapsed before any farther progress was made.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the supply of a brick pavement to the Piazza was considered a great public convenience, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Saint Mark's Place was by degrees hereabout assuming an aspect more consonant with our ideas of it, and having the colonnade added, as circumstances allowed, to three sides of the quadrangle. But when we consider the universal tendency of customs and sentiment to perpetuate themselves, and to become contemporary with a state of manners and opinions with which they are totally incongruous, we shall be prepared to believe that at Venice there was a long survival, both within the old walled palace and without, of practices and forms which would force themselves on the Venetian mind in the light of anachronisms only by a very slow process; certain vested privileges had grown up round the Doge and the Constitution, and had become parcel of both; a large amount of land, of which the value could not fail to increase, was held under feudal obligations, which it was perhaps the interest of the beneficiaries not to suffer to shrink into desuetude and assessments in kind for the bodyguard, gondola-service, and

Bouche or kitchen of the Court, which had at the commencement been charges on waste or worthless plots of ground, were levied, before they were discontinued or commuted, on profitable estates.

The city grew, and reduced to the rank of suburbs the circumjacent islands; and the other members of the group constituting the Dogado were required to content themselves with certain local privileges and a share of municipal dignity. The population swelled, especially in the metropolis, and houses multiplied, and new lanes and *calle* were formed. The difficulties of locomotion must have been at times considerable; the widest thoroughfares did not exceed twelve feet; there was no footpath, and the kennels down the middle were choked with filth, and infested with scavenger dogs and pigs in search of food (like the adjutants of old Calcutta) among the garbage thrown at random from the ground-floors or from the casements above. In the squares (*Campi* or *Campielli*), which yet remain prominent features in all parts of Venice, and make an agreeable contrast to the cleft-like alleys and the creeks intersecting it in every direction, horses not unfrequently ranged at will, and careered about to the constant danger of the pedestrian.

Of course, regulations were introduced to check these and similar abuses. But the law was loosely interpreted and languidly enforced, unless the robbery or murder of a person of quality in one of those dark fissures, which were always, as they are now, far from safe after dusk, happened to recall attention to the subject. Nor ought we to be at all surprised to learn that, although the excursions of the pigs at large were put under restraint, the pigs of St. Anthony's were especially exempted from this civil disability, and enjoyed the advantage of the tradition and association of the contemporary of St. Paul with the emblem of gluttony, which lies beneath his feet.

The fashionable shops in the Merceria, Pescheria, and other leading commercial thoroughfares, and still more, those under the colonnade of the Piazza, were a natural evolution from those of which we possess documentary proof in the fourteenth century as existing at San Luca, San Giuliano and elsewhere for the sale of oil, spices, and other articles of daily consumption; in Venetia Princeps we have to do with an antecedent order of things, when the market-place, like the old Greek Agora, was the sole trust and resort of the buyer both in gross and in retail. The earliest spot in the capital (for we do not hear much of the suburban munici-

palities) dedicated to this object, so far as one can see, was the space in front of the Church of San Giacomo di Rialto; in 1255 this locality, facing the spot where the Rialto bridge stands, was the chief market and the place for holding auctions. Bread, fish, and poultry are specifically mentioned as commodities bought and sold; but under *fructus*, corn, oil, and vegetables, as well as grapes, apples, cherries, and figs, would be embraced; and in a later document (1288) the enumeration extends to *aliae res grossae*, goods answering to the English groceries, first sold by the Pepperers, and subsequently by the Grocers, of London. But it was soon found that the growth of the public traffic rendered the transaction of so much business as the auctions and the dealers brought to the spot a matter of inconvenience and a source of obstruction; and in 1288 a decree of the Great Council ordered the urban authorities to pave an open area behind San Giacomo and the transfer of the market and its stalls and shanties thither, so soon as this operation was completed. But special leave was accorded at the same time to use the Piazza of San Giacomo, between the two landing stairs, as heretofore on Saturdays, when possibly more ample accommodation was required, and when certain foreign currency—the Greek besant—was permitted to pass. But to many of us the most interesting feature connected with San Giacomo is its almost undoubted claim to have been the earliest Exchange, where the merchants met to converse and negotiate, occupying a parallel position to the Bourse at Archangel (oldest of Russian seaports) in the time of Tzar Peter. This was the Rialto of Shakespear, who presumably knew it only by hearsay; but the grand bridge was not yet there, nor the clock-tower. The old Ponte della Moneta stood till toward 1590, and until the middle of the fourteenth century the bell remained in full office. But when the great clock, of which we read as in a bad state of repair in 1393, was established there, the open-air scene on a Saturday must have been, with its stalls, its dresses, and its hubbub, picturesque enough; and one regrets that Titian did not select it as an *al-fresco* subject, that there was no Canaletti to hand it down to us. Round the mother-church of Venice, a building which, even in the Middle Ages, could vaunt a prehistoric antiquity, and looked back to the time when it stood alone in a vast solitude, centred, ages before Shakespear was born, when the name of Dante had not yet been pronounced, the bright commercial life of an early

industrial people. The market is there yet, and the men and women, and in the main the surrounding costume, but with a difference!

The topographical as well as the political structure of the Republic was perhaps inimical to the establishment of fairs on a large scale within the limits of the Dogado itself, when the population and government had outgrown their archaic proportions and character. For at the outset fairs were doubtless of periodical, if not of annual occurrence; and a long-lived tradition is preserved that in 860 the frost was sufficiently keen (maybe in the early spring) to allow visitors from the *terra firma* to cross the water on foot. Subsequently, the famous yearly fair at Pavia, and those at Campalto on the Silis, for miscellaneous wares, at Malamocco for silk, and at Murano for glass, afforded the Venetians reasonable facilities for trade and commercial intercourse. The great gathering at Pavia, however, must have been the principal resource of those times; to the Europeans in the Middle Ages it stood in the same relation as that of Nijni-Novgorod in Russia to the passed century. Dealers and manufacturers supplied themselves there for the whole twelvemonth, met their correspondents, bartered and exchanged, and, in the absence of facilities for regular communication, gave or received orders for goods in advance. The Market was the spot inside the walls or boundary of a city, where sales were effected of perishable commodities on a more or less limited scale; but the Fair was an altogether distinct institution, and on account of the ample area demanded and of the risk, both political and sanitary, attendant on the assemblage of a large concourse of persons from every known region, was held *foris*, beyond the urban barrier. Hence the French took their *foire* and *forêt*, the Italian his *forestiero* for a stranger, and we our *fair* and *forest*. The Venetians, however, waived all objections, and admitted the institution at stated seasons to their undoubted advantage.

The episode of the *Espousal of the Adriatic* constitutes part of the annals of the young Republic; but the recollection of the incident was burnt into the national mind by the yearly *Andata*, to which an official attribute was imparted, and which the Doge attended in person on the Bucentaur. The custom had more than its festive and ceremonial value and significance, for it perpetuated in a distinct manner the tradition, by which the Holy See had in the Middle Ages bestowed on the Republic in

the person of the reigning Doge the eternal queendom of the ocean. This unique Venetian pageant immediately preceded the Fair of the *Sensa* or Ascension, which commenced on Ascension Day, and lasted a fortnight, and which was as unique as the celebration itself; for within its radius the exhibits were as widely diversified as those at the Russian fair of Nijni-Novgorod in its palmiest days. It has been described as the *Longchamps* and *Salon* of Venice. There not only the ordinary articles of commerce were exhibited for sale, but the costliest jewelry, costumes, cutlery, glass, armour, weapons; there artists shewed their latest canvases, and the sculptor some figure or group fresh from the chisel; there Canova submitted to the public his *Dædalus* and *Icarus*; and there the second-hand dealer exposed to view the masterpieces of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. There treasures were displayed in temporary structures of elegant design erected at the public expense; and such was the prototype of the European Exhibition of Industries and Arts, claimed as a discovery of the nineteenth century. During the fortnight, the Piazza of St. Mark was the rendezvous of all the beauty and fashion of the capital, its outskirts, and the neighbouring places.

The Republic employed for purposes of public sale, as elsewhere, the bell and the cry (*campanella* and *incanto*), which was probably another form of the trumpet seen in old prints. To conduct an auction at Rialto was "vendersi alla campanella," as in England in the seventeenth century the expression was "to sell at the candle." We do not hear of the other devices invented in France and elsewhere. The inch of candle plan was practised in London in the time of Cromwell; it was merely an evolution from the time-keeping tapers employed in the absence of clocks, and apparently, outside the natural symptoms, the only resource of the natives of the Marquesas Islands, when they were visited by Herman Melville about 1843, and of many other primitive communities. In the perhaps apocryphal *Life of Alfred the Great* by Asser time-candles occur. It is possible; but it was rather early. The particulars of a Government sale in 1332 of galleys no longer required have been preserved. It took place at San Giacomo, under the supervision of the Privy Council and the chiefs of the Quarantia Civile. The vessels were sold at prices varying from 65 to 81 *lire di grossi*, and the name of the security in each case is recorded as well as that of the purchaser. This was a periodical transaction, where merchants desired vessels for

their private use. They purchased them of the Executive, to which they had to be restored in proper order on demand in the event of a war; and each buyer was required to find bail for that purpose. But all descriptions of property submitted to public competition underwent a similar process, and even the gold and silver bullion imported for monetary and other objects was sold in this way. The law, as regarded the precious metals, however, was occasionally suspended; and persons, who so desired, might be exempted from the necessity of selling by auction on payment of a duty which fluctuated from time to time.¹

In the case of Venice the auction had ostensibly been an unbroken tradition from Roman times; for the Veneti at all events are said to have disposed of their daughters by this method on their attainment of marriageable years.

¹ Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 195, etc.

CHAPTER XLIV

Venice viewed as a Fortified City—It begins to be a *Patria*—Attempt to realise the Mediæval Place—Early Historical Associations—Some of the *Palazzi*—Their Heirlooms and Vicissitudes—The Ducal Palace—Its slow Development into its present aspect—The Horses of Saint Mark.

If there is one aspect in which the ordinary student fails to realise to himself the ancient mistress of the Adriatic, it is in that of a fortified place. Still, few things are more certain, as it has been already more than suggested, than that at the end of the ninth century it was found imperative to protect the capital and its outskirts by a system of walls and chains.

In modern Europe the theory and science of fortification, and the development of the engineer's art, sprang out of the necessity, amid a general system of petty warfare and intertribal brigandage, of establishing some more or less efficient method for protecting the feudal lord against his own dependents or against his seigniorial neighbours. The worldly possessions of these potentates were usually of limited extent, and could be embraced within the walls of a castle; and the humble buildings which lay without and around were erected and replaced with equal facility. But the rise of States which had something more than a military and political rank to uphold, and something more than the barbarous hovels of a baronial tenantry or even than the scanty appointments of a baronial citadel to lose, brought with it a demand for more elaborate measures of precaution and defence, while, with new interests and new sources of wealth, it created new dangers, new temptations; and Venice, from her long and exposed sea-board, her contiguity to the mainland, and the uniformly low level of her insular territory, naturally found the provision of a scheme for the public security a difficult problem. Yet its difficulty was not greater than its importance, when the lawless

and rapacious character of the communities by which the Republic was environed, their indifference to the rights of property, and the rapid increase in the mercantile prosperity of the Venetians, are taken by us into account. But the work advanced at a very leisurely pace and in a very desultory manner. It is to be borne in mind that, while the shallowness and uncertainty of the channels rendered a maritime attack on the city excessively difficult, some outlying portions of it were accessible at low or neap tides by persons on horseback or by parties approaching the islands from the *terra firma* in boats. But of course these two sources of danger soon ceased to be very serious.

The earliest trace of any clear and definite effort to provide for invasion is the vague account which we get of the erection of a fort at Brondolo, or Little Chioggia, in the middle of the eighth century; but the attempt on the part of the reigning prince to strengthen his subjects against their enemies was very generally interpreted, amid the bitter conflict of parties, into a desire to strengthen himself against internal disunion; and it was not till more than a hundred years after that, in consequence of a rumour of a fresh Hungarian inroad, precautionary steps were taken to embattle Olivolo or Castello, and to carry a rampart supported on solid foundations as far as Santa Maria Jubenigo, from which point a chain of the heaviest calibre was stretched across the canal near San Gregorio (A.D. 897-8). But the plan was never completed; and we are told that, when the improvements of the city were in progress about 1175, the ninth-century wall was not visible.

In these operations one cannot fail to observe that we hear nothing of the condition of the works at Chioggia and Brondolo, which formed the theatre of the vital struggle in 1379 with Genoa, and witnessed heroic efforts on the part of the nation to render them impregnable. But the immense exertions which were made in that crisis may indicate that the ancient fortifications on this side—where, and not at Lido, the first citadel planted on Venetian soil by eighth-century hands had stood—were subsequently neglected, and that the Genoese selected, in fact, for attack the point from which they believed the capital to be most vulnerable. It is even a possibility that the crenellated wall round the arsenal shown on Temanza's plan had fallen out of repair in the course of more than a century. It is marked as belonging to the same school of design as that round the Piazza.

It may have been the work of the same hand; and elsewhere it has been noticed that the Ghetto or Government Foundry at Canareggio was similarly protected by a strong mural girdle and a commanding tower.

Whatever its exact antiquity may have been, the Projectile and Weapon Foundry, with the smelting furnaces, first occurs to notice as seated in the suburban district of Canareggio; and it formed a walled enclosure throughout the Middle Ages, like the Arsenal and the Place of Saint Mark. It was known as the *Ghetto*, and became the Jews' Quarter somewhat later; and when the *Ghetto Nuovo*, originally a swamp contiguous to the Rio di S. Girolamo, was drained and colonised, this became the *Ghetto Vecchio*.

In a document of 1458, the name *Ghetto* or *Getto*, a Venetian corruption of the Low Latin *jactare*, seems to be satisfactorily explained. It was the "casting depôt." "It was called the *Getto*," we are here explicitly informed, "because there were over twelve furnaces, and the iron was founded and smelted there." But the term became, without any real propriety, generic for the Jews' Quarter in Italy and elsewhere, and its origin (like those of *Zecca* and *Archipelago*) was gradually forgotten. In the document of 1458, just quoted, the *Ghetto* is expressly described as walled and as accessible only by a stone stairway on the side of Canareggio.

Metal was not yet demanded for building and other modern uses; yet, comparatively speaking, the mediæval foundry at Canareggio opened to the Republic the same source of advantage as the industry at present affords to the English.

We see how in the Temanza map the Place of Saint Mark is represented as still surrounded by a wall. Within this enclosure the Church of Saint Mark is roughly indicated; and between the Place and the Grand Canal there is absolutely nothing. We are left to assume that the palace lay close beside the church, the latter being, in the eyes of the draughtsman, the more important object; but the whole plan is on a small scale, and there is no clue to the position of the gates, of which there must have been several. One was almost certainly on the side of the sea near the Ponte della Paglia; and very probably a second abutted on the Rio di Palazzo behind San Moisè, and was reached by a draw-bridge. A second, but not improbably connected, line of mural defences covered the Doge's palace, and extended to the Ponte

della Paglia; and it recommenced at the opposite side of the Canal or Rio di Palazzo, and ran the entire length of the Riva degli Schiavoni, without leaving a very wide margin for passengers. This portion of the fortifications is described as crenellated, and flanked with angular towers. The range of buildings devoted to the use of the Doge, and to the business of the Government, was thus amply shielded from external attack, and although the wall skirting the Riva did not in all likelihood exist in its full integrity in the fourteenth century, the Casa Molin, opposite which Petrarch landed about 1350 on his diplomatic errand from Milan, may be securely judged to have been a castellated mansion partly formed out of the ancient rampart. Petrarch mentions the towers, perhaps on account of their unusual shape: for otherwise the presence of battlements was not apt to strike the men who beheld them. Whoever set foot from shipboard on the Molo, saw merely what he had left at home. But to us, with the city of to-day before our eyes, and with the means of studying it as it presented itself even at the close of the mediæval era in the fine old picture of 1496, the contrast and the change are wondrous.

Saint Mark's Church and Place, and many of the surrounding objects, had become in fact about 1496-8, the date assigned to the picture in the Venetian Academy which portrays a religious procession on the Piazza, substantially as we see them, if we except a certain irregularity of elevation and the protrusion of occasional outbuildings, both of which lingered yet for a considerable time, as they at once strike the eye in the view of the Piazzetta published by Jost Amman in 1565. Nor, when the picture was executed, does the Clock Tower seem to have been erected, although its completion is usually referred to this year.

The engraving of Saint Mark's Place in Braun's *Civitates*, shewing a great fire there actually raging (? that of 1479), is very unsatisfactory, and has every appearance of having been executed at second hand or from report. Its delineations are strangely unreal. The Piazza had probably undergone very slight change since 1496. Yet one scarcely identifies the old picture and the view in Braun as the same locality.

Venice had parted, notwithstanding, at the end of the fifteenth century with much of her middle-age costume, and her civil and ecclesiastical architecture had reached their highest

pinnacle of glory, unsullied by the decline of political and moral power. But, nevertheless, when the moment of consummation arrived, and the labour of love from sire to son many times told disclosed itself to view in all its splendour, there was something missing. The poetry of outline had been sacrificed to a monotonous symmetry and to a too stern law of order. There is scarcely enough, as one at present casts one's eyes round the Piazza, to console one for the loss of the grand old picturesque place of Titian's boyhood, with its infinite variety and liberty of form, its exemption from scholastic mannerism, and (not least) its lines of funnelled chimneys and cowl.

Venice, even at the period which we are contemplating, was no longer a City of Refuge, had ceased to be a wilderness amid the waters. It had become a home and a *Patria*. It was an empire in quite as great a degree as England and France were empires. To its children and those who lived under the protection of its laws it was *La Terra*. Every intelligent Venetian entertained as passionate an affection for the land of his birth as a native of London or a native of Paris; and in fact the topographical situation of the capital and the thought which must have been present to the minds of all educated men, between what the place primarily was and what their genius, their labour, and their blood, age by age, had made it, was apt to kindle an interest far more cordial and vehement than that which a Londoner or Parisian of the fourteenth century had for his home on the Thames or the Seine. For wide and extensive as the dominion of the Venetians became, their heart and treasure were still where they had been and were to be for ever: in that singular congregation of islands off the Lombard coast. The loss of that confined area was bound to be a death-blow to their political existence; while the severance from them by the fortune of war of portions of their continental or colonial acquisitions proved nothing at worst than a temporary strain on the exchequer or a passing source of anxiety. The enemies of the Republic knew perfectly well that her most vulnerable point was her own metropolis, her Palladium.

There are only bare casual allusions to enable us to reconstruct the Venice even of Marino Faliero, when the fourteenth century had far advanced. We have done something toward a sketch of its probable aspect at or about that remote period, when many of the primitive architectural monuments and methods of

life still remained visible, when wooden structures predominated, when the thoroughfares were narrow and irregular, and shambles and shops abutted on the residences of the nobility and on the Government offices. The epoch of prosperity and splendour left all that behind in retrospect; and some there were who, when adverse fortune came, and straitened resources, alluded with a pathetic regret to the old times, when manners were simpler, and expenditure more frugal, and when some of the noblest lineage condescended to sit at their counters, and conduct their business in person, unless public duty called them to take their places in the councils, in the field, on the sea, or on the throne.

Those who have not had the supreme good fortune to look on this unique spot have at length the opportunity of doing so in a very faithful and beautiful series of views, which we owe to the enthusiasm and enterprise of a Venetian publisher.¹ But although here and there some of the old lines of building substantially survive, we have yet to depend on the imagination, assisted by printed accounts, if we seek to realise the Venice of the remote past.

In the place of all those imposing edifices of stone or marble with their elegant and costly façades, of that magnificent palatial block, of that matchless Basilica, we have to conceive a city principally formed of irregular and unpretending wooden tenements, grouped round occasional squares, where a church of the same material was the central object of interest, or skirting numerous intricate water-lanes, which washed their abutments and landing-stairs, except where a narrow footway had been sometimes left for the pedestrian. At certain points pontoons to enable passengers and horses and cattle to pass from one island to another. Now and then a mansion, which some wealthy citizen had, amid universal admiration, erected in a handsomer and more durable material. In the very heart of the capital the house of the Doge, with all its feudal appurtenances, yet still of timber, but girt round with a wall of stone, pierced by several gates, and commanded by towers. After sunset the curfew, and no guide to the nocturnal wanderer save his torch and a few hundred lamps fed with olive-oil, and sparingly distributed over the squares and alleys, over the porches of churches, or the doors of monasteries and private dwellings.

¹ *Ongania, Calli e Canali in Venezia*. Venezia, 1890-96. Imperial folio, 2 vols. A splendid collection of 200 heliogravures.

It is difficult to reduce to an intelligible and trustworthy shape the scene as it existed in Venice itself and in the surrounding islands, where life must have been yet more primæval, down to the twelfth century, side by side with the steady growth of opulence and power. For it is to be recollected that amid these humble outward environments much of the problem of greatness and fortune was worked out, that under those rude and even barbarous conditions the strong hand was ever waxing stronger, and the proud, indomitable spirit was already latent.

For such was the Venice which the hero-Doge Eurico or Arrigo Dandolo knew, where Marco Polo drew his first breath, in which Marino Faliero passed his youth.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, however, there were several places which had acquired historical celebrity, and which were pointed out to visitors as objects of varied interest and curiosity. In one quarter was shown a Church, in which an Emperor had suffered humiliation, and in which a Pope had preached the Gospel. In another was the scene of a battle of former days, on the issue of which had been staked the national existence. Here, perhaps, was the spot where the Head of the Government had fallen by the hand of an assassin. A little farther onward was the residence of that pious and wealthy Doge of other times, who strangely forsook all the attractions of rank and homage, and all the ties of a sumptuous home, to pass the remainder of his life under the austere rule of a French priory. On his right hand the guide indicated the precise locality where not long since had stood the oldest glass-furnace in Venice; on his left he drew attention to a house partly in ruins, yet still famous as the birth-place of one to whom the adventitious means of living in affluence and splendour had offered no temptation to ignoble repose, and who, after signalling himself by great actions, had at length died for the Republic, leaving to his descendants a name which would not die.

In the Parish of San Agostino, in the Ward of San Polo, was the mansion which had been occupied by six generations of Tiepoli: Bartolo Tiepolo the Procurator;¹ his son Marco; Giacomo Tiepolo, the son of Marco; Lorenzo, the son of Giacomo; Giacomo Tiepolo *the Younger*, the child and grandchild of a Doge; and lastly Bajamonte, the Great Chevalier. Some remains of the house at San Luca on the Canal di Qua, where Arrigo Dandolo

¹ *Litta in voce Tiepolo.*

once lived, are said to have been discernible in a building between the Casa Loredano and the Casa Bembo, which stood there till its demolition in 1781.¹

During the reign of Marino Morosini (1249-52) a spacious edifice existed in the Parish of San Giovanni Grisostomo, in the Ward of Canal-Reggio. It was the property of a Venetian gentleman of good family and handsome fortune, who had been absent for some time on a distant voyage. At present the sole occupants of the building were his wife and her servants; and here, in the course of 1250 or the following year, this lady gave birth to a son, whose life she purchased with her own. The child inherited from his father a sound constitution and a vigorous mind; and as he grew up the love of adventure and the spirit of discovery, by which the former was animated, he was found to possess even in a superior degree. On his return the traveller was inexpressibly grieved at the change which had taken place during his absence in his domestic circumstances; as a distraction from the afflicting scene which his home presented, he soon determined to undertake a new voyage to the East; and he thought that he could not better consult the interests of his son, now a youth of eighteen, than by making him his companion. He was desirous of familiarising him with the dangers of the sea, and of initiating him into the laws of navigation; it was his wish to inspire a son, who was dear to him by a double tie, with a taste for those pursuits by which he himself had risen to fame and affluence; and he even proposed, if he extended his travels so far, to introduce the lad at the court of the Grand Khan. Such was the outset of the life of Marco Polo,² the geographical father of Columbus.

In the same Ward of Canal-Reggio or Cannareggio, in the street of San Apostoli, was the dwelling of Arrigo Zeno, where the Great Fire of 1106 first broke out; and in the immediate neighbourhood, by the bridge, lived the father of Marino Faliero, who was born there in 1274.

In the Ward of Castello, in the Parish of Santa Giustina, was the palace in which Sebastiano Ziani fixed his residence after his return from Armenia. From this house he was called in 1173,

¹ In 1881 the Commune of Venice decreed that the site then occupied by the Malibran Theatre should be commemorated by an inscription on the exterior of the building.

² See *I Viaggi di Marco Polo Veneziano tradotti per la prima volta dall' originale francese di Rusticiano di Pisa da Vincenzo Lazari*, 8vo, Venezia, 1847.

at the suggestion of his friend Malipiero, to assume the government of his country. It was here also that his son Pietro, who in his time enjoyed the reputation of being the wealthiest nobleman in Venice, received a similar summons two-and-thirty years later; and to the same roof the latter retired in 1229, when he was an old and weary man, to close his eyes in peace.

In that Sestiero, a little out of the City and in the district of Gamberere, stood the famous and venerable abbey of San Zaccaria, founded in the first days of the Republic, and restored in the early part of the ninth century at the expense of the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV. Connected with this opulent institution for the reception of ladies, who desired to dedicate their lives to Heaven, was more than one interesting and important episode.

It was at the water-gate of San Zaccaria that in 982 the remains of Domenico Morosini were found in an open boat, which had drifted down the current, and that the consequent discovery was made of the murder, which led by a singular chain of events to the deposition of the Doge Memo. On his way from the Palace to this point, Michieli III. was overtaken and mortally wounded by Marco Casiolo. It was there, too, that the interview had taken place between the Doge and the Abbess Morosini (855).

In the street of SS. Filippo e Giacomo once lived Orseolo the Holy. Here, while the Ducal Palace was still a wreck, that prince transacted the business of the State; and here in 961, while his predecessor remained on the throne, his wife had borne him a son,¹ who was heir to his father's name and to more than his father's genius. It was to the same point that the eyes of all Venice were turned, on a certain morning in the month of September 977, by the circulation of a rumour that the mansion had been searched, and that the Doge was nowhere to be found.

At the Palazzo Michieli at SS. Apostoli they used to shew some curious armour and standards, said to have belonged to the Doge Domenico in the earlier half of the twelfth century, and to have formed part of the trophies of his naval exploits in Greece and the Holy Land.

A short history of the new Cà Foscari on the Riva San Pantaleone may not be superfluous, as it reveals to us a singularly interesting pedigree. It had originally belonged to the Giustiniani family, and was at that time turreted and embattled.

¹ Litta, *Celebri famiglie Italiane*, in voce Orseolo.

wealth, splendour and culture the proudest of the European aristocracy, at present effaced or with difficulty traceable in foreign lands among followers of plebeian callings. The last of the Grimani seems to have been a teacher of Italian in London.

Hazlitt, the critic and essayist, writing in 1824,¹ says :—" I never saw palaces anywhere but at Venice. Those at Rome are dungeons to them. The richest in interior decorations that I saw was the Grimani palace, which answered to all the imaginary conditions of this sort of thing. Aladdin might have exchanged his for it, and given his lamp into the bargain. The floors are of marble, the tables of precious stones, the chairs and curtains of rich silk, the walls covered with looking-glasses ; and it contains a cabinet of invaluable antique sculpture, and some of Titian's finest portraits. . . . I saw no other mansion equal to this. The Pisani is the next to it for elegance and splendour, and from its situation on the Grand Canal it admits a flood of bright day through glittering curtains of pea-green silk into a noble saloon, enriched with an admirable family-picture by Paul Veronese, with heads equal to Titian in all but the character of thought."

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many alterations were occurring in the aspect of localities within the boundaries of the metropolis, and several historical landmarks were gradually obliterated. In the neighbourhood of the Arsenal, in order to provide additional accommodation, the Cistercian convent with the adjoining church of La Celestia, where the great Carlo Zeno had been interred in 1418 with every mark of respect and every feature of magnificence, was demolished, and the area absorbed for naval purposes. The glorious home of Titian at San Cassiano, opposite Murano, with its gardens and extensive prospect towards the Dolomite Alps, where the painter worked so many years, and entertained the noblest and most illustrious in or out of Venice, has long vanished ; the line of the shore has changed ; and the squalid homes of operatives occupy the site.

In some of the outlying islands the patricians had not only their *villeggiatura*, but their headquarters. It was at Murano, now so desolate and poor, that the Casa Priuli rose in all its splendour and delightful environments, and that Cardinal Bembo had his villa where he surrounded himself with his books and his learned friends. The island at one period counted no fewer than sixteen noble mansions of the true Italian type.

¹ *Memoirs of William Hazlitt*, by his grandson, 1867, ii. 170-1.

Many successful and able efforts have been made in modern times to assist the formation of some definite ideas on the subject of early domestic architecture, when the Republic had emerged from absolute barbarism, and was in possession of the Lombardic masters of building and decoration.

Ruskin and Fergusson are the two accepted authorities on Venetian architecture, and the latter explicitly remarks: "The most beautiful specimens of the civil and domestic architecture of Italy in the Gothic period are probably to be found in Venice, the richest and most peaceful of Italian cities during the Middle Ages." The expression *peaceful* of course imports the freedom from foreign interference and injury; and, speaking of the Ducal palace, Fergusson says: "There are indeed few buildings of which it is so difficult to judge calmly, situated as it is, attached to the Basilica of Saint Mark, facing the library erected by Sansovino, and looking on the one hand into the piazza of Saint Mark, and on the other across the water to the churches and palaces that cover the islands. It is, in fact, the centre of the most beautiful architectural group that adorns any city in Europe, or of the world——." And, as the city is admitted to be so foremost in its rank as a perpetual show-place of Art, so it has enlisted in its service the pens and pencils of a larger number of specialists than any other capital, rendering the task of describing its architectural monuments in an ordinary historical work at once impossible and supererogatory. To Ruskin, above all, we remain indebted, however, for the deepest, truest, and tenderest portraiture of Venice on these lines, for he has accomplished more than any one toward the elucidation of the link between the infinite beauty visible on Venetian ground and the moral and intellectual conditions which gave it birth, which enhanced it sometimes, and which sometimes exerted upon it a debasing or corrupting influence. Yet the imperfect conversance of the author of the *Stones of Venice* with historical facts has occasionally weakened the force of his noble and eloquent diction; and there must be some, who trace the impure architectural forms, exclusively imputed by Ruskin to national decadence, to the barbaresque taste observable in the Basilica itself. Certain it is, that the patriotic fervour, capable of such miracles of heroism and devotion, lingered in many breasts long after the decline of political consequence, and even now is by no means extinct. What did the little nineteenth-century maiden

say on her return home even from no remoter spot than one of the adjacent islands?—"Torsello xe beo, no si pol negar; la campagna xe bea; *ma benedetta la MIA Venezia.*" Here was a picture in little of the unconquerable loyalty to the soil, of the love of *La Terra* incapable of dying.

Fergusson allots a few pages to an account of the leading edifices, with illustrations of their present aspect. He specifies the Ca d'Oro, formerly the palazzo Santa Sofia, erected for the procurator Marino Contarini, and the Foscari and Pisani mansions. Ruskin adds the Badoer and others. The Grimani, which as well as the Pisani, was still maintained in 1824, when Hazlitt was at Venice, is now the Post Office; the Loredano has been converted into the Hotel de Ville; and the Pisani has been dismantled, the great family picture by Veronese having found its way to England.

But a witness of a different order, who was at Venice in 1497-98, Pietro Casola of Milan, refers to the great, beautiful, and rich palaces, of 100,000, 50,000, and 30,000 ducats, which he beheld, with their contents and owners, and rather tiresomely makes up his mind that to convey an adequate notion of them all would be too arduous an undertaking for him, and one more suitable for a person making a longer stay in Venice.

The general plan and the distribution of space obviously depended on the views of the original builder, and no two piles were externally or internally identical. Many had gardens, so long as circumstances allowed, and Sansovino specifies several as existing in his time. They may be regarded as survivals of a still larger number, which were maintained with assiduous care in the Middle Ages, and if the more recent were less plentiful and less spacious, they were laid out with greater cost and on a model which embraced the latest discoveries in horticulture and the newest importations from the tropics.

The façades and interiors of the more leading edifices shared with the sacred buildings the early taste for sculpture and mosaic. At SS. Apostoli, till its demolition in 1840, was the *Casa dei Proverbi*, which was indebted for its unusual appellation to two bas-reliefs exhibiting the excellent axioms: *Chi semina spine, non vada discalzo*, and *Di di te, e poi di me dirai*.

On this soil, too, we encounter, and within ecclesiastical precincts, as in England, Holland, and elsewhere, the taste for caricature, which did not scruple to ridicule the priest and the

monk in their very places of service or worship, but which sometimes restricted itself to playful and innocent inversions of realities, as where on the right hand of the *Porta della Madonna* at Saint Mark's two cocks are exhibited, carrying a fox on a pole.

The evolutions of the Palace of Saint Mark, from its earliest fabric and aspect into the building which the great Doge Mocenigo bequeathed to his country in 1423, and its farther transition to the symmetrical and rich maturity which in all its main features has lived to be our contemporary, may be said to form an integral part of the Republic's history; for the ducal residence grew with the growth of the Venetian power and culture. It is to be taken as proved that from the earliest infancy of a government by Doges, at all events, some edifice was set apart, not only for the support of the dignity of the State, but for the practical transaction of public business. Prior to the development of administration by departments, the palace was the absorbing centre of political life; and as we find to have been the case everywhere else at this period, and to have continued in the East down to quite modern days, the judicial and executive functions were retained to a large extent in the same hands.

In the same manner indeed as the abode of the chief of the Government in nearly all countries, not only in the Middle Ages, as in the *Castello di Corte* of the Gonzagas in Mantua, but as at Paris down to the sixteenth century, and at Delhi down to our own time, the ducal residence at Venice, originally established at *Heraclia*, subsequently at *Malamocco*, and finally at *Rialto*, was the leading institution in the Republic and the pivot round which everything else revolved.

The earliest palpable approach to our knowledge of a palace is the tidings, in 976, of its partial destruction, with the intimation that two reigns spent themselves without seeing it brought back to a habitable condition. Otho III. of Germany, who stayed at Venice four days in 998, is said to have expressed admiration of the building as he then saw it and lodged in it. We know very little about it, except that it was built in the Indo-Byzantine taste, turreted, embattled, and walled, and that the imperial visitor was accommodated in one of the towers—in what became known as the *Torricella*, and was in fact the last vestige of the Middle Age fortress.

The historian Sagorninus, who wrote his narrative in the first quarter of the eleventh century, informs us that the palace erected by Angelo Participazio or Badoer about 810 was still standing in his time; but it had doubtless undergone an immense amount of repair and alteration in the course of two centuries, especially after the catastrophe of 976, of which Sagorninus might have been an eye-witness.

The fire of 1106 committed serious devastations on the ducal abode; and its second restoration was a work of time. In 1116, when the Emperor Henry V. came to see a city of which the fame had reached him, it had probably recovered its usual appearance, for his Majesty was as powerfully impressed by its beauty as Otho had been in 998. Such as it may have been in 1116, it doubtless remained in 1175, about which time the Doge Ziani considerably amplified and embellished it, and rendered it the imposing Byzantine palace which in 1201 elicited from a distinguished French visitor—the Maréchal de Champagne, whose eyes had rested on many a noble château—a cordial encomium. Nor was Villehardouin impressed apparently so much by the stateliness of its proportions as by its commodious interior; which for us is really a point of superior importance. He tells us that it was “very beautiful and abounding in rooms.”

But it was during the reign of Pietro Gradenigo, and posterior to the constitutional changes of 1297, that the first step was taken toward the replacement of the Ziani building by a new Gothic palace, and the provision not only of public offices, but of adequate accommodation for the deliberative councils. The latter hitherto had had no regular place of meeting assigned to their use; but the old palace was expected to satisfy all wants, including the transaction of official business, the reception of distinguished guests, and debates on questions of European moment. The Arrengo, however, or National Convention, so long as the principle of universal suffrage more or less nominally survived, the Doge's house was not calculated to hold; and there is no occasion to doubt that when the people were summoned at stated seasons to meet, it was in the open air or in the Basilica that the gathering took place. Here again the Government set to work piecemeal, obeying the principle followed almost throughout the ancient world, partly doubtless from an insufficiency of funds for continuous labours; and the superb quadrangle which we have now the opportunity of surveying at our leisure was the labour of centuries, and more

than that, of two successive architectural epochs¹—the Gothic, which was completed between 1301 and 1423, and the Early Renaissance. Of the Gothic palace certain portions were found to be capable of adaptation; and the Great Council Chamber on the side looking toward the sea is substantially the room originally commenced in 1340 from the designs of Calendario—whose share in the Faliero conspiracy cost him his life—and not properly finished till 1400. But of the edifice, which Villehardouin beheld in 1201, no vestiges whatever remain. It lay nearer the Grand Canal than the more recent building, partly on the site of the spacious Molo; and between its walls and the sea was nothing but a narrow passage or *fondamento* for pedestrians. It almost seemed as if in proceeding with the incessant work of reconstruction the Government was keeping steadily in view the ulterior contingency of removing the Gothic block, when its successor was ready in all respects for use. Yet, while such was the actual course eventually pursued, it is beyond question that the rulers of Venice in their desultory and bit-by-bit mode of progress, acted a good deal at random, and were unprepared for the glorious outcome. The fruit of their fragmentary and intermittent exertions revealed itself to them as one stage after another in the process of transformation was reached; and it cannot have failed to inspire a proud sensation when, through the courageous initiation of the Doge Mocenigo, the Prince's house was after all rebuilt, and the entire Ziani pile cleared away to form a sea *façade*, and set off in their true proportions the new and costly architectural range.²

The unfortunate fire of 1479 inflicted costly damage on the private portion allotted to the Doge, and destroyed many historical monuments; and from various causes great delay occurred in repairing the loss; and in 1483 there was another, but less serious disaster. Even in 1498 the building operations were incomplete; 80,000 ducats had been spent, and it was discovered that the architect, who absconded, had embezzled at least 12,000 of the amount. Yet, when Brother Felix Faber was at Venice before 1457, he was lost in admiration of the palace, as he saw

¹ Street (*Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, 1855, p. 148) differs from Ruskin in regard to the space of time occupied in portions of the building.

² The large print by Jost Amman, 1565, seems to shew that shops long continued to disfigure the immediately contiguous site. In a somewhat later engraving after Titian published by Lacroix, these mean and disagreeable excrescences have been swept away, and the area toward the Molo is much as we now see it.

it, both exterior and interior, even to the Doge's bedchamber, so that the urgent needs of the case had been more or less expeditiously carried out. Faber refers to a pleasure-garden (*viridarium*), planted with fruit trees and aromatic shrubs, as being "supra palatium," from which we are perhaps to understand a greenery on the leads. The moral which the worthy German friar draws is that the Turks, on beholding such splendour and luxury, must arrive at the conclusion that Christians have no faith in a future state.

Farther casualties ensued in 1574 and, above all, in 1577; and it is from the extensive works of repair and replacement, which the latter catastrophe necessitated, and which were not actually completed till 1675, that the palace as we know and behold it actually dates. The internal arrangements for warmth in wintry weather seem to have been as purely Venetian as those in modern days visible throughout the city. Braziers and oil-stoves were the only forms of heating apparatus; and the Doge Bembo, who had been accustomed to a seafaring life, is found about 1618 bitterly complaining of the cold, when the Councils sat late in the evenings during unusual pressure of work.

The Lion of Saint Mark was restored to its place in 1814 after the fall of Napoléon; but the Gospels in the claw was missing, having been mislaid in the transit to Paris at the Revolution. The Four Horses, also part of the French trophies, found their way back at the same time to their old station over the portico of Saint Mark's. Of pure Greek copper, these noble monuments had been removed from Chios, where they are said to have been executed for the Byzantine Emperor Theodosios in the fifth century; and at the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 they were claimed by the Venetians as prizes of war. They are unique as an example of an ancient bronze quadriga, and won the admiration of Petrarch when he was at Venice in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In front of the grand old Basilica, which resembled nothing around it even in a metropolis so tinctured with Orientalism, and which is apt to impress us at this hour as hardly less foreign to the place occupied by it than Cleopatra's Needle to the banks of the Thames, were erected in course of time on enriched bronze pedestals the three flagstaffs, from which long waved the silken banners of Venice, Cyprus, and Candia. A feature which is common to so many public places in Europe, and which here is

reputed to have formed part of the daily life and experience since the ninth century, are the pigeons, immemorial freeholders of the Piazza, but originally associated with the popular usage on Palm Sunday of releasing a number of doves, for which the bystanders scrambled, and which were fattened against Easter.

We should not too hastily reproach the Venetians with a parsimonious or vacillating policy, where their honour and dignity were so profoundly concerned. For these alterations in the capital, judicious and sensible as they could hardly fail to appear when they had been achieved, were apt to present themselves to many in the light of unwise refinements, while the national resources were demanded for the maintenance of foreign wars or for domestic reforms of more general utility; and we are looking at a time when a chivalrous enthusiasm for art was hardly understood even by the governments of Italy.

CHAPTER XLV

Origin and Rise of the Church—Primitive Ecclesiastical Edifices—Diocesan Policy—Grado and Aquileia—Redistribution of Sees—Supremacy of Doge of the earlier epoch over the Church—Concentration of secular and spiritual jurisdiction in the governing family—Monastic Institutions—Lay Patronage—Licentiousness of the mediæval religious fraternities and sisterhoods—The Rich Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus—His Benefactions—His Will (825)—Translation of Saint Mark (829)—He becomes the Patron Saint of the Republic—Foundation of Saint Mark's Chapel—Ritualistic changes in the services of certain Dalmatian Churches in the Tenth Century—Establishment of the Holy Office (1289)—Stringent limitations on its power—Heresy and scepticism at Venice—Petrarch and the unbeliever—Venetian toleration—Respectful opposition to Pontifical interference—Beneficial political effects—Evolution of the Chapel of Saint Mark into the Basilica—Ritual employed there—Transfer of the Metropolitanate from Grado to Venice in 1454—First Patriarch of Venice—Mortuaries—Ecclesiastical policy of Venice—Concurrent support and resistance to the Papacy—Oratories in private houses—Ineffectual opposition of the Holy See to their continuance.

THE band of fugitives which, in the fifth century, had been compelled to seek an asylum in the Salt-Lagoon, at first endeavoured to reconcile themselves to their strange and humble lot¹ by indulging the sense of security and cherishing the hope of return. But affairs soon wore a different aspect. An increase of comfort and prosperity within, coupled with the unabated force of external pressure, slowly fostered in the mind of the Colonists a spirit of nationality. The Salt-Lagoon gradually became populous: gradually by industry and perseverance the exiles formed within its confined area a flourishing, though small, settlement; and on those lonely strands, which had been hitherto abandoned to the shepherd and the fisherman, rose up the hearths and altars of a new people: rose up the foundations of Venetia Princeps.

It is recorded that, in 421, a church in honour of Saint James was founded on the Isle of Rialto, under the joint patronage of Severianus Daulus, bishop of Padua, Jucundus,

¹ Zanetti, *Dell' origine di alcune arti presso li Veneziani*, p. 15.

bishop of Treviso, Ambrosius, bishop of Altino, and Epo, bishop of Oderzo.¹ The circumstance, under which the foundations of San Giacomo were laid in the early part of the fifth century, belongs to the most venerable of Venetian traditions. It is related that, when the fugitives from the *terra firma* had already begun the erection of houses on the island, a conflagration broke out in the dwelling of a poor boatman, named Entinopo, and consumed that and several of the contiguous buildings: whereupon the sufferers engaged that they would exhibit, if the flames were extinguished, their gratitude by raising on the site of the ferryman's humble residence a church in honour of Saint James. Their wishes were fulfilled; their vow was accomplished; and on the very ground, which is occupied by the present church of San Giacomo di Rialto, the ancient Venetians laid, fourteen hundred years ago, the first stone of the first Christian temple, which rose from the morasses of the Adriatic, as an eternal monument of their faith and God-serving humility. In Venice there is no spot which has associations so solemn, so holy, and so sad.

A few years later, in fulfilment of another vow, a second Church with an Oratory was built at Dorsoduro, and dedicated to the archangel Raphael, by Adriana, wife of Genusius, a Paduan noble, who had fled to the neighbouring lagoon, on the approach of the Huns, with his numerous family. The husband, wishing to remain behind till the last moment, sent his wife and children forward, and Adriana, anxious for his safety, declared that so soon as he arrived in the lagoon she would shew her gratitude by founding a church and oratory in honour of the archangel. One of Adriana's daughters afterward became Abbess of San Zaccaria, which was then the only nunnery in Venice, and which stood² in the same street or *contrada* as the house of Genusius.

The Abbey was probably coeval with the church of San Giacomo. A slight chain of circumstances tempts one to accept the conclusion, that two out of the three most venerable monuments in the city owed their existence to the same family.

We are regarding a period almost prehistoric, a city without a metropolis or any settled principles of government. As far as the eye could scan, the vast though unproductive domain of San

¹ Dandolo, lib. v. p. 69; Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 400.

² Sansovino, lib. vi. pp. 243-4.

Zaccaria extended, and shed the gracious influence of religion around; but it was gradually curtailed, until the boundary-line of the abbey lay at some distance from the Riva side of the Rio di Palazzo. If its proportions grew less ample, its opulence, sanctity, and political influence steadily increased; it was more than once rebuilt; holy relics from all parts found their way into its sanctuary; and no foreigner who visited the city omitted a pilgrimage to a spot so wealthy and so rich in historical associations. From its convenient vicinity to the palace, San Zaccaria was constantly honoured by the presence of the chief magistrate, who reached it by passing out of the gate near the site of the modern entrance to the Inner Court, and crossing the Ponte della Paglia; it was to Venice in feudal times much what the Palace and Abbey of Westminster were to each other; and on the roll of its superiors were to be seen the names of the most illustrious families and the daughters of Doges.

Then, even when the great abbey was no longer what it had been remembered in territorial importance, the ground which it had vacated remained during ages open or thinly inhabited.

In 452, when Altinum itself was on the eve of destruction, the episcopal see was transferred to Torcello.

These traditions form the oldest historical monuments of the ecclesiastical history of the Republic which, with those exceptions, presents a perfect blank till the middle of the sixth century. But subsequently to that period the hierarchic system was rapidly developed by the fresh irruptions of barbarians and by a constant influx from all parts of the Peninsula. In 550, two churches, one in honour of Saint Theodore, the original Tutelary Saint of Venice, the other in that of the martyrs Menna and Geminian, were founded at Rialto¹ by Narses, lieutenant of Justinian in Italy, in requital of the zeal which the islanders had shown in transporting some Lombard mercenaries from Aquileia (by Grado and Brondolo) to Ravenna in their flat-bottomed vessels.

There is a school of legendary tradition, which offers to explain and elucidate the circumstances, under which some of these early movements and migrations occurred, and which resulted in consolidating the loose and imperfect elements driven from various directions toward the lagoons into something approaching an orderly and self-sustaining society under a systematic and acknowledged government. Nearly a century

¹ Sansovino, *Venetia descritta*, lib. i. p. 109.

and a half of retrospect had already accumulated behind the Venetians when the final influx of fugitives sought safety from the Lombards in or about 568. Narses had doubtless unconsciously paid for the Venetian succour in a way singularly advantageous to the obsequious little State; for he not only created the first semblance of a Christian communion, but stimulated by his example others to follow in his steps. The ingenuous and confiding temper of those who first committed to paper these oral records without the omission of a word, when generations had come and had gone since the alleged events occurred, commands our forbearance, if not our sympathy. The Lombards are characterised as the cruellest of pagans sweeping down Friuli; and the people of Altinum, even those perhaps who regained their homes, prepared to emigrate once more and for ever. Some fled to parts of the mainland; but others, undecided what to do, instituted a three days' fast and prayer, that God might disclose to them His will. They heard a voice, resembling thunder, which said, "Climb ye up to the tower and view the stars." Whereupon Paul, bishop of Altinum, did as he was bidden, and, viewing the heavens, he beheld the stars placed just as the islands in the lagoon were. So they quitted their hearths and homes, and repaired to a spot in the lagoons, which, that they might be perpetually reminded of the old many-towered Altinum, they agreed to call *Torcello*; and the first thing which they thought to do was to erect a church to Mary the Virgin, beautiful in form and fair, with precious marble pavements. Then a priest of Altinum, who was among the new-comers, and whose name was Mauro, had a vision in which St. Erasmus and St. Hermes shewed him where he should build a church in their names and honour. And as he walked along, he beheld a white cloud, from which issued two rays of the sun of glorious effulgence, which fell upon him; and a voice cried out to him, "I am the Saviour and Lord of all the earth. The ground whereon thou standest, I give to thee, thereon to build a church in My name." And a second voice said: "I am Mary, mother of the Lord Jesus Christ; I bid you build another church to me." The excellent Mauro subsequently, in wandering about the *lidi*, met with an old man sitting on the ground, who announced himself as St. Peter the Apostle, and by him stood a younger one, who proved to be the servant of God, Antolinus, who said to Mauro: "I suffered for the name of Christ; I bid you build a

little church for me, hard by the Master's church. Be instant day and night in memory of me; and whatsoever you ask of me shall be given unto you." The good priest next came to an island (Vignola) full of vineyards, which bore the whitest grapes; but he withstood the temptation to partake of the fruit, and presently, as he advanced, he saw, seated amid a white cloud, a little maiden, who said: "I am Giustina, who suffered in Padua city for Christ's sake; I pray you, priest of God, build me a little church in my honour." He shortly encountered a second maiden of even tenderer years, on whom a great and lustrous cloud shed its light; and as the cloud approached nearer, Mauro became aware of a man of noble mien, rising above the sun, who introduced himself as St. John the Baptist, and who gave him his benediction upon his election as first bishop of Torcello, placing in his hand a scrip and on his finger a miraculous ring.

We reach the end of this pretty story before we discover that we have been listening to the narration of a dream; but the ancient chronicler assures us that it was all perfectly true, and we acquiesce to the extent of allowing that he set down what he or his forefathers had heard, and that both believed the particulars. If any one attempts to penetrate beyond the surface, he may emerge again with an impression that such assurances of superhuman interposition aided the foundation of the parent churches of Venice, while the latter lent stability and permanence to the new political organisation.

In 577, Paul, Patriarch of Aquileia, flying from the persecution of the Lombards, took shelter at Grado, where he built the church of Saint Euphemia. Six years later, while the neighbouring church of Aquileia was tainted by the heresies of Arius, Grado became, by virtue of a Concordat between the successor of Paul and the Holy See (20th April 583), the metropolitanate of Venice and Istria; and nineteen provincial Sees, among which were those of Padua, Oderzo, Altino, Trieste, Emonia, Concordia, Pola, Parenzo, and Trento, were placed under the pastoral rule of the Primate Elias.¹ In 590, Caorlo received John, bishop of Concordia. In 630, no fewer than eight churches were built at Rialto.² Eight years afterward, Paul, bishop of Padua, a fugitive and an exile, established a See at Malamocco. Finally, in 650, three churches, dedicated to SS. Sergio and Bacco, San Massimo and San Marcelliano, were

¹ Ughellus, *Italia Sacra*, v. p. 83.

² Sansovino, *Cron. Ven.*, p. 8.

founded by the Torcellese on the Isle of Costanziano. These early temples were rude and inelegant; their domes were not gilded, nor their walls inlaid with fresco, nor their porches exquisitely carved. On the contrary, although their interiors might be more or less richly embellished with the treasures which their founders had saved from the ruins of their old home, wood was the material generally employed in their construction, and their style was simple and unpretending. Yet the ancient Venetians found them not less applicable to the rites of religion, than those splendid monuments which were afterward raised by the genius of the Early Masters.

The late treaty with the Holy See, which conferred upon the Patriarch of Grado the right of supreme jurisdiction over nineteen episcopal sees in the adjoining provinces, while on the one hand it seemed to promote the ambitious views of the Court of Rome, by extending its influence throughout the Venetian dominion, was extremely advantageous on the other hand to the Republic herself, both in a commercial and political respect; impelled by that enterprising spirit which distinguished them in so marked a degree, the merchants of Venice gradually formed marts and depôts at Justinople and the neighbouring cities; their urbane manners and judicious moderation won in their favour a general feeling of confidence and goodwill; friendships, intimacies, and matrimonial alliances, followed as a natural consequence; and the early connection, which the Venetians thus established, through a spiritual medium, with the Venetian and Illyric Provinces, may be considered as having, in no slight degree, prepared the way for the subsequent reduction of that territory beneath their rule.

But it was hardly to be expected that the privilege would long remain undisputed. A rival pretender to the metropolitanate soon appeared in the holder of the new patriarchal dignity which the Lombards had founded, shortly after the establishment of their power, at Aquileia. The latter, however, was at once pronounced by the Pope to have no legitimate existence or authority, and the election of the Abbot Johannes, first of the Arian patriarchs of Aquileia, was solemnly condemned by Boniface IV. as uncanonical and null, the Synod which chose and ordained that prelate having been convened entirely without the knowledge or sanction of his Holiness: nor was it till the year 720, when the Lombards succeeded in conciliating the Papal See

by the annexation of certain territory to the Ecclesiastical States, that the new Church of Aquileia was admitted into the communion.¹

After the fall of the kingdom of Alboin in the year 800, the patriarchs of Aquileia became sovereigns of Friuli and feudal Lords of Carniola;² and they became at the same time the most troublesome enemies of Venice. The encroachments of the patriarch of Grado on their see, and the extension of his influence and jurisdiction over Istria, Dalmatia, and Friuli, excited their jealousy, and seemed to justify their depredations; and during a period of nearly six hundred years the two primates were engaged in a desultory course of petty warfare, in which the Aquileian was always the assailant, and generally the loser. This churchman, the corsairs of Narenta, and all the naval and military freebooters who lay about her, became to Venice what the Sabines, the Æquians, and the Volscians had been to Rome.

The numerous islands, which constituted the Dogado, were divided into the five bishoprics of Equilo, Torcello, Caorlo, Malamocco, and Citta Nuova (New Heraclia), to which were subsequently added those of Olivolo and Chioggia; the former was created in 766 by the severance of Rialto, Zimole, Luprio, Dursoduro, and Olivolo from the diocese of Malamocco, which appears to have been the parent and till that date the only one, as we do not hear of any see of Old Heraclia; and from the somewhat loose and arbitrary conditions, under which these dioceses originally came into existence, proceeded a curious body of secular customary law, binding only within a particular jurisdiction.

Each see owed allegiance, and paid tribute, to the metropolitanate of Grado; and prior to his entry into office each bishop-elect was approved by the Doge and the Pope, and consecrated by the primate.³ In the usual course of promotion, an ecclesiastic became in the first instance the Curé of a Parish; from the office of curé, the step was to the rectorship or *piovanato*, which he might hold with a canonry; from the latter he was raised to the dignity of primicerio of Saint Mark's, and thence to the Episcopal Bench, from which the vacancies in the metropolitanate were ordinarily supplied. But the exceptions were numerous; and it is probable that these exceptions arose in large

¹ "Dissertazione istorica sopra l' antichità del patriarcato d' Aquileia," *ap. Calogiera, Nuova raccolta d' opuscoli scientifici*, v. 7.

² Sandi, i. p. 358.

³ Paolo Sarpi, *Delle materie beneficiarie*, p. 76.

measure from the great facilities which the Doge enjoyed under the early Constitution for elevating his own relatives or political allies at pleasure from the lower to the superior grades of the Priesthood.

Unlike the ancient Saxons, whose Witenagemote possessed jurisdiction both in civil and in spiritual matters, the Venetians organised at a very remote period a Synod, which met at uncertain intervals under the nominal presidency of the Doge, and which consisted of the patriarch of Grado, of the bishops, and of the other high dignitaries of the Church, and which took exclusive cognizance of all matters of a purely spiritual nature, or of any questions which might arise in connection with ecclesiastical discipline; and on such points the judgment of this Assembly was generally treated as conclusive. Indeed, even till the close of the eighth century, the clergy enjoyed considerable influence, and, as Head of the Church, the Patriarch of Grado occupied an eminent position in the State. But when the reins of government passed into the hands of the great Houses of Badoer and Sanudo, the power of the Priesthood sensibly declined; the Synod became almost entirely subservient to the will of the prince, who convoked and dissolved it at pleasure;¹ without his sanction, its acts were accounted void; and on several occasions, when they expressed a dissent from his views, its decisions were wholly disregarded.

In the flourishing state of what we may practically view as the Monarchy, the reigning House and its adherents, anxious to consolidate their power, invariably aimed at engrossing the spiritual, as well as the secular, authority; and consequently, during that period, the Doge, the Patriarch of Grado, and the Bishops of Olivolo and Torcello, were almost always members of the same faction, not unfrequently of the same family.

No certain principles of church government or sacerdotal discipline were yet established; and in that primitive age even the outline of a canon law is scarcely discernible. Bishops were often elected, and deacons ordained, without reference to their merits or qualifications, through the private patronage and personal influence of the Doge; several instances occurred, in which the sees of Torcello and Olivolo were filled in that manner by unworthy candidates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the clergy and of the patriarch; nor do the incipient measures of ecclesiastical reform, which were introduced toward the middle

¹ Dandolo, lib. vii. p. 127; Sandi, i. p. 224.

of the eleventh century, afford a slight proof of the laxity which had prevailed before that period.

The Church derived its revenues from a multiplicity of sources; but tithes in money or in kind were the principal support of benefices. Mortuaries, or heriots upon the dead, formed a class of impost to which the Venetian legislators of the First Age were no strangers. It was on mortuaries, and on an annual poll tax of three hens which he received from the population of a particular district, that the Bishop of Olivolo almost wholly relied for his income; and on the former account he was familiarly known as *Vescovo de' Morti*, or *the Bishop of the Dead*. Much in the same way, the Bishop of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, derives a portion of his income from a duty on all the quails killed in the island, and is thence nicknamed the Bishop of the Quails.

In connection with the ancient theocratic polity of the Republic, it is proper to consider the system pursued, in the early ages of the commonwealth, with regard to Monastic Institutions. It was originally a common practice for monks and nuns to reside in their own dwellings,¹ and this practice very probably continued, even when the necessity, in the absence of appropriate houses, no longer existed. But Holy Societies of both sexes were formed in Venice at a very remote period, and they were founded and endowed, for the most part, by private families, which assumed invariably the right of patronage, and of selecting the sister or brother Superior from their own kindred.² In a State, where a few wealthy Houses, illustrious alike by their birth, possessions, and attainments, arrogated to themselves the governing power in clerical as well as in secular matters, this principle of patronage was almost inevitable; and we shall find that the exclusive and engrossing spirit, by which the policy of Venice was so strongly marked and so greatly influenced in other respects, trespassed on the privacy of the cloister. In points of general discipline, and in questions of general importance, the Synod or even the Arrengo might have a powerful voice, and exercise a legitimate jurisdiction; but a charter, to which the Doge affixed his seal or sign-manual, protected, in almost every case, the rights of the founder and the freedom of the foundation from the inquisitive zeal of the clergy; and it is a fair supposition that, while the conduct of

¹ *Lettera di Ag. Gradenigo sopra li monasteri di Venezia al abate Brunacci, 1760.*

² *Temanza, Antica pianta di Venezia, 1781, p. 8.*

the recluses was guided by the long-established rules of their respective orders, their maintenance and management jointly devolved on the Patron and the Prior. It was an usual practice to appoint in all Monasteries an Advocate or lay-administrator, whose province it was to represent the institution in law-suits, to manage its temporalities, and to protect its general interests; and this functionary is mentioned in many documents of early date, and was by no means confined to Venice or to Italy.

The peculiar system, which was applied with very few, if any, exceptions, to all endowments of a sacred character in Venice, clothed the patron with very large powers; and at the same time that the latter freely placed them at the public service for purposes of worship or seclusion, he rarely failed to claim these monuments of private munificence as an integral portion of his property or heritage. It also frequently happened that, where several endowments were under the same control, a church was transformed at pleasure into a monastery, whenever such a change suited the convenience or taste of the founder or his representatives; and the violence of party spirit sometimes converted the monastery into a prison. Elsewhere occasion has been taken to shew that religious houses were by no means exempt from the practice of countenancing slavery, and that persons in that condition, both male and female, were employed in the monasteries and nunneries. But another and more agreeable feature in these institutions was their value as resorts or refuges, where more than ordinary medical skill or care was required.

All monasteries had a voice in the local chapter,¹ and it appears that these holy Fraternities were not necessarily exempt from the performance of military service; for it is stated in an ancient document that the Priory of Lovoli was obliged to contribute to the Ducal Body-guard.

Pope Gregory XIII. (1572-85) raised the question of Papal visitors to the monastic and conventual establishments. The Signory at first absolutely declined to suffer any such interference: but it was eventually settled that the Bishop of Verona should perform the duty *ex officio*. It had been the proposal of his Holiness to send his nuncio, who was to have as his colleagues the Bishops of Verona and Padua; but the nuncio, arriving first, proceeded to his task without waiting for the others, and

¹ Gradenigo, *Lettera a Brunacci*, 1760. Filiasi, *Memorie storiche dei Veneti primi e secondi*, v.

was recalled; and the Government ultimately took its own course.

In 586, a monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded by the patriarch Elias in that part of the city of Venice which was subsequently known as the parish of Santa Maria Formosa. In 790, the House of Badoer built, at their own expense, a church in honour of San Gianbattista, and a Priory attached, of which they assumed the exclusive patronage. In 816, the same family converted the church of San Ilario in Rialto into a monastery, which they appropriated to the use of the monks of San Leone. So far back as the fourteenth century, when the islands counted perhaps in the aggregate as many as forty religious houses of different orders, corruptions had begun to manifest themselves; and enactments were provided to repress the disorders arising from the incontinence of members of sisterhoods and their intrigues with lovers outside the walls. The picture, which was presented at the English Reformation of the profligacy of some of the monastic institutions, might have been supplied centuries before from Venetian sources; and all classes of the laity seem to have been fascinated by the attractions, to which a certain difficulty of access lent additional zest. So normal a type of gallantry did the clandestine relations between the inmates of nunneries and the outer world become at this early date, that it is put to the credit of the Doge Andrea Contarini, one of the heroes of the war of Chioggia, that he resisted such seductions. The men addicted to these irregularities were known as *moneghini*. At a later epoch, the same laxity prevailed without the same solicitude to disguise it; and in many of the establishments dedicated to the reception of women the luxury of the table, an elegance of toilette and attire, and brilliant musical soirees became notorious; and every form of indecorum was tolerated. It is always to be borne in mind, that in certain instances the nuns were members of noble families, and had been consigned to this sort of life without the option of refusal; and the result was that they aimed at enjoying in the monastic parlour the gaiety and licence of the aristocratic salon.

From the fifth dissertation of Muratori it appears that the abbey of San Zaccaria had some disputed possessions in the *Padovano*. The litigation lasted nearly a century (1000-1100). In 882, the Doge Memo granted the islet of San Giorgio or

San Zorzi to Giovanni Morosini, who was desirous of erecting on that site a Benedictine monastery; and already, in the ninth century, the abbeys of San Zaccaria¹ and San Giuliano had acquired a reputation for sanctity and splendour. The grounds and vineyard of the former extended over a large area, and occupied a portion of the modern Place of Saint Mark. In 1102, Pietro Gradenigo, a noble Venetian, refounded at his own charge at Murano the monastery of Cipriano,² reserving the right of patronage; in 1132, Giovanni, bishop of Olivolo, and son of the Doge Polani, founded a Cistercian monastery, which he dedicated to San Daniello; and lastly, in 1146, Giovanni Trono, having received the grant of a portion of the island of San Giacomo del Palude, from Orso Badoer, lord of the manor, erected thereon a cognominal Church and Priory.

These instances will suffice to exemplify the view that, from the earliest period of her existence, and in all her ancient institutions, the Republic betrayed in progressive stages of germination the growth of that oligarchy, which became, in the end, the ruling principle of her Government. But toward the close of the eleventh century, and during the earlier part of the twelfth, the Italian princes and the emperors of the East, anxious to preserve the friendship, or regain the favour, of the Republic, bestowed several valuable gifts on the church of Saint Mark and on many of the Venetian monasteries.

On the flight of the two Galbani in 804, and the succession of his friend and accomplice, the late Tribune of Malamocco, the Primate Fortunatus had returned to Venice, where he considered that he had every title to expect a favourable reception. On the other hand, although he might partly owe his success and actual position to the patriarch, Obelerio di Antenori was anxious to disclaim even his former connection with a man, toward whom the people bore a strong dislike, as the friend of their bitterest enemy; and from 804 till the battle of Albiola Fortunatus had lived for the most part in retirement at his residence near Campalto, on the Silis. But, after the defeat of Pepin and the proscription of the Antenori, the patriarch was invited to return to his country and his see; and Fortunatus remained at Grado in the full enjoyment of his office, until, some suspicion or mis-

¹ *Antichità Estense*, part i. ch. 32; Muratori, *Annali*, vi. p. 380; Muratori, *Dissertationes*, i. nos. 5 and 17; Dandolo, lib. ix. chap. 11. See farther, *supra*.

² Dandolo, lib. ix. p. 257.

chance having occasioned the discovery of a secret correspondence with the Frankish court, he received a peremptory command from the Government to quit the Venetian territories for ever.¹ The exile sought an asylum and a home at Constantinople; and he was subsequently sent by the Emperor Michael I., in the quality of an ambassador, to France, where he died about the year 825.²

In a highly important paper,³ which he left behind him, the late patriarch sets forth all the benefactions made by him to various churches and monasteries in Venice. This document, which was drawn up abroad some time before his death, and while he continued at the court of Louis le Debonnaire, still cherishing the hope of returning home, and carrying out certain specified designs in person, has descended to us in a mutilated state; and we see that he professes to write down some particulars from recollection at a distance from the means of verification. Yet the manuscript is undoubtedly of vast interest, and probably in its way unique; it is unfortunate that it is composed in Latin of an unusually impure type, and occasionally exhibits very perplexing obscurities, more especially in regard to technical phrases and pecuniary valuations.

Fortunatus left his serfs, cattle, horses, orchards, and olive-yards, for the most part, to the church of Santa Eufemia, which was, moreover, enriched with altars of gold and silver,⁴ altar-furniture, vestments, chalices, vases, goblets, and patinæ or dishes of porphyry, and mitres of elaborate and remarkable workmanship, studded with gems. The monastery of Santa Maria Genitrice was placed in the enjoyment of 30 pounds of silver, a ship with all its rigging and equipments, and a hundred bushels of corn. The abbey of San Giuliano had been rebuilt at his expense, furnished with priests and clerks, and endowed with two pounds of silver for the celebration of services night and day. The church of the Virgin at Torcello was roofed with lead, and that of Santa Agata, which had fallen in ruins, was rebuilt and liberally endowed. "The church of Santa Agata," writes the Patriarch, "where repose forty-two martyrs, was in ruins, and

¹ Dandolo, viii. 168. See also *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. viii. 227.

² Sagorninus, *Chron.* 29. Dandolo, lib. viii. p. 168.

³ *Quæ legavit et fecit Fortunatus Ecclesiae suae* (Cassiodori *Opera*, 1729, i. 187). See also Filiasi (v. 315); Marin (i. 270). By *Ecclesia* we must understand the Church of Venice, not any particular one.

⁴ He seems to distinguish between objects of gold and gilt ware, as he elsewhere alludes to "*vasa deaurata et deargentata fronte*."

when the strength of the tide came, it flowed up to their very bodies; but such was the mercy of God, that the water struck the walls five feet from the martyrs' remains, which several of our priests saw." The church of Santo Peregrino, which the people of Grado sinfully demolished out of fear of the Franks,¹ Fortunatus also restored.

To various other holy or charitable institutions were assigned donations of equal or even greater value; in a few instances he speaks of articles which had been given to him, but, as a rule, he seems to have purchased all this extraordinary accumulation of property at what were then, no doubt, considered fair prices. Nor does it appear that these liberal bequests represented the slow and laborious result of thrift: for there is equally strong evidence in favour of the supposition that, while he continued to enjoy the rank of Metropolitan, this rich and sumptuous priest lived at Grado in a style of unexampled magnificence.² The will of Fortunatus is unspeakably valuable, inasmuch as it throws light on an otherwise obscure period, and affords a tolerably clear insight into the nature and extent of the means of a wealthy Venetian ecclesiastic of the ninth century.³ The observation has been made that, in the time of Fortunatus, the large capitalists invariably aimed at investing their surplus means in that species of property which was least open to the depredations of their neighbours or their enemies, and that hence it was that, during the mediæval period, we find such enormous sums devoted to the foundation and decoration of churches or monasteries, such an extensive employment of the precious metals in the manufacture of altars, chalices, communion-cups, and other sacred utensils; compared with the relative simplicity and resources of similar edifices, even of the most important character, in domestic furniture and personal decoration; this, it is added, was a practice enforced on the patriarch and his opulent contemporaries by the lawless character of the age in which they lived. But the remark must be received with qualification. Nothing is more easily capable of proof than that the Venetians of the richer class, both clergy and laity, applied themselves from the earliest times to the acquisition of landed and personal property within the Dogado and on the *terra firma*, and that it was by no means

¹ In 809, when Venice was invaded by the forces of Pepin.

² Filiasi (v. p. 38) tells us that on one occasion Fortunatus brought from Constantinople two ivory gates "mirabilmente lavorate e sculte."

³ The testament is textually preserved by Marin, *ubi suprà*.

of the Evangelist, reached in safety on the succeeding morning the port of Olivolo, where the offenders were gladly forgiven, and where their precious charge was received with transports of gratitude and delight by an age and a people not much addicted to the virtue of doubting.

The arrival of the alleged remains of Saint Mark at Venice was an occurrence which exerted, in truth, no inconsiderable influence over the mind, and even over the fortune, of that State. It lent a stimulus to the national commerce and a spur to the national courage. Pilgrims came from every quarter of the civilised globe to make their vows and oblations at his shrine, and crowned heads disdained not to mingle in the crowd of worshippers; a commercial fair was instituted in his honour; the Republic, which had been under the protection of Saint Theodore, was now consigned by universal consent to the guardianship of the Evangelist, whose image and name were presently to be stamped on her coins, and inwoven in the banners which so often led her sons to victory by sea and land; and it is well known that in aftertimes the Venetian battle-cry was MARCO! MARCO! By his will the second Doge of the Badoer, Particiaco or Participazio family, who died in 829, left a considerable sum for the erection of a ducal chapel in honour of the newly-arrived Saint.¹ It is of course extremely problematical whether Venice owns the actual bones; but the dramatic and political effect was the same; the Evangelist, whom the historian Dandolo scarcely overvalues in describing as *Aureus Lucifer*, was for evermore to pervade Venetian sentiment, a living force wherever we turn our eyes; and the only order of chivalry ever founded in the domains of the Republic was that of the Cavalieri of Saint Mark. As a strict matter of fact, there was a considerable interval before Saint Mark's tutelary attributes were substantially and generally acknowledged. It was not till 838 that the Oratory of San Teodoro on the left bank of the Batario, which flowed through the present Piazza, was enlarged and re-dedicated to the Evangelist; and centuries elapsed before any effort was made to rebuild the edifice and improve the site.

Subsequently to the feudal annexation of Dalmatia in 998, the Chapters of Trau and Spalato, which had hitherto confined their loyal enthusiasm to the praises of the Pope and the Emperor, included in their litany the name of the Doge of Venice, whose

¹ Sagorninus, p. 31.

virtues they commemorated, after those of his Holiness, in chorus, and on whose head they invoked every blessing and benefit in perpetuity. The new litany opened thus:¹ "*Exaudi, Christe, Exaudi, Christe: Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Pious and Blessed Father, the Most Merciful *Silvester*, by Divine Providence the Sacred Pontiff of the holy Roman and universal Church, be praise, honour, and grace, and heavenly triumph. *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Serene and Excellent Prince and Sovereign, *Pietro Orseolo*, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice and Dalmatia, be honour, praise, and glory, and perpetual triumph."

The ancient ecclesiastical province of Aquileia, which had, down to the closing years of the sixth century, included the whole of Venetia Maritima and the lagoons, periodically presents itself in the Venetian story, first as a contributor of refugees to the lagoons and subsequently as a source of political dissension and trouble, when the primitive episcopal diocese was elevated and extended into a metropolitanate, independent of Grado, but subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic. Grado comprised the site of a residence of the bishops of Aquileia in early Christian times; and the superior antiquity of the see rendered the Venetian claim peculiarly distasteful and intolerable. From the ninth to the fifteenth century very few expedients were omitted by the patriarchs for asserting their independence; but Venice maintained to the last its pretensions; in 1493 the usage arose of seeking the confirmation by the Holy See of the nominee of the Signory; but the succession of patriarchs had been chiefly of Venetian nationality, owing to a dexterous innovation made in 1517, by which the holder of the dignity appointed during his life a coadjutor who was practically his successor; and even the right of alternate presentation vested in the Archduke of Austria had never been exercised till the question was formally raised during the reign of Maria Theresa, when Austria had become an empire, and the Republic had parted with much of its former power. Benedict XIV. in 1749, invited by the Empress-queen to adjudicate on the question, allowed the right of Venice to nominate to the patriarchate, and created by Bull, shortly after, an Apostolic Vicar, to administer the Austrian portion of the province. The Senate declined to recognise this arrangement, recalled its ambassador at the Vatican,

¹ Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, lib. ii. p. 72.

directed the Papal Nuncio to quit its dominions, and prepared to send a naval force to support its case. There appeared to be every probability of a rupture, when France and Sardinia tendered their intercession; and in 1757 the matter was settled by the extinction of the Aquileian metropolitanate and its partition into two sees, one for Venetian Friuli at Udine, the other for Austrian Friuli at Goritz.

As far back as 1481 a Breviary for the use of the Church of Aquileia was published at Venice; and it was reprinted there in 1496; the Aquileian litany and office *in officio hebdomadae majoris Basilicae S. Marci* were used in the metropolitan cathedral. The Venetian priesthood wore the stole in all the offices, and in their ritual the services for Epiphany and Corpus Christi alike had octaves.¹ It appears to have been on Saturday, a day specially consecrated to Our Lady in the Latin Church, that the litany of Aquileia was introduced.

Differently situated from Aquileia, and within the actual Venetian frontiers, was the Dalmatian see of Zara, made archiepiscopal in the twelfth century, when the city had belonged to Venice about a hundred and fifty years, on the condition expressed in the Papal instrument that it was to be under the ecclesiastical control of Grado. The frequent revolts of Zara against the Republic, and its recourse to Hungary as an ally and a protector, received an additional motive and stimulus from this source, more especially as the ritual of the Dalmatians varied in certain particulars from that in use at Venice. But the objection to Venetian rule was so radical and deep, that any pretext for escape or release seemed welcome and justifiable, and by trimming between two masters, so strong a place might expect to enjoy a certain measure of independence of both.

The circumstances under which the Holy Office was admitted, after a considerable amount of negotiation between the Republic and the Papacy, are easily susceptible of precise explanation. The earliest proceedings in regard to the proposed institution were taken in the course of July 1289.² On the 4th August was published the decree of the Great Council, in which certain fixed principles were laid down for the conduct of the Inquisition and of the officials connected with its management; and on the 28th of the same month a Concordat with the Holy See of the following

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vi. 506-7.

² Sandi, *Storia civile Veneziana*, vol. ii. p. 977 *et seq.*

tenor was signed and sealed. The delay was probably caused by the insistence of Venice on the insertion in the papal bull of Nicholas IV. (1288-92) of the Great Council minute, of which it was thus made by an adroit diplomatic stroke to appear a mere formal confirmation.

1. In the capital, the tribunal of the Holy Office shall consist of the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Castello, and another ecclesiastic; the two latter, although they receive their commission from the Pope, shall not be competent to act without the authority of the Doge. In the provinces, his Holiness shall likewise have the nomination of the Inquisitors; but should his nominees not be approved by the Government, it will become necessary for him to make a second choice.

2. At Venice itself three senators, in the provinces three magistrates, shall preside at each session of the Tribunal: and all measures which may be framed in their absence shall be withdrawn as void. It shall be in the power of these lay members to suspend deliberations, and to stay the execution of sentences, whenever they judge the same to be contrary to the laws or interests of the Republic. They shall be bound by a solemn oath to conceal from the Senate nothing which transpires in the Holy Office. It shall be obligatory on them to oppose the publication, or even the entry on the registers of the Inquisition, of any bull which may not have received the previous approbation of the Great Council. The lay members of the Inquisition shall on no account be selected out of the number of those persons on whom the Court of the Vatican may have it in its power, either directly or indirectly, to exert undue or unfair influence.

3. No proceedings shall be taken against Venetian citizens, who may be open to a charge of heresy, at Rome or elsewhere. No claim for extradition shall be admissible.

4. The jurisdiction of the Holy Office shall be confined with the utmost strictness to the crime of heresy; and those who do not belong to the body of the Catholic Church, including Greeks and Jews, shall not be held amenable to its authority. Exemption may also be claimed for persons guilty of bigamy, blasphemy, usury, or necromancy, it being considered by the Government that, except in cases where a breach of the sacrament can be proved, these are merely secular offences.

5. The property of condemned heretics shall revert to their natural heirs.

6. The funds of the Office shall be placed under the charge of a Venetian treasurer, who must render his accounts, and become responsible for their correctness, to the civil authorities only.

Such were the important limitations which the Government of the Republic thought proper to impose on the Holy Office, and which tended greatly to disarm an objectionable and dangerous institution of much of its inherent liability to abuse.

The peculiar flexibility of the Venetian system, which adapted itself to circumstances, ever yielding precedence to political over all other interests, may explain the freedom which the Republic enjoyed from the despotism and cruelty of the Holy Catholic Church; and there is no lack of testimony to the comparative lenience of the Inquisitors, where no constitutional danger was apprehended on the one hand, and there was no heinous social crime on the other.

An anecdote of the adventure of Petrarch during a visit to Venice about 1360, more than a century after the establishment of the Holy Office in many parts of Europe, seems to warrant the conclusion that the Government laid less stress on heterodoxy and free thought than was customary in, and long subsequent to, the Middle Ages. But there is no doubt that the lay tribunal of which we have elsewhere spoken as the Inquisition of State, and of the existence of which in some shape or other there is evidence as far back as 1313, took cognisance of offences against the established religion as well as of others of a flagitious character against morality and against nature, and handed over the culprits, if found guilty, to the spiritual arm.

When the Grisons proposed about 1550 to form a trading settlement here, their delegates were told that every one belonging to their canton might come to the city or to any place under Venetian sway and conduct their business quietly and confidently, since it was the usage of the subjects of the Republic to live modestly without giving cause for scandal, and there was no fear whatever of the Inquisition.

Toward the same period the Republic met with two classes of difficulty in ecclesiastical affairs: the attitude to be observed toward the adherents of Luther, and, secondly, the position of the Jews. The treatment of heretics in general had been settled so far back as the thirteenth century, when they were, if condemned by the Church, adjudged to be burned, provided that the sentence was confirmed by the Doge in council—a valuable and significant

saving clause. But the Jews had always been tolerated, and had enjoyed civil equality. They were banished in 1371 on political grounds; but the decree was revoked in 1573—possibly it was never enforced. The Inquisitors of State were alike debarred from jurisdiction over Jews or Greeks, and a member of the tribunal was actually reprimanded, according to Sanudo, for offering to lay hands on one of the former nationality. The Lutheran question first arose in 1517; but the Government advisedly imposed so many obstacles and restrictions, that the penal consequences were virtually a dead letter, and it was a case where the Council of Ten seems to have directly intervened to prevent any mischievous papal action, although in 1564, to please the Curia, it published an order, that all persons entertaining these opinions should leave the Dominion within fifteen days, and return at their peril. It was even signified that they would be placed in a special place of confinement, if apprehended,—doubtless to preclude religious infection.

But we cannot too warmly admire and commend the unique indulgence extended to members of all creeds, Jews inclusive, on this soil; and the Government by its language and acts always continued to impress on States and individuals the ruling principle, that it treated the national welfare as the supreme aim, and that so long as persons did not contravene the laws, they might pursue their employments without fear of molestation, and whether they were Christians or Jews, or whatever they were, if they had any scheme or proposal, tending to the general good, they might bring it forward with the assurance that it would meet with all due encouragement and support.

A correspondence between Edmund Harvel, an Englishman, who was at Venice in 1535 and 1536, with Dr. Thomas Starkey, Master of the College of St. Laurence Pountney, London,¹ assists in illustrating the peculiar temper and attitude of the Republic in regard to ecclesiastical questions and events. The English friars, who were executed in 1535 for denying the Royal supremacy, were an object of sympathy in the Republic, for Harvel writes: "You require to be certified freely of the judgment expressed here of the monks' death with you. To write you plainly thereof, the thing has been noted here as one of extreme cruelty, and all Venice has been in great murmur to hear it. . . . I promise you faithfully I never saw Italians break out in any matter before so vehemently as at this thing; it seemed so strange, and so much against their

¹ Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd series, ii. 76-7.

stomach." Upon the death of Katharine of Aragon, the same correspondent tells his friend, February 5, 1535-6; "The news of the old queen's death hath been here divulged more than ten days passed, and taken sorrowfully. . . . Here they openly speak ill of her death, and express fear lest the Royal Maid should follow her shortly. I assure you men speak here *tragical* of these matters, which is not to be touched by a letter." The royal maid was of course the Princess Mary.

There is an edifying passage in the relations between the Republic and the Papacy in 1550, which may have led to the concession of 1564, and which sprang from differences in respect to the appointments to clerical functions and process against offenders in spiritual matters. In June of that year the Pope sent for the Venetian representative at Rome, Matteo Dandolo, and remonstrated with him in the warmest manner, painting in vivid colours the danger which religion incurred through the mildness of policy observed by his Government, and offering to accredit a prelate to make some new provisions in concert with the Signory. His Holiness trusted that such tenderness toward heresy would not prove contagious. Dandolo engaged to write and see what could be done to punish the worst culprits; but Julius III. deprecated secular interference; he said that he had seen the correspondence on the subject, and read it with great attention; and he remarked, "Look you! *Deus non irridetur neque decipitur*; you cannot deceive our Lord God; if these signori are willing to assist in these good works, and in such part of them as belongs to the secular arm, may they be blessed! our Lord God will reward them. But if they meddle with what is not their business, there is no doubt that they are excommunicate," and Julius cited authorities, and dwelt at some length on the practice of associating laymen with ecclesiastics in causes which purely affected the Church.

In 1593, while the rest of Europe was still convulsed and disgraced by the wars of the Christian Church, the Venetian governor of Bergamo took occasion to mention to his Government, that they had no heretics there, in spite of the foreign merchants who live in the province without scandal, and of the constant intercourse of the Bergamasques with the Valtelline; and he ascribed this happy condition of affairs to these good folks having too much to do to indulge in the ease, which contributes to produce religious differences.

Venetian toleration, the product of a commercial and cosmopolitan training, was undoubtedly attended by advantageous effects in drawing to the city and dominion from time to time large numbers of settlers intimidated or injured by the persecuting policy of other European States, and well content to govern themselves by the laws which protected them and their labours or callings.

So jealous of any movement, which might compromise their interests as a mercantile power, did they shew themselves during the wars of the sixteenth century, that they declined to enter into treaties where the Porte was likely to be implicated; and when the Holy See desired to convoke a council at Vicenza to discuss religious questions, the Republic would not agree to the measure from a fear of raising Turkish suspicions, and imperilling Venetian subjects on the territory of the Sultan; and the meeting assembled at Trent in 1545, and held its sittings from time to time till 1563, the Bull notifying its decisions being approved by the Senate in the succeeding year. The bull of *Cæna Domini* (1569) Venice only took common action with France, Spain, and the Emperor in repudiating. It was launched under the auspices of Pius V., who had been father-inquisitor at Venice, and had contracted a covert dislike to the Government owing to its strict limitation of his authority. He had even refused to see the embassy sent to congratulate him on his election. But his Holiness, observing no change of attitude, began to alter his tone, and said to the Venetian representative one day (17th July 1569), that the most excellent Republic was the splendour and glory of Italy and of Christianity, that in temporal matters it had no superior, and so on; and again, addressing Cardinal Gambara, that he knew that, had it not been for the most serene Republic, Italy might have more than once fallen a prey to the ultramontanes. But the pontiff considered that Venice ought to be more alert in conforming to ecclesiastical requirements, and that her policy was apt to prove a bad example to Spain. He ended by saying that he had done all that he could, and must leave the Signory to take their course—which they did.

The Cathedral Church of Saint Mark, which it ought to be the aim of every educated man and woman in the world to behold, is the most striking edifice of the kind in existence—if not the most striking ever erected by human hands as a temple of worship. Its most conspicuous characteristic is its Oriental costume within and without; it seems as if the Venetians had resolved that in

their most prominent ecclesiastical structure they would perpetuate the origin of their greatness as a people. The history of Saint Mark's, its development and restorations, has been written by those whose competence makes one shrink from entering on the subject in detail. There have been loud notes of complaint, that the purity of the design, so far as it can be called pure, has been impaired by latter-day hands; but, at any rate, there the stones are, there the ancient lines, notwithstanding all that the modern artist can achieve, and the slight tendency to settlement from the nature of the subsoil.

Saint Mark's in its inception was not actually a cathedral or metropolitan establishment, but the chapel appurtenant to the ducal palace, dating (as it has been pointed out) from the ninth century, and the ritual and discipline in some respects varied from that of other members of the Romish communion.

The coronation oath of 1328 precluded the Doge from convening any council or assembly without the concurrence of his advisers except that which met to arrange the affairs of the Church of Saint Mark, of which he was *ex officio* patron, and where he was represented by the Primicerio, who ranked next to the Primate or Patriarch. The primicerio was of episcopal standing, and was entitled to wear the mitre. He does not form a conspicuous historical figure for obvious reasons. But, until the metropolitanate was translated from Grado, he remained a personage of the highest distinction. The date of the creation of the office is uncertain. The Doge Tradenigo, who succeeded in 836, is represented by one authority as having previously filled this station; but such a preferment was very unusual. In 1454 the ancient patriarchate of Grado, which had been identified with so much of the checkered and romantic story before us, and which could look back on the day, when the holder of the dignity played a foremost part in the election of the first Doge (697), was transferred to Venice, which thenceforth gave its name to the metropolitanate.

Lorenzo Giustiniani, formerly Prior of S. Giorgio in Alga, Rector-General of that Order, and Bishop of Castello, was the first Patriarch under the new arrangement, which embraced the Primacy of Dalmatia and the post of Administrator of the Church of Citta Nuova in Istria. As bishop, to which dignity he succeeded in 1433, Giustiniani had introduced numerous important reforms in the ecclesiastical discipline of his diocese. He instituted the election

of priests by their parishioners and the competent education of candidates for the Church. He obliged all canons to be residential, and forbade the clergy to leave debts unpaid. He also regulated the management of the private property of ecclesiastics of all ranks, and laid down stricter rules for the disposal of preferments. During the Black Death of 1447 Giustiniani spared no effort, and incurred the greatest personal risk, in superintending the sick, and visiting the lazaretti.

The question of death-dues payable to the Bishop of Castello hearkened back to a remote time, when that prelate, as Bishop of Olivolo, was the spiritual head of a thinly-populated diocese, and when the gabella or impost, which was originally in kind, probably touched only a limited circle of aristocratic houses, which became answerable for themselves and their clients. But as numbers increased, and social conditions were gradually modified, the revenue grew to much larger proportions, and the incidence attending its collection was proportionally troublesome and vexatious. Curiously enough, it had been the Black Death of 1348, which brought this question into prominence. The mortality was so great, that the claim of the bishop, if rigidly enforced, would have impoverished the whole jurisdiction, and the Government directed that no succession-duty should thereafter be payable, unless it was devised by will, and such devise was officially sanctioned.

This step provoked an appeal to the Pope at Avignon, which yielded no fruit beyond the ultimate arrangement in 1376, that the see should take a yearly commutation of 5500 ducats. The amount explains the gravity and stress attached to the suit; the mortuaries probably constituted the bulk of the episcopal income—and a very handsome one it was.

The ecclesiastical attitude of Venice from almost the beginning of her career is to be sought to some extent in the temper produced by her intimate connection with the East and her cosmopolitan ties, and partly in the exigencies of her constitutional system, which did not admit the interposition of the Church and the Holy See in any questions of a mixed bearing. Dating from the famous interdict of 1309 down to the time of Fra Paolo Sarpi, the Signory maintained with consistency and perseverance its resistance to Papal pretensions; and that policy might have been unattended by such grave consequences, had it not led in the most natural way to the readiness of the popes to avail themselves of every opportunity to form and lead combinations of stronger Powers

against the Venetians, more particularly, when the latter sought to appropriate territory claimed as their own by the successors of St. Peter, Apostle of Jesus Christ. A constantly recurrent feature in these annals is found to be a more or less severe friction between the two States, arising out of a new grievance or the revival of an old one; it was never difficult to discover a pretext; and the normal result was, that the Republic emerged victorious subject to a compromise. A student of the present aspect of the matter will perceive that Venice and the Holy See were in general disposed, like other negotiators, to accept less than they asked; and even at the juncture when the League of Cambrai so weakened the Republic, the supreme pontiff was the first to recognise the fact that, whatever might have been, or might be, the delinquencies of his antagonist, her fall would be fatal to the balance of power in Italy.

The prevailing tendency of the Government, in short, was to give with one hand and take back with the other, to surround by neutralising restrictions points conceded to the Papacy; and the most conclusive proof of the deep sense of the vital need of keeping their constitutional principles inviolate lies in the undeniable circumstance that the Venetians might have been far stronger, had they chosen to become and remain cordial and steadfast allies of Rome. But they continued to be extrapontifical to the last: not deficient in formal loyalty to the Catholic ritual, but insuperably opposed to the active and direct domination of the *Curia*. It had been so in 1308, and it was the same in 1605 in the famous schism, where Venice had the advantage of one of the most learned, the most noble, and the most conspicuous of her citizens, Paolo Sarpi, whom the Church, unable to convince, at last endeavoured to assassinate.

The attitude of the Republic toward the Romish Church was, in short, anomalous and singular. In diplomatic formalities it was profusely deferential; it was willing to assist the Popes with money, ships, and men; it was at all times prepared to pose as the champion of the Holy See; but it peremptorily at all costs withstood every attempt to trespass on the borderland of politics and ritual, just as it did to traverse its maritime pretensions.

The private chapel attached to mansions, and sometimes designated an *Oratorio*, became a regular incidence toward the fifteenth century, when the Holy See expressly granted a licence to priests to officiate in these sumptuous annexes to the dwelling;

and the fashion acquired such general vogue, that it used to be said that the churches would soon have no one to conduct the service, and the Patriarch of Venice endeavoured, in the face of the papal grant, to discourage the tendency.

When an English traveller¹ visited Venice in 1859 under Austrian rule, he saw the Treasury of Saint Mark's, and enumerates some of its wonders, of which not a few looked back to a far distant time, when the Republic had its grand future before it, but when it had taken the initiative in transforming a city into an empire. These were still affectionately guarded—the holy relics and vessels taken after the fall of Constantinople from the cathedral of Saint Sophia, the chair from which Saint Mark preached at Alexandria, so priceless in view of the intimate tie between the Evangelist and the peculiar object of his protection and favour,—and numberless other acquisitions which had accumulated in the course of so many centuries of conquest and rule.

They exhibit at the Marcian museum relics of a different stamp: weapons, armour, models, instruments of torture ascribed to the independent lords of Padua, and an extensive assortment of curiosities of varying degrees of authenticity. Perhaps the least suspicious may be a solitary mast of the *Bucentaur*, of which the remainder was wantonly destroyed by the French in 1797, and a State-chair of the Doges, once resplendent in crimson velvet and gold.

¹ Rev. Newman Hall, *Through the Tyrol to Venice*, 1860, p. 245.

CHAPTER XLVI

The Doge—His attributes at and long after the institution of the Office—The Coronation—Oath or Promission—The rudimentary Palace—Its strictly feudal type—A small city in itself—Special bye-laws for its safety—Ducal Notary—Domestic establishment—*Scusati del Ducato* or Doge's bodyguard—Household and privy-purse expenses—Payments in kind to the Doge and Dogaresa—Wind and water-mills—Ducal millers—Style of the Doge—Ceremonial observances—The trumpets, the tapars, the sword of State, and umbrella—Ducal chamberlain—Presentations of newly-married patrician ladies to the Doge.

WE are apt imperfectly to realise the fact, that during the space of time between 421 and 697, or nearly three centuries, the Republic slowly and painfully struggled against factions and oligarchical tyranny in varied forms with a limited population, a strong feudal bias, and an insignificant political standing. The growth of prosperity and importance, leisurely as it was, was constantly checked by terrible excesses committed by rulers or provoked by them. It demanded all that long stretch of years to arrive at so much as an approximate conclusion, that all efforts to consolidate the Government, and render the State permanent and secure, would be of no avail without some apparent sacrifice of republican freedom. The Consuls gave way to the Tribunes, the Tribunes to the Doge of the first type, who was to sway the fortunes of his country for upward of six hundred years, a monarch in all but the name.

The career of Venice under a patriarchal species of kingship is, with a difference, the history of nearly all the Federal Unions in Europe, after their absolute or virtual enfranchisement from imperial influence, and prior to their submission to some other arbitrary form of rule, principally autocratic or oligarchical. But let us not forget that Venice, in laying the groundwork of her maturer and more tangible political life, offered the peculiar and interesting spectacle of a State which gave a long and patient

trial to irresponsible administrators, and then made an irrevocable surrender to a limited, systematic and answerable Government as being altogether the fittest for its circumstances and needs. The evolution from oligarchy in reality to the same principle both in reality and outward shape was the practical exponent of a constitutional creed, which we can hardly call unwise; nor is it by any means fanciful to regard the narrow topographical range of the Republic as a favouring cause in the concentration of power in the hands of a political caste.

Owing to the frequent destruction of the archives by fire or accident the Oath taken by the famous Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo in 1192 is the earliest known to be in existence; and its preservation, even in a mutilated state, is the more important that it was probably identical in all essential respects with that subscribed by the Doge Ziani after the Revolution of 1173. By this instrument Dandolo was bound to observe and maintain the existing Constitution; to consult, in all cases, the honour and advantage of the Commune; to be prompt in rendering justice, impartial in dispensing it; to carry the laws into execution without giving them a false or arbitrary interpretation; not to dispose of the public property without the cognisance and consent of the Legislature and the Privy Council; to be strictly regulated in pronouncing judicial sentences and decisions by precedent and established usage, or, failing these, by his own judgment or conscience; and to adhere closely, in the appointment of patriarchs, bishops, judges of the Commune, judges of the palace, notaries, and other public functionaries, to the form and method of election prescribed and recognised in each instance. He was bound to abstain from sending letters or dispatches to other Powers without the advice and consent of his Privy Council, and not to divulge the secrets which might at any time be intrusted to his keeping. Moreover, his Serenity engaged to furnish at his own expense, in the event of a war, a contingent of ten armed galleys; while he pledged himself, in instances where he might have cause to complain of private or personal wrong, to prefer his suit or charge, like any other member of the Commonwealth, before the ordinary tribunals, refraining from procuring redress by an illegal or arbitrary exercise of his official authority.¹ Subsequent events must shew how far a literal compliance with those conditions might depend on the

¹ "Promissione del Doge Enrico Dandolo," *Archivio storico Italiano*, Appendice, No. 29, 1853.

circumstances in which the Republic was situated, as well as on the personal character of the individual who had the direction of affairs.

The somewhat severe constitutional restraints, which were embodied in the Promission of 1192, throw much light on the opinions then received on many points of political doctrine. It is highly relevant to the present subject to mark the solicitude which the Venetians of the twelfth century displayed to surround the Ducal throne with more than formal limitations, and to inculcate upon their Supreme Magistrate the fundamental principle, that he was of, and not above, the Republic, that, as the language of a treaty made with Armenia in 1201 puts it, he and the rest of the Venetians were *Concives*. Imperfect and faulty as some constitutional theories might naturally be found, even at Venice, in their reduction to practice, it is nevertheless important to note the emphasis and stress which were laid on a general adherence to the letter of the Promission; and it is interesting to contemplate, through the medium of the Coronation Oath of Dandolo, the development and dignity already given to a Common Law, which was archetypical of the Common Law of all other modern European societies.

The Promission of 1229, the next which we have, is complete. Its complexion is somewhat less patriarchal than that of its precursor; and the *Inquisitori sul Doge defunto* periodically submitted a list of proposals to the Great Council, founded on the most recent experience or observation. It is a circumstance almost amusingly illustrative of the practical distance between constitutional stringency on paper and the real fact, that in the text of 1275 we meet with a stipulation, that the Doge should read his Promission, in order to refresh his memory, every two months. Even the Ten were obliged to listen to their secretary, while he rehearsed for their edification the contents of their capitulary; but that was only to be once a year.

For us these early Oaths are precious State-papers, illustrating, as nothing else extant illustrates, many ancient constitutional usages and local and social ideas. Nor is it possible for us to shut our eyes to the fact that by the very solicitude to protect the national interests and popular freedom, which breathes throughout these documents, a consciousness and apprehension are betrayed of the immense power practically vested in the head of the State. In the course of the fifteenth century, and down indeed to the

end of the seventeenth, the Correctors of the Promission, although they must be taken to have made their regulations subject to the sanction of the Great Council, were constantly introducing officious and meddlesome changes into the personal authority and dignity of the Doge. In 1485 the latter was debarred from appointing a relative to the office of Primicerio of St. Mark, in the gift of the Throne as perpetual patron of Saint Mark's, and from bestowing on any one the title of *magnifico*; and he was to receive the Corno from the senior Privy Councillor with the words: *accipe coronam ducatus Venetiarum*.

An exceptional amount of latitude had been permitted in his lifetime to the great Doge Francesco Morosini (1688-94), and prior to the accession of Silvestro Valier the revisers of the Oath prescribed that no Doge should hereafter be nominated Captain-General of the Fleet, in consequence of the heavy expense which it involved to maintain so exalted a personage in that position. Then, again, leave was given under an impulse of gallantry in the case of the Doge Valier, that the Dogaresa Elisabetta Quirini-Valier should be solemnly crowned, it being only the fourth example of such a ceremony and privilege; but at the next vacancy it was decided to have no more coronations of the kind. It must be said that many of these restrictions and ordinances were disregarded, if some special circumstance arose; but the genius of oligarchy was restlessly jealous and in a perpetual ague of suspicion; and the Board of Correction had to support the appearance of doing something.

The Doge was perhaps the only European ruler who never left the confines of the city, after the settlement of the constitution on an oligarchical footing, unless it was on an extraordinary emergency, as when Francesco Morosini returned of his own accord to the Morea to take chief command of the forces in 1693, or when the Doge Moro was at his own instance appointed in 1464 the leader of an expedition against the Turks. He was uniformly represented by ambassadors, who in their birth and lineage, their breeding and surroundings, vied with princes. The earlier holders of the office were, as we cannot help seeing, perpetually absent from the seat of government as directors of movements in the field or at sea; but none ever paid visits of ceremony or pleasure. His Serenity received in turn nearly all the crowned heads of Europe, nearly all the celebrities of ages, and was enabled by the Signory to outshine all the Great Ones

of the earth in the splendour of his preparations and the generosity of his gifts. To his fellow-sovereigns he presented what he deemed most likely to be acceptable; from them he took nothing. He sent Henry VIII. a valuable team of horses, and in return that magnanimous monarch offered to lend the Republic some of his paternal savings on proper security.

Such few titles of honour as were ever borne in this country were, for the most part, feudal designations borrowed from the localities which the Republic, at the end of the tenth century, had acquired on the Illyrian coast; they were almost exclusively conferred on members of the ducal family; and it was in the prerogative of the earlier Doges to grant the distinction, which does not seem to have outlived the *Serrar* or Closure of the Great Council in 1298, except that so late as 1354 the Doge Faliero is found in possession of the countship of Valdemarino, and retained it till his death. The sole order of knighthood at Venice was that of Saint Mark, of which nearly all eminent public servants were in due course elected members; and no Venetian subject was permitted to assume a foreign order or dignity without the leave of the Signory.

During the prevalence of autocratic rule, when the constitution failed to interpose between the Doge and his sovereign pleasure, the chief magistrate assumed on his personal authority the imposing appellations, such as imperial consul, *protosebastos* and *protospatarius*, which the Byzantine court periodically offered to his acceptance; but at a later time the practice determined; and to be the First Citizen of Venice was judged to be a rank, to which there was nothing to be added.

The primæval abode of the Doges, in common with all the strong gloomy homes of the old feudal period and system everywhere, was castellated and embattled. It was calculated to become at any moment the earliest object of attack and the last point of resistance. All that the State possessed in valuable effects, in specie, in archives, was laid up within its mural precincts. In its apartments, imperfectly furnished and imperfectly ventilated, ambassadors and deputations were received; from it all treaties and solemn instruments were usually dated. The palace had its own court, which was the highest judicial tribunal known to the law, and its own Fisc, which remained during many centuries the national exchequer. Special bye-laws regulated its external economy, and took cognisance of offences

perpetrated within its precincts, more especially arson and assault; and near at hand, adjoining the bureau of the municipal gastaldo, was the archaic tribunitia prison, to which the turnkey led his charge from the Palace Court through narrow and sinuous passages nearly destitute of light, and wholly so of ventilation.

Under the same roof was the Chapel, where religious worship was daily celebrated before the ducal family and establishment: a kitchen, with all its appurtenances: a well, an armoury, and a store magazine; and it is more than reasonable to conclude that before the transfer of the Mint to a separate building and department, the palace here, as elsewhere, was the theatre of the operations of the moneyer. Among the Franks we find the earliest numismatic monuments expressly described as *moneta palatii*. Thus the low and irregular pile of buildings, which became known toward the tenth or eleventh century as Saint Mark's, almost constituted anciently a small city within a greater; and hence it arose that, in the frequent political convulsions by which Venice was torn in the early period of her history, the ducal residence occupied so prominent a place, and that so much stress was laid by the revolutionists on the mastery of that situation. Hence, too, proceeded the chartulary of 998, which punished with no ordinary severity the authors of riots and disturbances in Saint Mark's, and which sought to provide a seasonable remedy for the evil, which had already come to so rank a growth in the palace-revolutions alike of Eastern and Western Europe.

The original scheme for the protection against violence not only of the Doge and his household, but of the always more or less extensive premises allotted to the ducal residence and official quarters, is associated with that work of ages, the preparation first of the capital itself, and finally of the outlying islands, for the needs of an increasing population. The earliest notice which we appear to possess of the provision of a guard for the palace is in connection with the settlement of parts of Dorsoduro or Spinalunga, which during a lengthened period constituted the abode of fishermen only, Temanza tells us, and of mercenaries employed as a garrison at the ducal abode. The exact significance of the term mercenary it is difficult to determine; but the extreme probability is that these soldiers or militia received payment not in money, but in kind—in fact, held their lands on this tenure, and were designated

Excusati either at first or afterward by reason of their exemption from other services and from taxation.¹

It is to be inferred from the circumstances attendant on the assassination of the Doge Tradenigo in 864 that the *Excusati* not only constituted a house and bodyguard within the palace, but accompanied the sovereign as an armed escort when he paid visits of ceremony or devotion; and at that point of time they were evidently selected from the feudal partisans or dependents of the ruling faction. But when we examine the account handed down to us of the compulsory abdication of the immediate precursor of Tradenigo in 836, we fail to detect any vestige of such an institution; and it is more than probable that the scandalous scenes which succeeded each other just at that time prompted the institution of a palace garrison and ducal bodyguard.

The number of the *Excusati* exceeded not 200, of whom 130 were ordinarily on duty in the interior of the palace;² and the division of the body into *Maggiori* and *Minori* implied a claim on its part to certain graduated franchises, among which were included a partial exemption from the payment of tithes and a free grant of land. At some date, which cannot be accurately fixed, the *Excusati* in their turn were supplanted by a garrison selected from the Marines. By his coronation-oath his Serenity was specially bound to hold in respect the privileges and immunities of the *Excusati*: to refrain, unless sufficient cause could be shown to the contrary, from hindering the members of the corps in the exercise of any trade or art to which they might have been called, and not to exact from them any service whatever beyond such as was prescribed by the laws and traditional usages of the Dogado.³

¹ The *Excusati* (excused) of the Republic bore some likeness to the *Excusadi* of Spain, the Scottish Archers of Louis XI., the Varangians and Janissaries of Constantinople, the Yeomen of the Guard of Henry VII. of England, the Strelitzi of Moscow even down to the time of the Regent Sophia, and the Egyptian Mamelukes suppressed by Mehemet Ali.

² "Trovo," says Sansovino, *Venctia descritta*, ed. 1663, vi. 242, "in una antica scrittura queste rubriche:

Excusati de Muriano et eorum nomina . . .	et sunt 44
Excusati de Mazzorbo et isti sunt de <i>Majoribus</i>	
(<i>Maggiori</i>) . . .	et sunt 23
Excusati de Torcello . . .	et sunt 9
Excusati de Costanciaco . . .	et sunt 19
Excusati de Prioratū Lovoli . . .	et sunt 19
Haec sunt nomina Excusatorum qui serviunt in Palatio	et sunt 124
Nomina Excusatorum Noetri Palatii . . .	et sunt 198

³ De *Excusatis* Noetri Ducatus nullum servitium amplius inquirere debeamus,

Unlike their mediæval analogues elsewhere, the *Excusati* do not appear at any time to have exercised an abnormal and pernicious influence on the constitution. Their number was limited. Their organisation was not exclusively military. Their attendance on the Doge, and the services which they were to perform, were regulated by prescription. They were the feudal gendarmerie, which constituted, with the Watch, the only guardians of public order; and out of them evolved that admirable Militia of the six Wards, which, in the absence of regular troops, proved itself on many occasions of the highest value and efficiency, and which, in its occasional selection at a later epoch for employment beyond the precincts of the palace and Dogado, acquired a nearer resemblance to the *Huscarls* instituted in Britain by Canute.

Here the Ducal Notary, in an illiterate age a functionary of considerable eminence, and usually a clerk in holy orders, and the Chancellor of the Ducal Hall or keeper of the seal, had their peculiar seat. Great stress was laid on the impartial election of the ducal and other Notaries; and by the coronation oath of 1229 it was stipulated that they should be independent of the Doge, though the mode in which they were to be chosen is not prescribed. The *Custos Sigilli* was simply one of the household, whose possession of some tincture of legal experience was supposed to qualify him for the duties of such an office; but the seal was never to be committed to the hands of anyone else. This functionary merged in due course in the Grand Chancellor. Each Island was required to provide a fixed number of barks and gondoliers for the service of the Doge, who employed them in the transport of merchandise from one point to another, or as a means of conveyance, whenever he might have occasion to move abroad on duty or for pleasure. The domestic establishment, which the Doge was expected to maintain, was not framed in the first instance on a very large or expensive scale. It consisted of a staff of twenty servants (*servi* = *serfs*), inclusively of those who were employed in the culinary department. It is illustrative of the minute detail to which the early constitution descended, that whenever a domestic quitted the service it was one of the minor obligations¹ imposed on the Doge

nisi quantum Nostris predecessores per bonam consuetudinem in Nostro Palatio fecerunt; et quandocumque pergere voluerint ad negociandum negocia sua, absque omni contradictione pergere debeant, nisi per Nos remanserit, et per maiorem partem Concilii Nostrum aut per publicum interdictum.—*Prom. of Tiepolo, 1229 (presso Romanin).*

¹ Si quis (servus) defecerit vel recesserit a nostro servitio bonâ fide sine fraude,

by his coronation-oath not to leave the place unsupplied beyond a month from the creation of the vacancy.

At Florence about 1570 an officer of the grand-ducal household was known as the *guardaroba*, and was responsible for what in English is miscalled the Wardrobe, but really and correctly signified the custodian of the personal appurtenances and ceremonial accessories. Such a functionary may, indeed must, have equally existed here as soon as the internal arrangements of the palace outgrew the principles of mediævalism and the grasp of the private circle of the head of the State.

The establishment of fixed principles for the regulation of the household and privy-purse expenses cannot be referred with safety to a period anterior to the thirteenth century. But nevertheless there can be little hesitation in believing that the supersession of the primitive method of supporting the dignity of the Crown, which prevailed in the time of Pauluccio Anafesto and his immediate successors, occurred much earlier.

According to the coronation-oath of 1229, the Doge was then entitled to 2800 *lire di piccoli* = nearly 1000 gold ducats or £500 a month during his tenure of office, in addition to certain tributes from dependencies in money or kind of not inconsiderable value. Among other items, the first magistrate was entitled to the proceeds of the tax on crawfish, and to two-thirds of the duty charged on apples imported from Lombardy and cherries from Treviso. The amount, however, was found insufficient; it was successively raised to 3000, 4000, and 5200 *lire di piccoli*, at which last figure it stood in 1328. In 1262 the allowance appears to have been 3000 *lire* monthly = 36,000 *lire* a year—a much smaller amount than the estimated hire of the vessels which were to convey Louis IX. to Africa in 1268. This money, designed to meet the ordinary current expenses of the Crown, was deposited in the coffers of the Procurators of Saint Mark to the credit of the Doge and his Council, who drew upon it as occasion might require. By the Promise, as settled in 1328, the salary of the Doge was payable quarterly; he was required to have for the honour of his office silver vessels of the value of 600 ducats, and to maintain a staff of five-and-twenty servants, each of whom was to receive two liveries a year. Within five days of the accession, his Serenity was entitled to an advance of 3000 *lire*

alium suo loco infra unum mensem recuperare debemus.—Promise of the Doge Giacomo Tiepolo, A.D. 1229 (presso Romanin).

di piccoli or 1000 ducats, for which he was to account; this accommodation was intended to meet special outgoings connected with his entry into office; but it partook of the nature of a loan, and so carefully and considerately arranged were such details that the reimbursement was spread over a term, and if the Doge died within a certain period, a proportion was remitted. But in calculating the enhanced grant the gradual decline in the buying power is of course not to be forgotten. There seems to have been at a very early stage a system of preparing returns of probable expenditure, and of auditing accounts at annual or quarterly intervals.

But while there was a disposition to place the expenditure of the Doge on a liberal footing, the Republic took early measures to guard the revenue against encroachment and abuse. With certain distinct reservations, all taxes, fines, dues, indemnities for homicide and battery, eightieths, fortieths, the proceeds from the fish-market and the shambles, save the fish for the palace on Thursdays, from the cart or carriage-tax (*caraticum*) of Verona,¹ the duty on firewood² (*arboraticum*) from the Anconese, and the income of the Salt Office, were to be exempt from the interference of the Executive.³ Certain things, such as hawks and dogs intended for the prince's personal use, were admitted and exported free of duty.

A farther point, in which the constitution shewed itself precociously strict, with at the same time a certain proneness to Oriental influence, was the reception of presents. Not only the Doge himself, but the Dogaresa and their children on arrival at full age, were required to make oath that they would decline, or surrender within three days to the common chamberlain, any gifts from subjects of the Republic or others, save flowers, plants, rose-water, balsam, and sweet herbs, or, where they were for the service of the household, cooked viands and wine, poultry and game. This prohibition was withdrawn or suspended, however, when a wedding was celebrated at the palace of any member of the reigning family.

A carefully organised scheme of fiscal economy became, as Venice developed itself, a first need. We have seen on all sides, as we have looked back, the same long-abiding failure to make commensurate provision for political and social requirements. The

¹ The duty levied on carts and carriages imported from the Veronese into the Dogado.

² Corresponding to the modern coal-dues.

³ Coronation oaths of A. Dandolo, 1192, and G. Tiepolo, 1229.

earlier centuries saw contentedly and passively the mechanism of the Government conducted by feudal tribute or benevolences, forced labour and private munificence; these were in the room, as they were of the nature, of direct taxation. The only ancient system of excise, before the Salt Office came into existence, and those other lately indicated expedients, seems to have been the *ad valorem* tax levied on imposts; and this was of two kinds, the *ripatico* and the *teloneo*. The former dealt with all products and goods which came from abroad; the *teloneo*, as its name signifies, was a sort of octroi levied on the merchandise which found its way to Venice from various parts of Lombardy down the rivers debouching into the Gulf.

These twin sources of revenue were at the outset insignificant in value, doubtless; but the wants of the State were correspondingly modest; even the *Trinoda necessitas* of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Britain scarcely existed here; everywhere in the Middle Ages private enterprise and speculation undertook many burdens which, under the broader and more mixed constitutions of other countries and of later epochs, were sustained by the general body of the community; and the probability seems to be that the receipts from the customs were long perfectly adequate to the ordinary current expenditure of the administration, until the charges on the exchequer, partly due to the gradual release from feudalism, necessitated a more elaborate and efficient system of finance.

Another factor in the mediæval system of taxation is to be found in the wind- and water-mills, which supply, besides, a prominent illustration of the pervading and irrepressible feudal instinct and spirit among a people so largely independent of their influence.

Throughout the Dogado, from at least the ninth century, mills abounded, both within the alluvial dominion and on its outskirts, more especially at or near the mouths of the rivers which discharged their waters into the Gulf. *Temanza* was under the impression that floating mills, such as were employed on some of the Italian rivers, were formerly in use at Venice, and mentions a conversation which he had one morning with the Doge Marco Foscarini, who expressed a belief that such a contrivance would answer in the Republic; as a matter of fact they had in days long passed existed at Murano, and were ostensibly laid on hulks or barges; and some were constructed as late as 1509 during the

crisis arising out of the League of Cambrai. But the most material point here is the quasi-financial relationship between the mill-owners and the Government. So far back as 819, the latter conceded to the Abbot of San Servolo complete exemption from control or interference on the part of the ducal millers, the adjacent fisheries, and the residents in the neighbourhood; and till 982 there stood near, and partly on, the site of the Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore a pond or lake, a vineyard, and a wind-mill, of which the latter was exclusively devoted to the wants of the palace opposite; and moreover, when the donation of the fee or freehold of San Giorgio was made, the Doge reserved the familiar service of castle-guard—the feudal obligation of the owners of the land or estate to provide warders to take their turn by rotation at the palace.

The documents cited by Temanza appear to be somewhat incorrectly printed or originally corrupt; but it is easy to see from them that, besides these windmills, there were others worked with water by procuring an artificial fall. The Monastery of San Giorgio itself possessed three, of which two stood on that part of the Grand Canal formerly known as Basinaco or Businaco. In 1282 an engineer commenced the erection of a common mill on a piece of marshy ground appertaining to San Giorgio, probably where the Capuchin House of the Grazia subsequently was; but he was stopped as an illegal intruder.

In the treaty between the Republic and Pola in 998, the latter covenanted to send to the Doge annually 2000 lb. of oil, and to the Dogaresa for the time being a free gift of cotton. The oblation to the Dogaresa was tantamount to a payment in kind of what is known to the English law as "queen gold," and which is sometimes described as a contribution to the queen's girdle. The monograph by Prynne on this curious subject deals at large with all the details, and in the last edition of Blount's *Tenures of Land* there are several illustrations of a usage which is not obsolete indeed, but lives among us at this moment in a shape compliant with modern demands. But the tribute from the Polans is, so far as we can see, a solitary example of the kind.

What was originally the style by which the Doge was addressed, we do not seem to possess the means of knowing. Perhaps nothing definite was understood either at the time or long after. But the phrases *Most Serene Prince*, *Serene Doge*,

Serenity, Excellency, Highness, crept into use. Much was left to choice or to chance. There was no prescribed rule. In the old days of Russia, the Duke of Moscow was called *His Serenity*. Both Russia and Venice may have borrowed the appellation from Germany. The Doge was *Dux Venetiarum*, not *Dux Venetiae*; for he was the supreme chief of all the federated townships and clans which combined to form Venice. But his title was territorial. His jurisdiction extended over possessions which (so far as the original Dogado was concerned) shewed no tendency to fluctuate or vary. At all events in the ninth century, we meet with the expression *Ducalè Thronum* as an equivalent for the Head of the State, as the English learned to speak of the Crown. Constitutionally the Doge was the State personified.

The head of the Government declares himself to be there by the grace of God in a document of the same period (827-9), where two associated Doges superscribe a State-paper as "per Divinam Gratiam Veneticorum Provinciae Duces."¹ How much before that date such a thoughtful and once significant formula was employed we have seen stated nowhere. But to ascribe a divine origin to the power of men and women with organic wants and passions like our own was an early and a natural artifice. The reader of Plutarch will remember the passage in the life of Numa where that sagacious personage declines to accept the crown till a favourable omen has been received from the gods. It is hardly probable that the first or second generations of Venetians paused to occupy themselves with these secondary refinements. They were chiefly bent on creating a more stable system of rule, and subsidiary details were left to follow. They had before their eyes the *Dux* of the Lombards, who ruled that nation in peace, and led it to battle.

Whenever he appeared in public or in state, the Middle-Age *Serenissimo* was preceded by trumpets to herald his approach, that all ways might be clear; at his side noble youths, sumptuously clad, walked with waxen tapers in their hands, indicative perhaps of his purifying and illuminating influence on the counsels of the Government; before him was carried the Sword of State, emblematical of his personification of Justice; and above his head officers of the household supported a silken canopy or umbrella.

The symbolical virtue of the taper is rather curiously illus-

¹ Sansovino, *Venetia descritta*, ed. 1663, x. 483.

trated by the procession of the Plebeians, who in 1381 were ennobled for their patriotic services during the war of Chioggia, to the Basilica, each with a lighted one in his hand. It was like some act of penitential purification from the taint of birth. From time immemorial, as it still is among ourselves, the bray of the trumpet has been thought somehow to enhance the dignity and importance of royal persons and great officials. The President of the French Chamber marches behind two in full voice to his chair; it is the crier's "Oyez," varied for the nonce; and the whole conceit demonstrates clearly enough the true character of the masquerade, with which our nature seems to shrink from dispensing.

A sword may have been originally worn by the *Dux* or Doge of 697 in recollection of his Lombard prototype, and in compliance with general custom. But it probably ceased at an unusually early date to form part of the ducal costume in time of peace, and in the ninth century it had developed into a constitutional emblem; for it is shown¹ that in 887 the Sword of State was delivered to the first Doge of the Sanudo dynasty by his predecessor, who had come to the throne in 881, nor is the fact recorded as a novelty.

The introduction of the Umbrella into ceremonial observances has been said to date back to the visit of Pope Alexander III. to Venice in 1177, when the Doge Ziani having accompanied his Holiness and the Emperor by sea as far as Ancona, and that city having brought umbrellas for the Pope and for Frederic Barbarossa, the former observed: "Manca la terza pel Doge di Venezia chi ben lo merita." The main fact may be true; but the circumstances are not so, as the Doge did not go to Ancona, nor did his Holiness return home by that route. But whatever may have been the exact particulars, it strikes us as a warrantable interlinear inference that the sentiment and suggestion were treated on both sides as an appreciable augmentation of dignity; and they are a proof that the period just antecedent to the fifth crusade marked the first distinct advance of the Republic toward the rank of an European Power. It is to be collected that in the fifteenth century, not only the umbrella, but the other symbolical objects were received from Rome, a species of feudalism, which the Republic, if it did not propose or initiate, might have deemed it impolitic to decline.

¹ Sagorninus, p. 54.

CHAPTER XLVII

Election of the earlier Doges—Particular account of the choice of one in 1071 by an eye-witness—Absence of a permanent wardrobe at the palace—Coronation of the Dogressa exceptional—Obsequies of the Dogressa—Motives for the assumption by the Doge of the leadership in the field and at sea—The original Doge's Court—Personal attendance of the Sovereign—Growth of a Common Law or *Usus*—Analogy with contemporary English institutions—Judicial proceedings of the *Curia Ducis* in eyre—Hearings in the portico or hall of private dwellings—The Doge in person or in council the court of final appeal—The Ducal costume—The Bucentaur.

IN the incidence attendant on the choice and investiture of the head of the State there was a general principle prevalent from time to time and a strict constitutional direction for the government of those concerned. But nearly at all periods such regulations were liable to disregard and variation. In the course of the earlier centuries more particularly, all kinds of anomalies were tolerated: the acceptance of a Doge at the personal recommendation of his predecessor, who hands to him the insignia of authority, the temporary return of one after his retirement, the performance of the formalities of entrance on office at the private residence of the elected candidate, and the discharge of all public duties at the Doge's residence through two or three reigns, while the palace was out of repair. Nor, as we shall gradually perceive, was such a lax observance of the letter of the constitution limited to primitive or mediæval days, for it occasionally happened down to the close of the seventeenth century. In 1026 the patriarch Orseolo, during a revulsion of public sentiment in favour of his family, was, on the death of his brother, permitted to unite in his own person the dogate and the primacy; and this incident preceded only by a few years the enactment of 1033 abrogating association and hereditary succession. Even the men of 1173, when they had framed a singularly elaborate scheme, under which Orio Malipiero

became Doge, permitted the latter to renounce the honour, and to nominate a private friend.

In 1071, we find that Domenico Selvo, one of the two ducal gastaldi or tribunes, was chosen by acclamation as Doge. No farther electoral formality was discharged or demanded, and Selvo was admitted in due course to the office, which he enjoyed through several years.

For our knowledge of this historical fact we are solely indebted to a contemporary account of the accession of Selvo by one of his canonici, Domenico Tino. It is the first and only early ceremony of the kind of which an eye-witness has handed down particulars. But the value is retrospective; for the mode of proceeding in this case was not substantially different from that which must have ordinarily prevailed in the days of universal suffrage; and until the organic changes of 1172-73, which first supplied a regular and strict machinery for arranging the ducal succession, no systematic method, in point of fact, was in force for submitting a candidate to the people, and carrying him to the throne. Under an elective government the initiative in each instance necessarily rested with the political parties into which the State was from time to time divided, and a critical consideration of the account left by Tino satisfies us that the friends of Selvo were just then able to command a majority in the Folk-Moot or Arrengo, and that his proposal on the next vacancy, instead of being an outburst of spontaneous enthusiasm, was a stratagem deliberately preconcerted. His prior position as a metropolitan tribune had, of course, added to his influence and popularity, and assisted the formation of a strong central committee devoted to his interests. To arrange the little dramatic scene, which the canonico has so artlessly portrayed, and to secure the national *Sia! Sia!* was sufficiently simple; for since the more marked growth of aristocratic opinion at Venice, and the furtive introduction there of government by party, it had become easy for a group or federation of prominent families, with their accustomed adherents and hired emissaries, to communicate to an oligarchical act a republican semblance. In a State so placed the practical inconvenience of an unlimited suffrage and the indolent temper of the people forwarded the institution of certain settled forms, the rise of an electoral conclave, and the appointment of an official whose peculiar function it became to take the oath of allegiance to the successful candidate in the name of the Republic.

Nevertheless, in the elevation of a Doge agreeably to the loose primitive usage which went before the inexorable sovereignty of Rules and Capitularies, there is something which one is apt to find touching and picturesque. One tries to realise the gay and boisterous spectacle at Lido, the shouts of *Noi volemo Dose Domenico Selvo e lo laudiamo!* from a thousand lips, the clamour and stupendous excitement on the arrival at Venice of the newly-returned mourner at the grave of the late Serenissimo; the scene on the Piazzetta; the congratulations of friends, kinsfolk, and political supporters; the procession to the Cathedral (not yet the Saint Mark's Basilica of later story), and the approach of the Elect to the high altar with unsandalled feet, encompassed by the clergy.

We have been supposing that the formalities so fortuitously described to us as attendant on the exaltation of a Doge in 1071 were in substance the same as had been witnessed before, and were subsequently repeated. There is a farther point worth mentioning, more especially as it has a kind of bearing on the customs of some more northerly peoples. It is credibly related that, after the proclamation at Saint Mark's altar of the Doge Ziani, the first elected under the new Constitution in 1172-3, certain workmen of the Arsenal lifted him into a high-backed wooden chair or *pergamo di legno* which subsequently went under the name of *pozzetto*, and carried him (after the Frankish manner) on their shoulders round the Piazza, to introduce him to the public; that a largesse of special money was distributed among the bystanders as the procession moved along; and that the Doge's solemn investiture followed his return to the church. Here do we not see, as in the former case, an antique spectacle, often performed, but only in this single instance preserved for our information? The anecdote may be collated with the analogous usages which prevailed elsewhere. The same ceremony was performed at the installation of each successive *pontifex maximus*. It was a revival of the old military life, of the pristine Roman use. It was long the portion of the English burgess on his return. It is even yet that of the cup-winner.

Selvo could not have been greatly surprised to find, on making his entry into the palatial abode which was to be his home for life, that the doors were unhinged, and the whole of the portable furniture removed. The violence offered to the palace gates is suggestive of unusual precipitation, probably

due to the impatience of feudal subordinates; but otherwise the new Doge found himself face to face with the customary conditions. The fittings and appointments provided by the retainers and clients of his predecessor for their chief and themselves, or by those whose contributory liabilities, by virtue of tenure or prescription, comprised bedding, litter, and other requisites for the ducal establishment, had simply lapsed to the reversioners. The incoming tenant and his dependents were expected to furnish anew. There was no permanent Wardrobe. Each successive archaic governor of Venice relied on his own resources as a private citizen, or on those who had placed him in power, not merely for his commissariat, but for the table on which the dishes were laid, and for the chair on which he sat to eat his food. Nor was it till 1328 that any approach was made toward putting an end to an order of things so primitive and indecorous. So long as the interior of the palace was systematically denuded from reign to reign, and there was nothing there which was recognised as the property of the Government or of the Doge for the time being, no prospect could arise of imparting to the Court an adequate degree of dignity and magnificence. That proud and splendid mansion, with which exclusively the ordinary reader is conversant, began by being little more than a residence, in which each tenant, during his term of office, housed his own effects or those of his kindred and vassals.

Here, beyond question, is something more than a glimpse of a stage of civilisation from which we seem to be removed marvellously far, and of which the true explanation is deducible from analogy. The citizens of Paris, under the earlier princes of the house of Capet, were bound, so often as the sovereign occupied the little old palace in the island of the Seine, to contribute their several quota of furniture for the rooms, and litter for the floors and beds. Both of these were regarded in the light of a loan, and it was treated as a favour on one occasion, when the straw, no longer required for the royal service, was handed over to an hospital which wanted additional beds for its inmates. It was an age both at Paris and Venice antecedent to the use of the palliasso.¹

But Paris did not become to the kings of France, till much

¹ Yet so recently as 1892, in England, the furniture of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports at Walmer Castle was removed by each successive officer—a curious survival of the same principle.

later than the original Capetian dynasty, what Venice was to its Doges from the beginning, a metropolis and a central seat of government; and it is not unreasonable to look for an earlier recourse to a more enlightened and convenient system among the Venetians than among the Franks, even apart from the question of relative culture.

It seems, at the same time, to be obvious enough that when Venice passed from the hands of a feudal prince, leaning on his own partisans and his own guards, whose revenue was as independent of popular control as his authority, to a stipendiary Doge, to whom the palace, with its appurtenances, stood in a simple official relation, the constitutional transition was immense—immense in its value to the Republic and in its significance for us. But centuries were to elapse before, even amid all the princely display accompanying public observances of various kinds, strange anomalies and primitive contrivances disappeared, if some of them ever did so. At the election of Marino Grimani in 1521 the Forty-One were unable to come to a conclusion over-night; and mattresses and chests were improvised to supply them with sleeping accommodation, as they were not entitled to leave their places, till the result was communicated.

The Dogaressa did not usually receive the honour of coronation. It was only occasionally conceded (without any political significance), as an act of special favour and grace. The first occasion was in 1457, when the consort of Pasquale Malipiero was thus signally distinguished; but precisely a century elapsed before Zilia Dandolo Priuli, consort of the Doge Lorenzo Priuli, received a similar compliment. There was a regatta, a procession of the Trades, with music, round the Piazza, and a banquet in the afternoon in the saloon of the Great Council, which the Goldsmiths and other Gilds had hung at their own expense with arras, damask, and cloths-of-gold. The Doge and Dogaressa vied with each other in cordial recognition of the public loyalty and enthusiasm, and his Serenity personally thanked the masters of the companies for what they had done, and extended his hand for each to kiss, as they defiled before him. We are indebted to Sansovino for a particular account of this ceremony, and also for one of that which attended the investiture with the ducal bonnet in 1597 of Morosina Grimani, wife of Marino Grimani. The Trades took an equally prominent part in

the proceedings, and through their *gastaldi* or masters offered their congratulations to the illustrious lady, who struck medals in memory of the occasion, exhibiting her crowned effigy. In 1646 it was expressly stipulated among the additions to the Coronation Oath, for some unknown reason, that no such formality should, on financial grounds (the Candiot war then raging), be ever again permitted or proposed. But nevertheless there was a revival, when the Signory, solicitous to pay particular homage to Elisabetta Quirini-Valier, wife of the Doge Silvestro Valier, sanctioned in 1694 her solemn investiture accompanied by all sorts of festivities and rejoicings, and by the distribution of medals with her portrait wearing the berretta and the legend: *Munus · Elisabeth · Querinae · Valeriae · Ducissae · Venetiar.* 1694. It is perfectly characteristic that immediately after the decease of her consort it was once more laid down as an inexorable rule that the pageant should cease; and that was actually the final instance.

But prior to the actual investiture of the Dogaressa with the crown there was the usage of formally installing her Serenity; for, on the entry of Lorenzo Tiepolo into office in 1268, so soon as he had taken possession of the ducal chair, his consort was invited to proceed from their private residence to the palace, and to occupy a seat by his side. The Dogaressa, however, in this case did not attend the religious ceremony in the Basilica. Her association was purely complimentary. In 1328 a farther stage had been reached, for on the accession of Francesco Dandolo his consort was not only summoned to seat herself on a chair of State next to him, but swore to certain clauses of the promission, and in the evening personally entertained the Masters of the Commercial Gilda.

Several opportunities have occurred of relating the magnificence with which it pleased the Signory to celebrate the funeral obsequies of the Doges; but some of the Dogaresse, who died during their consorts' tenure of office, were treated with the same distinction. The body of Taddea Michieli-Mocenigo, wife of Giovanni Mocenigo, whom she left a widower in 1479, was embalmed, and lay in state three days, arrayed in a robe of cloth-of-gold, with the head wearing the ducal berretta and covered with an ample veil; the bearers and escort were a hundred marines from the Arsenal, and in the church the same solemnities were performed as in the case of a Doge. It is observable that

names he furnishes—a Michieli and a Giustiniani—and that it dealt alike with civil and criminal suits.

The jurisdiction of the Court, with which the name of his Serenity was long associated by more than a legal fiction, and which had its sittings in the Palace, was not less extensive at and long after its foundation than the old English *Curia* or *Aula Regis*, subsequently known as the Palace Court or Marshalsea, which it resembled in another particular, namely, its liability to go on circuit or in eyre. Like all institutions of the kind in the Middle Ages, this Court united in its attributes the judicial and legislative capacities; and the necessary consequence was that a vast, and indeed undefined, authority was vested in that tribunal, to which was appropriated a functionary called the Advocate of the Palace, who was long the sole legal adviser of the Executive. Gradually, however, the Doge's Court lost this ambulatory property, and its multifarious functions were diverted into other channels by the creation of distinct and stationary Courts of Law. The office of *Judex Communis*, or Judge of the Commune, was one, however, of considerable antiquity, and long subsisted in some form concurrently with the Palace Tribunal, of which, again, there are traces as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The form *Judex Communis* occurs so far back as the eighth century; and it is by no means unlikely that this magistrate was, among the Venetians of that day, the interpreter of a Common Law (the *Usus* of the Coronation Oath of 1229) compounded, on the same principle as elsewhere, of immemorial customs and usages, derived, for the most part, from those of the Veneti, the Goths, and the Lombards: while, on the other hand, they were nothing more than dormant or unreclaimed portions of the Civil Law itself.

While the Ducal Court still continued to be a Court of Circuit, the practice was, that his Serenity or his representatives should make a progress through the Dogado at stated intervals by water, and should disembark at the dwelling of any citizen, where previous notice had been given of a wish to go to law on some civil question. If it was summer, the case was heard under the portico of the mansion; in the colder season, the Court probably adjourned to the Hall. So late as 1065 the judges of the Commune presided over a case of disputed title to certain land in the portico of the residence of Stefano Candiano; but the judgment, which was perhaps reserved, was subsequently

delivered by or before the Doge. After the Revolution of 1172, an usage arose that, whenever the Doge presided in person, a fine should be paid into Court by one or both of the litigants, as a guarantee against bad faith, and that the amount should be recoverable by appeal to the Great Council. The violent end of Michieli III., and the perturbed condition of the Republic at that period, will explain such a precaution.

As at Rome it had been customary for the plaintiff in the first instance to apply to the King or Consul for a licence to appear *in jure*, and for the issue of a writ of summons against the defendant, so at Venice it was usual to address a similar prayer to the Doge; but it may be treated as a material variation that, while among the Romans the practice was to make in each case a special and temporary appointment of a *Judex*, whose authority expired with the termination of the suit, a Venetian trial was sustained before the permanent tribunal of the Judges of the Palace or before a Judge of the Commune, or, as at Verona and elsewhere, in the presence of the Chief Magistrate himself sitting in Common Pleas (*Publico Placito*).

As the aristocratic jealousy of the monarchical power of the Crown or Throne became in course of time stronger, the decline of the Ducal Court, and the gradual loss of those high and dangerous attributes, with which it had been clothed in the first instance, would be naturally viewed by the Nobles, as a class, with more than complacency. The epoch in the Venetian annals which witnessed the decay of the moveable *Curia Ducis*, under which the ancient Doges united in their persons the authority divided by the early English Constitution between the King and the Grand Justiciary, and the partition of its more leading functions among several distinct and stationary tribunals, bears some analogy to that epoch in the history of English progress which witnessed the establishment of the Common Pleas at Westminster; and it is instructive to contrast the different influence which the same event exercised in the two countries. In England, it favoured the first growth of popular institutions. At Venice, it laid the first foundation of the oligarchical government.

The Doge, however, even after the arrival of the judicial system at a more elaborate and independent growth, continued to exercise in certain cases a direct authority; for in a resolution of the Great Council, August 13, 1240, it is laid down that,

where the judges disagree, a reference was to be made to the Doge in Council, with whom the decision should rest; and in the Sixth Book of the Statute, chapter vi., the decree is reproduced as a Declaratory Act under 1311, with the difference that the appeal is said to be to the Doge in person.¹

Even in primitive times the ducal costume was not without some share of splendour. The Berretta (*beretum*) or Bonnet, of the original type of which we know nothing, but which seems at a tolerably early date to have borne some resemblance to the diadem of the kings of ancient Phrygia, was a high cap of conical form, set with pearls,² not unsimilar to the Episcopal mitre and to the head-dresses seen on Oriental coins and paintings.

The tradition, which ascribes to the munificence of the contemporary Abbess of San Zaccaria the presentation of a jewelled headdress to the Doge Tradenigo (863-64), is suspected of being apocryphal; and assuredly it is so in respect to the details. The Lady Superior may have made an offering of some ornamental bonnet, manufactured in the house, more or less on the model of that then worn by the head of the State; but the earliest tangible vestige of the corno is the mosaic at Saint Mark's, attributed to the eleventh or twelfth century, and the apparent prototype of the later berretta, which is mentioned in 1328 as supplied at the cost of the Commune, but does not present itself anterior to that date in any authentic document or passage. The spirit and tone of the Ducal attire strike us as half Lombardic or Frankish, half Oriental; the oblation of the Abbess was in the taste of the age; and it was doubtless simpler even than that delineated on the sculpture above-mentioned. The strict regulations imposed on every department and member of the Executive extended to the ducal bonnet, for according to the Coronation Oath of 1328 it was to be lodged under the care of the Procurators of Saint Mark, and only to be delivered to the Doge for use on special occasions; and the motive for this caution is to be found in the more sumptuous form and embellishments which the bonnet gradually received, and the apprehension of dishonest practices by minor officials or attendants.

On the exceedingly rare occasions, when the Dogressa was

¹ "Che i Zudesi in numero dispare constituidi, se elli seran discordi, debbian vegnir a Messer lo Dose."—Cap. 6.

² The berretta was at last made so weighty that the Doge seldom wore it. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, the Procurators of Saint Mark were charged to remedy this evil.

also crowned, a second berretta was provided ; but after the death of Silvestro Valier in 1700 there was the twofold provision that the consort was not again to receive this honour, and that it was not to be worn by the relict of a deceased Doge.

Underneath it, after a time, the chief magistrate wore a white linen coif, in order that, as a mark of the peculiarly exalted dignity of his office, his head might remain covered when the bonnet itself was removed. When the Great Council had been instituted, and the election of the Doge rested with it, it became a practice for the new Serenissimo to doff the berretta in returning thanks for the honour conferred, and on one occasion, when the Doge Morosini was in 1693 appointed captain-general in the Morea, he rose from his place and uncovered, while he signified his acceptance of the trust, and his resolution to serve his country to the best of his power. But occasion has been elsewhere taken to notice that his Serenity publicly removed the bonnet only as a compliment to other sovereigns, who were expected to reciprocate.¹ In the case of high official functionaries the Doge touched hands ; but otherwise he at certain public receptions extended his hand to be kissed.

A doublet of red velvet, with straight sleeves tapering toward the wrist, and a high collar, was in part hidden by an outer mantle, sometimes curiously figured, which descended almost to the feet, with a border of gold fringe and a small circular clasp of gold. A sable cape, red stockings, and shoes of a somewhat primitive pattern completed his attire²; and it transpires in connection with a historical episode of 1071 that the Doge was accustomed out-of-doors to use sandals, probably as a protection against the mire in the public ways in wet weather. In the drawing, from which the present description is borrowed, the hands are not gloved.

The Bucentaur is cited, as if it were hardly then a novelty, in the coronation oath of 1328, and is there said to be one of the accessories furnished by the State as a means of augmenting the ducal dignity. No particulars are given, and possibly, if the vessel already existed, none were thought to be requisite. Nor is any help forthcoming toward a solution of the name, which some have connected with the Virgilian *Centaurus*, of which the

¹ In the *Habiti antichi* of Cesare Vecellio, 1590, Prester John is represented in a sort of costume not very widely varied from that of a Venetian Doge.

² *Suprà*, ii. 55.

figure of a centaur may be supposed to have adorned the prow. But in 1205, when the newly elected Doge was to be fetched from his official post at a distance, a feeling of the propriety of some special mark of respect shewed itself in the embellishment of the sides of the galley dispatched to the Serenissimo with silk taffeta hangings.

John Evelyn visited the Arsenal in 1646, and saw the Bucentaur, of which he speaks as having an ample deck so contrived that the galley slaves are not visible, and on the poop a throne for the Doge, when he went to espouse the Adriatic.¹

The last State-barge constructed for the use of the Doge was launched in 1729. It was 100 feet in length, 21 in breadth, with an upper and a lower deck, of which the latter was reserved for the oarsmen. At the extremity toward the poop on the superior deck, which was covered, near the raised seat allotted to the Doge, was a small window, through which his Serenity threw the ring, when he wedded the Adriatic in the name of the Republic; and forty-eight others were placed along the sides to enable the company to enjoy the spectacle before and around them. The fittings and furniture of the vessel were luxurious; and it was adorned with symbolical figures, bas-reliefs, and other representations within and without, set off by elaborate gilding.

The lady who published the account of the religious and other festivals of the Republic, Giustina Renier Michiel, scion of two noble and ancient houses, beheld the last Bucentaur, before it was brutally destroyed by the French in conjunction with some Venetian adventurers for the sake of the gilt work. "Alas!" she writes, "I myself saw Frenchmen and Venetians, full of derision and insult, combine to dismantle the Bucintoro and burn it for the gold upon it. . . . It was in the form of a galley, and two hundred feet long (*sic*) with two decks. The first of these was occupied by a hundred and sixty rowers, the handsomest and strongest of the fleet, who sat four men to each oar, and there awaited their orders; forty other sailors completed the crew. The upper deck was divided lengthwise by a partition, pierced with arched doorways, ornamented with gilded figures, and covered with a roof supported by caryatides—the whole surmounted by a canopy of crimson velvet embroidered with gold. Under this were ninety seats, and at the stern a still richer chamber for the

¹ In 1585 the Duke of Ferrara possessed a barge built on the model of the Bucentaur.

Doge's throne, over which drooped the banner of Saint Mark. The prow was double-beaked, and the sides of the vessel were enriched with figures of Justice, Peace, Sea, Land, and other allegories and ornaments."¹

The yearly marriage of the Adriatic was more immediately and palpably a pageant and a symbol; but it has been rendered apparent that the ceremony involved and denoted a political principle, on which the Republic was prepared, nearly down to the last, to insist at all hazards against all comers. Germany, France, Spain, England were in turn reminded of the claim, which the unique wedding imported, in language which could not be misunderstood.

¹ Howells' *Venetian Life*, ed. 1883, ii. 80-81.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Maturer Official Machinery—Government by Departments—Leading branches of the Executive—The College, Great Council, Senate, Council of Ten, etc.—Limitations of the authority of the Ten—Story of Reniero Zeno—Peculiar principle of Venetian official life—Versatility of aptitude—Composition of the normal Executive—Method of procedure of the Ten—Beneficial operation of its presence and power—Checks on its abuse of authority—Its undefined jurisdiction—Its value as a permanent Committee of Public Safety—The Inquisition of State (1539)—Immediate origin—Membership—Erroneous notions about the Institution—A Milliner obtains redress at its hands—A religious fanatic visits the City, and insults the authorities—The completed Constitution.

THE political machinery, by which the Venetians governed themselves, naturally underwent successive development and revision, as changed circumstances and requirements dictated from time to time. Even overlooking the long period during which the Constitution remained substantially unvaried, the Republic passed in the course of more than ten centuries from being a rude federal community under different forms of consular or tribunitian rule to a type of administration all but monarchical, and thence to the ultimate stage of oligarchical autocracy, modified more or less by the periodical and transient presence of powerful personalities; and Yriate has well observed, that the reduction of the laws to a more perfect method and operation, instead of being prejudicial to general freedom, tended in an opposite way, inasmuch as the presence of a statutory code for the guidance and control of all alike from the Doge to the gondolier and of an efficient police was found to diminish the call for arbitrary official interference with individual action. It was indeed a political maxim at Venice that the subservience to the laws was a source of liberty, which may be a different mode of expressing the same idea. Severe and even barbarous principles of reprisal deterred all but the most reckless offenders; for toward genuine ignorance the law was ever lenient.

The provision for the public service was at once exhaustively comprehensive and jealously minute. No labour, ingenuity, or cost was spared in rendering all the departments of the State,

spending and administrative, efficient and adequate to current wants. A brief survey of the offices and magistratures engaged in the management of affairs suffices to impress on us the magnitude of the responsibility and charge, which gradual conquest and aggrandisement had laid on Venice, as well as the corresponding genius, which manifested itself for the control and protection of a dominion so extensive and so scattered, no less than of a territory at home beyond everything precious.

The rigorous penal laws and ubiquitous *espionage* observable here may at first sight strike the modern student with astonishment and repugnance; but the feeling is promptly mitigated, when we contemplate the narrow topographical area of the city, the mixed and dangerous floating population, and the secret animosity of those neighbouring and other States, which Venetian progress and expansion had successively dispossessed of portions, or of the whole, of their sovereignty.

The principal departments of the public service were :—

1. The Doge and his Councillors, who with certain adjuncts formed the *College* or Signory.
2. The Great Council or High Court of Parliament, in the main a purely deliberative assembly, but in some points the direct nominating, and in all important cases the sanctioning, authority. It was the supreme national tribunal.
3. The Senate, originally of sixty members, capable of augmentation in cases of exigency, and selected from the Great Council. This was the body which took the initiative in all public acts, political transactions, and diplomatic appointments.
4. The Council of Ten, of which the three *Capi* usually attached their names to resolutions and decrees.
5. The Procurators of Saint Mark.
6. The Advocates of the Commune.
7. The Grand Chancellor and his staff.
8. The *Quarantia Criminale*, of which the three *Capi* were in many cases associated with other bodies for the benefit of their opinion.
9. The *Quarantia Civile*.
10. The *Signore di Notte*.
11. The *Magistrato del Proprio*.

There was not only the Capitulary for the government of the Navy, which is described in its proper place, but others for the various councils and boards which superintended and controlled the principal departments of the State; even the Decemvirs had theirs; and additions and alterations were inserted from time to time pursuant to resolutions of the Great Council. Previous to the invention of printing the system of publishing for the use of members a table of bye-laws was more or less sparingly exercised; but the establishment of fixed rules for the guidance and control of the Councils formed part of the administrative economy long before the days of Spira and Jenson; nor was the ducal promission itself more than a similar auxiliary to the recollection of the Doge. So soon as printed copies could be substituted for MSS., reissues were ordered, where alterations in the mode of conducting parliamentary business or in other constitutional details rendered them necessary.

Of the members of the Great Council, from which the Senate was replenished, the Doge and the Grand Chancellor were for life, the rest were for a varying term. It must be borne in mind that the Great Council itself might be carried to almost any number of members, many of them young patricians, who were just qualified by age to take their hereditary seats; it was a very unwieldy, and, in point of experience and ability, a very unequal assembly; and while its votes were supreme, the national interest demanded that they should not, if possible, be passed without certain checks and precautions. Measures and proposals came up from the more select body, the Senate, after thoughtful inquiry and debate; if it was judged requisite, the Senate was reinforced by additional members, and all were entitled to exercise their suffrage in the other House, where two at least of the Decemvirs attended to regulate proceedings and preserve discipline. While the administrative framework remained more or less loose and experimental, the Great Council frequently descended to points of detail, which it ultimately left to the Signory, the College, or the Ten. In 1255, for instance, we find it conceding to the Doge authority to export hawks and hounds duty-free. In 1281 it inhibited surgeons from practising till they were sworn in. In 1292 it reduced the penalty levied on equestrians riding to and from Rialto by San Salvador to Saint Mark's from 25 to 20 *lire di piccoli*. In the same or next year no games of chance were permissible by its decree, except chess and backgammon. The former became a favourite amusement in

Northern Italy; we hear of the two Lords of Padua playing together at it in 1336. Even as late as 1393-6 this assembly continued to regulate the arrangements for keeping the parish clock of S. Giacomo di Rialto in order, and on the 5th December 1393, it directed the construction of a new one; and it concurrently exercised a surveillance over the paving and lighting of the city. It appears from a passage in the Zeno case (1625-28), that in the Senate the Chiefs of the Ten were entitled to remain covered even in the presence of the Doge; and probably it was so in the Great Council.

The roll of the Great Council had originally not counted more than 200; but it increased in 1340 to 1212, and in 1464 to 1634, which latter figures are returned as voting on the question whether the Doge should lead the crusade against the Turks. It therefore became almost as unmanageable an assembly as the old Arrengo or Folk-Moot, formally abolished in 1425; and its unwieldiness naturally tended to impair its direct influence, and to strengthen the hands of the Executive.

Embassies were generally held for two years, in order to avoid the risk likely to arise from one person growing too friendly with a court. In addition to the individuals and bodies above enumerated, there were proveditors or other superintendents of every branch and section of a rather intricate system; and where all alike were subject to strict control, all alike, who possessed the ability and qualifying rank, were enabled to make the public service their career, and although in 1339 Andrea Dandolo was all but elected Doge in his thirtieth year, and succeeded to the throne four years later, we are so accustomed by erroneous guides to associate Venetian officials with a venerable age, that it takes us by surprise to find that, so late as 1375, the Pregadi resolved that governors of provinces were never to be under five-and-twenty. It strikes us as singular that the Great Council, which met on Sundays and Saints' days, except Lady Day and Saint Mark's day, sat in summer (owing to the heat), from eight in the morning till midday, and in winter from midday till sunset. There was no artificial light. The members found that the leaden roof attracted the sun. Yet the occupants of the *Piombi* were nearer to it than their excellencies.¹ One of the guiding maxims of the

¹ The capitulary of the Great Council for 1577 is entitled *Capitolare dell' Eccellentissimo et Illustrissimo Maggior Consiglio*; it was printed in the Calle delle Rasse in 4to.

Republic in the plenitude of its power and territorial grandeur was the interchange of almost all high officials in order to familiarise each with any class of duties which he might be required on occasion to perform, or, again, to render him capable of judging the aptitude of others in his quality as a member of the Great Council or of the Senate. The aim was to secure a perpetual succession of statesmen or administrators for whatever posts under the Government, in the higher grades of the civil, military and diplomatic services, might fall vacant, and many Venetians of the highest families and social rank exhausted their opportunities of gaining varied experience by filling employments the most diversified in character and details. A member of the Council of Ten might be called away to go as plenipotentiary to Paris or to Vienna. A Procurator of Saint Mark might be appointed to the command of the army or the fleet. A Privy Councillor of the Doge was expected to acquiesce in attendance on an inquiry into the state of the public slaughter-houses or of the drinking water of the city. A retired envoy from some foreign court was liable to selection as Comptroller of the Mint or a Commissioner of Woods and Forests. One of the five *Savi Grandi*, who constituted the ministry of the interior, was not unlikely to succeed to the Governorship of the Arsenal or to the Consulate-General at Constantinople; and it was strange if he did not acquit himself with credit of either trust.

Legal or constitutional questions relevant to admission to the Great Council were customarily referred to a Select Committee or *Collegetto* of privy councillors and advocates of the commune. These were often points of parliamentary privilege; and a class of case, which had a tendency to grow more frequent, was that of mixed marriages, where a patrician had united himself to a commoner.

The Senate, constantly recruited from the Great Council, and capable of extension to 160 or more members, discharged both deliberative and administrative functions when the Great Council had finally relinquished the practice of dealing with subordinate minutiae. The Doge, his six Councillors, the Chiefs of the Forty, and others sat here *ex officio*. It was the originating body for all measures, which it sent up to the Great Council for its final sanction after being fully weighed and reduced to form. It directed the foreign affairs of the State, and with one or two

exceptions it appointed to all embassies, receiving reports on the return of the envoys.

Thus it is transparent that, although the Venetians were sometimes addicted to the vanity of claiming a Roman descent, and of addressing each other from their seats in the assemblies as conscript fathers, they were superior to the indiscretion of modelling their Senate on that of Rome. The only body in the Republic, which bore any resemblance to the Roman Senate, was the original council of *Pregadi* or *Rogati*, which was occasionally convoked in early days to confer on some urgent point of public policy, and had no permanent standing beyond the name.

The normal Executive was composed of the College and the Signory. The latter, consisting of the Doge and his councillors, made part of the College, which included the chiefs of the *Quarantia criminale*, six *Savii Grandi* chosen from the Senate, five *Savii di terra firma* who managed the provincial and colonial business, and five *Savii ai Ordini* or *al Mar*, who constituted a Board of Admiralty. The *Savii Grandi* prepared all the matters destined to go before the Senate or the Ten, according to the nature of the business and its urgency; and these responsible officials took it in turn, week by week, to act for the rest, so that in one sense the *Savio* on duty for the time being was the Premier.

Practically the Signory, after the consolidation of the oligarchical system, was almost destitute of the faculty of initiative, yet, down to the close of the scene, strong personality always carried appreciable weight, and rendered the Doge, with his immediate advisers, a calculable factor in public affairs. It is a trait agreeable to the prevailing temper in all such matters, that the Doge was not in strictness supposed to move without the attendance of his councillors, in whose presence his correspondence was to be opened, and in case of his temporary indisposition, a quorum of the council was entitled to act in his name. The Dogeship was then held in commission.

The membership of the Signory varied; but a full Court comprised the Doge and his six Councillors, one at least of the Advocates of the Commune (who gave legal advice, if required), and the Ten themselves; twelve of this number, not reckoning the Advocate, made a quorum. When the Doge attended, he presided in the middle of the semicircular arrangement of seats

at one end of the chamber. His councillors, in their crimson robes, supported him, and then came the Chiefs of the Ten in violet, and the other seven Decemvirs in black.

The secretary to the Ten first read the letters which had been received since the last meeting, and then the charges against persons which had similarly accrued. If the accusation was a public one, it went without delay or difficulty to the vote, whether it should be entertained or not; but, if private or anonymous, five-sixths of the Council had to say that they considered it a matter of general concern, before it was put on record.

The cases actually in hand were then taken in order, and where a prisoner was to be examined, a sub-committee of the chamber, usually composed of one Privy Councillor, two members of the Ten, and an advocate of the Commune, was appointed to perform the task, employing torture at discretion. A report to the Council was expected to be forthcoming in fifteen days, and if it was of more than a certain fixed length, it was to be read by the secretary twice on different days to ensure a thorough comprehension of all the facts.

It was finally put to the whole Board whether, having heard the full particulars, it was of opinion that the prisoner was guilty; even after the passing of a sentence, amendments could be proposed, and the whole process was by ballot. If the ultimate balance of votes (there might be five ballots) was in his favour, the accused was discharged, or, if the circumstances justified it, committed to another tribunal. The Council thus neglected in ordinary cases no precaution to serve the ends of justice; the main difference between the old Venetian practice and our own was that there was no jury and no counsel for prisoners.

It is obvious that, whenever an acute political crisis arose, the course of action had to respond to exigencies, and certain forms were dispensed with in the public interest. There were even instances where ambassadors to foreign courts received in times of difficulty two opposite sets of instructions, one from the Senate, the other from the Ten; and the latter was known to be the line to follow.

This singular and, on the whole, beneficial feature in the Constitution has to be viewed as a permanent Committee of Public Safety lying outside the ordinary working limits of the

Government, and in due time protected from itself by an inner force and safeguard in the shape of an inquisitorial triumvirate, of which one member was an outsider—a Privy Councillor. The jurisdiction of the Ten was never sharply and accurately defined, and in that laxity, assisted by mutual fear and distrust on the part of others, lay its immense strength. To affirm that it was guilty of irregular and arbitrary acts, would amount to very little indeed, for it was called into being at a crisis, and it continued during centuries to do its best to avert dangers, before they reached a critical stage. It accomplished for an unique Government what no other combination or contrivance could have accomplished.

The methods of procedure pursued by the Ten as an independent tribunal, and the reciprocal limitations imposed on their power, were perfectly in unison with the whole constitutional system. The Council was elected by the Great Council for one year only, and the members were not re-eligible for the year immediately following their retirement. Every month the Ten chose three of their own number as chiefs (*capi*), who received and opened all communications addressed to their own body, prepared the *agenda* for meetings, and carried out decrees or resolutions, which they usually framed, and, where it was necessary, laid before the Doge for his formal superscription.

The chiefs were under an obligation, during their term of office, to abstain from all intercourse with their fellow-citizens and legislators; they drew up on the first day of each month a list of all prisoners awaiting trial by order of the Council, with a view to a prompt gaol-delivery; they admitted all who desired to see them to an audience on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; and before any arrest could be carried out, the chiefs were required to obtain a full statement of the facts, and the concurrence of four of the Privy Council and two of the chiefs of the Forty.

The place of assembly in the sixteenth century was one of the smaller apartments of the ducal palace on the second floor, a circular room with large windows looking on the canal spanned by the Bridge of Sighs, and painted by several eminent artists.¹

The capitulary of the Decemvirs was subject to periodical revision, and was read to the Council annually in the beginning

¹ Aliense, Bassano, Marco Vecellio, and Veronese.

of October by the secretary. The clauses embraced an oath to study and promote the interests of the State, to attend meetings, on a summons from the chiefs, every Wednesday, unless some valid cause existed to the contrary, and illness or domestic or family affliction seems to have been the sole grounds admitted for more than three absences. A furlough could only be obtained by leave, and for one member at a time, and for no longer a term than fifteen days. On the day appointed for a meeting no other council was to be called, and while the Board was sitting it could receive no one; and where it became a question of assembling for an extraordinary purpose, and the Doge and his councillors disagreed, they were to state their reasons, and if the Council of Ten concurred, their reasons were to be allowed, but otherwise the proposal of the Council of Ten was to be carried out. The entire text is occupied by a variety of disabilities and obligations of no general interest beyond their moral, that every possible check and counter-check were imposed, at any rate in theory and letter, on this redoubted tribunal; and the acceptance and payment of bribes were naturally not overlooked. The solitary clause going outside points of principle and routine was one which referred to the Glass Factory at Murano.

It is deducible from a case presently to be cited, that a Chief of the Ten could *proprio motu* suspend any law for three days, as it was competent for the Avogadors to do in the case of a decree of the Decemvirs.

The latter wielded a power which was neither irresponsible nor occult. In fact they almost invariably took care, in the presence of any momentous crisis or some public question of exceptional gravity, to invite the co-operation of supplemental members under the name of a *Giunta*, of which the composition and number varied. Singularly enough, it was eventually found that the summons of supplemental councillors on exceptional occasions, instead of diminishing the influence of the Decemvirs themselves, actually augmented it, since the provisional members or *Giunta*, selected with care from all the other executive bodies, and the tribunal thus constituted becoming virtually a final court of appeal, the whole power of the State was concentrated in one focus; and the Ten felt the necessity at last of meeting a prevalent dissatisfaction by reducing the numerical strength of the *Giunta*, and seeking the concurrence of the Senate or the Great Council according to circumstances. In 1622 an instance pre-

sented itself in connection with the notorious Foscari business, when the Ten handed over papers to the Pregadi, that the latter might come to such a conclusion upon them as they judged most conducive to the public interest.

It is of the greatest importance for us to understand that the corporate jurisdiction of the Ten wholly overshadowed its personality. The entire body was subject to annual re-election, and the chiefs were removable from month to month, and were not at liberty to serve twice in immediate succession. Every precaution was introduced against the favouritism and other forms of abuse apt to arise from a prolonged tenure of office; and, on the other hand, the numerical proportions of the Great Council and its active discharge of electoral functions saved Venice from the mischievous consequences which attended the frequent re-election of the *Dieci* at Florence from a narrower constituency, enabled to gratify personal or party pique at the expense of political opponents.

Yet a feeling of distaste and intolerance steadily grew up in the sixteenth century toward a power whose very absence of bias, while it might prove beneficial to the poor and the weak, was secretly obnoxious to the nobility. In a State, which was so largely composed of two classes, an impartial administration of justice was apt to displease those, whose resentment was formidable, and might not even conciliate those whose support was of slight value. There was an increasing disposition to revolt against the narrow principle and basis on which the Executive was established, and the tendency of the Decemvirs to override the Great Council. The *bravo* scandal of 1539, where the Ten had not improperly withheld redress from certain nobles implicated in a disreputable brawl, was made a ground of complaint at the time to the Quarantia; and fresh cases periodically occurred to shake the prestige of the tribunal on the one hand, and on the other to embolden owners of grievances or advocates of reform to attack an institution charged with arrogating to itself exclusively supreme jurisdiction. In 1582 an effort was made in the Great Council, when the Obstructionists prevented the election of the full quota of fifteen as the Giunta or Zonta to assist the Ten, to define the special functions which should be discharged by the latter, and which should be privileged as "secretissimi." The immediate dead-lock was produced by the choice of the procurator Andrea da Leze, who was alleged to

have offered a sum of money for his appointment, and whom the Great Council refused to confirm. A very distinguished man, Federigo Badoer, of ducal family and highly respected for his qualities as a statesman, and for his culture, contrasted the Senate with the Decemviral Council, and pointed out the advantage and superiority of a body possessing greater weight and variety of experience; and Badoer quoted Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, for the saying, that the Venetian Senate was the wisest head in the world.

It was not till the following year that the Giunta was silently abandoned, and that it was decided that the Senate should annually elect three proveditors of the Mint to act in concert with the Ten, but without any spending power, which the Senate reserved to itself.

An unique chain of political events is easily traceable between 1605 and 1624, of which the two former might be described as intimately connected, while the others more or less casually evolved from their predecessors. We refer, in the first place, to the historical schism between the Republic and Paul V. (1605-7), and to the Spanish conspiracy against Venice in 1618; and, secondly, to the Foscarini tragedy in 1622, followed by the truly remarkable attack on the Council of Ten by Reniero Zeno. The incident of 1618 was not more certainly of Spanish origin than that of the earlier date, when the same influence moved with its utmost energy and malignity in an attempt to raise against the Venetians a second European coalition. Foscarini was an actor both in the occurrence of 1618 and in that of 1622—in the latter the principal figure and the unhappy victim; and the almost audacious attitude of Zeno, even with his strong connection, toward the Ten, although the way had been prepared for him by the proceedings of 1582-3, was only rendered possible by the false step taken by that tribunal two years previous, and the disillusionizing effect on many minds as to its infallibility.

All these circumstances are noticed elsewhere; but it may be the fittest opportunity to present here some account of the most courageous and most triumphant step ever yet taken by an individual in Venice with a view to the censure and humiliation of the most powerful element in the most powerful of European constitutions. Reniero Zeno was peculiarly qualified for the delicate and hazardous task, which he, with the promised or expected assistance of political friends, now undertook. He was

a nobleman of the highest rank, of the most approved capacity, of ample private means, and of unblemished reputation; he had filled two successive diplomatic appointments at the Vatican, and had furnished most exact relations of his experiences; but his fearless and aggressive temper made his term of office at best a memorable one, as he rendered himself unpopular among the papalists, and prevented Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew of his Holiness, from securing a lucrative appointment at Brescia. In his dispatches he took the opportunity to accuse the Venetian cardinal Dolfino of being in the pay of France, and of appropriating to his own use the greater part of the palace of San Marco at Rome, the gift of a former pontiff to the Signory. This occurred in 1621; and he also imputed to Antonio Donato, ambassador at Turin, the malversation of public money.

There was a debate in the Senate with the object of recalling him; but he remained at his post, an ambassador-extraordinary being sent to discharge some special matters of business with the Curia; and on the expiration of his term of office his friends at Venice prepared an ovation, one of them (Gio. Antonio Venier) addressing to him a letter, which is still extant, full of eulogy of his patriotism and public spirit. A vacancy shortly occurring in the Privy Council, the opponents of Zeno put up their own candidate; but Zeno carried the day by a large majority (24th Nov. 1624). A question arose as to the immediate prosecution of certain defaulters in regard to payment of taxes; the general feeling was in favour of enforcing the law; but the new councillor pleaded the financial distress caused by recent disturbances; and finally, if there was a law to compel settlement, he in his quality as councillor suspended it for three days. Thereupon there was a clamour that, instead of contenting himself with being a private citizen, he aspired to be a tyrant. Zeno seized an early opportunity, in the presence of the Doge, of rebutting this imputation; and the Ten, treating his act as disrespectful to the Serenissimo, summoned the offender to appear within eight days at the prison of the chiefs of the Council to account for his words. Zeno disregarded the order, and was eventually banished to Palma for a year, and his place was supplied by his father-in-law Bertucci Contarini.

The ill-advised measure increased the popularity of the exile. Before a third part of his sentence had expired, he was recalled; and on the 1st August he was elected by the Great Council a

member of the Ten. He forthwith proceeded to secure the annulment of the unconstitutional elections of one of the sons of the Doge as a cardinal and of two others to seats in the Senate. The Serenissimo yielded, pleading rather weakly his ignorance of the irregularity; and he took occasion, at the next meeting of the College, to lament that it should have fallen to his lot to suffer this sort of persecution. Those present were moved, and the senior Privy Councillor pointed out that acts sanctioned by the Signory should not have been revoked by the Avogadors without the concurrence of a Privy Councillor, they having taken their orders from Zeno himself as a Chief of the Ten.

Between the sitting of the College and that of the Pregadi, Zeno presented himself at the private apartments of the Doge, and as a Chief of the Ten desired an audience. His Serenity returned an answer that he could only receive him in the presence of the Signory. When the latter had assembled, the Doge entered and placed himself between the Privy Council and the Chiefs of the Forty, to whom he related what had occurred. Presently Zeno, attended by the two secretaries of the Ten, made his appearance, and stated that it had been his wish to speak privately with the Most Serene, but that the Doge had intimated a preference for hearing him before his little Council (*piccolo consiglio*). He was invited to sit down, and to be covered, which he did, saying that he put on his cap as a *Capo* of the *Dieci*, but that as Reniero Zeno he preserved his customary reverence. He was proceeding, after a preliminary notice that he had a communication to make in respect to an infringement of the laws and the ducal promission, to read from a paper in his hand, when the Doge interposed, and begged him to say what he intended by word of mouth. There was hereupon a sharp altercation; the Doge mentioned that there was no necessity for any admonition, as he had already notified his readiness to cancel the appointments, and that in any case it was not competent for a single *Capo* to take such a thing on himself. Zeno prayed the Most Serene to listen to him as a favour, and, the Doge consulting his councillors and the others present, they advised him that Zeno was in order. The latter deprecated any action by the College, this matter touching the promission, which was not within their jurisdiction. *The Doge*: "O patience! Signore Cavaliere, we do not deserve this harass, we that are your kindred, and have studied your interests on all occasions." Zeno fell on his knees and began to reply, saying: "I beseech your

Serenity for the love of God in this sort——," but the Most Serene rose, and left with the rest to attend the meeting of the Pregadi.

The latter had no sooner assembled, and taken their seats, than a secretary of the Ten rose, and read a long notice, setting forth that Reniero Zeno, as a Chief of that Council, proposed, as bound by his oath on taking office, to institute an investigation into certain breaches of the promission. The Doge awaited the conclusion of the delivery, and then gave an order for the election of two other persons to fill the places in the Senate vacated by his sons, for which Zeno at once blessed his Serenity, applauding his submission to the laws; and for his own part declaring that he was the most obedient servant of his Serenity and his most serene house, as he had shown in his sojourn at Rome, where he had refrained from waiting on any prelate out of regard to his dignity as the Ambassador of a crowned head. Yet he at the same time proposed the registration of the document in the ducal chancery for future reference. It was moved that the latter question should be left to the discretion of the Ten at their next meeting; but Zeno insisted on the measure, being pleased to observe that the Doge and his two sons might be perfect angels, but that they had to consider the principle at issue; after some farther discussion the other two Chiefs directed him to resume his seat, which he declined. "Then," cried one of them, "we shall send for the Ten." There was a great uproar and confusion; the remaining Decemvirs arrived, and the admonition of their Capo was annulled.

At the next sitting of the Great Council, Zeno denounced the motion of his colleagues as an illegal encroachment on the prerogative of the deliberative assembly, and pointed out that the two other Capi were liable to a penalty of 2000 ducats under an ordinance of 1458. The view of Zeno was pronounced to be correct, and he submitted that the decision should be enrolled. This led to a farther debate, which he terminated by moving of his own accord that the offence should be condoned.

An election of new Capi took place, and Zeno became an ordinary member of the decemviral body. He had by his persistent attacks on the Doge and his adherents, and by striking right and left, naturally incurred bitter animosity in the ranks of the families affected by his charges and criticisms; and on the evening of the 30th December 1627, at five o'clock, as he was waiting for his boat in the portico of the Porta della Carta, he

was suddenly assailed, and severely wounded by blows from some sharp weapon, by five men, who immediately decamped in the direction of the palace, leaving their victim apparently in a dying state. Zeno, however, revived, had the self-possession to make his way to the embankment, took a boat, which happened to be there, and ordered the man to go as fast as possible to the residence of his relative Francesco Donato. As soon as the news spread, there was almost universal sympathy and indignation; and suspicion at once fixed itself on Giorgio Cornaro, one of the sons of the Doge, who had fled, and his four accomplices. They were commanded to surrender within three days. It was the general demand that the punishment should be exemplary, and that in this case it must not be, according to the Venetian fashion, much cry and little action. Daily enquiries were made by large numbers of people at the house of the intended victim as to his condition. On the 7th January 1626, Giorgio Cornaro was attainted and degraded, and the confiscation of his property ordered; and his confederates were banished. But no active steps were taken to enforce these sentences; Cornaro took up his residence at Ferrara; and the family shewed no symptoms of decreased importance.

As soon as Zeno was convalescent, he made the Ten understand his dissatisfaction with its methods. He told them that he ought to have a bodyguard, and wear his official robes, wherever he went; and he proposed that he should be elected an Avogador, in order that he might take in hand the observance of the clauses of the promission. Moreover, he contended that his recent affair appertained, not to the Decemvirs, but to the Great Council; and he was in favour of the election of a disinterested commission to afford him redress. The Ten intimated to him, that he was too restless and turbulent, and was too apt to mistrust persons of honour on mere conjecture, while some went so far as to allege that, in claiming a right to parade the city with an armed escort, against the laws and custom of Venice, he resembled that Syracusan Dionysius, who by such means usurped the government of his country.

Nevertheless Zeno was, in July 1628, re-elected a Chief of the Ten with Angelo Morosini and Paolo Basadonna. He first went to church to render thanks for his recovery, and then repaired to the Council, accompanied by his guards. He was not merely requested to desist from a repetition of such conduct, but was warned that he must not attempt to renew a discussion on what

had passed. The Council frankly informed him, that his attitude and language had done much harm, and caused great scandal, and that if there was any return to the same course, the law would be carried out against him with the fullest rigour.

The object of this rebuke observed strict silence till the 23rd, when, in the Chamber of Audience, he read to the Council a notice to the effect that, as he intended on that morning to open a debate in the Great Council on the subject of the ducal promise, the Doge and his family should be invited, agreeably to law, to absent themselves. This request was not carried into effect; and Zeno, before them all, after expressing his gratitude for his escape, and his sense that he was more than ever bound to serve his country, unsparingly exposed all the abuses and vices of the existing system. He compared himself with the great Vettore Pisani, who, persecuted and imprisoned, forgave all his enemies. Basadonna, senior Privy Councillor, replied, and again brought forward the old imputation, that the last speaker wished to dictate to the whole Government what it should do, and repeated a sentence which he had delivered on a previous occasion: "This Republic is such that it will endure no Cæsars"; which instantaneously drew from Zeno the rejoinder that he was no Cæsar, since it was not Cæsar's principle to argue with great councils or senates, as he could dispense with both, and that he imagined that if Basadonna and himself were impartially tried, he could guess which would be found to be the better citizen. There was a universal titter, because the repute of Basadonna was not immaculate.

The Doge had so far kept silence; but at this stage his Serenity disavowed all personal cognisance of the misadventure to the Cavaliere, and conveyed his profound sorrow, with his perfect approval of the sentence. He rather indiscreetly reminded his hearers of their obligation to the Cornari, his ancestors, for the island of Cyprus, which evoked audible signs of displeasure; and he energetically vindicated himself and his relations from any constitutional irregularities. Here Zeno interrupted in a loud voice with, "Signori Avogadori, it is your place to defend the laws." *The Doge*: "How, then? may we not speak?" There was a fresh scene and hubbub; and some of the ducal partisans beat on the benches, Cornaro continuing and concluding his discourse, when Zeno ejaculated: "*O libertà!*" He was bidden to hold his peace; but he took a paper from his pocket-book and

protested that the privy councillors ought to be arraigned for meddling with the promission. He offered to read what he had written; but the meeting separated, and he set out for the Casa Loredano, accompanied only by his son and two attendants. The truth was that the ducal family was almost as vulnerable as Basadonna, for not only had members of it improperly accepted preferments and honours, but others were in trade.

After dinner the same day, the Ten met in the private apartment of the Doge, and the arrest of Zeno was mooted. It was deemed, however, too dangerous an experiment, and he was simply ordered to return to his own house, and report himself within three days. He failed to respond; no exertions were used to discover his whereabouts; and he was sentenced in his absence to a fine of 2000 ducats and to a long term of banishment. He removed himself to some point, where he was within easy reach—within four-and-twenty hours' call.

There was a general commotion and excitement; it began to be forcibly apparent that the dignity and honour of the State were in jeopardy; and, again, there was a fear that Zeno might share the fate of Foscarini. The too preponderant power of the Ten became the absorbing theme of conversation and argument among public men of independent character; and what was more particularly a ground of discontent and a plea for change, was their usurpation of supreme judicial authority without trial and without appeal. The fate of Foscarini was a weapon in the hands of Zeno and his friends, and the *Corneristi*, as they were called, not satisfied with their cowardly and foolish attack on their great political opponent, committed a second outrage on the morning of the 4th August 1628, by firing on Benedetto Soranzo, as he was disembarking from his gondola at San Biagio, while the Ten treated the matter with languid indifference, one of the culprits being a near kinsman of the Most Serene. Other miscarriages of justice supervened, and at length the Great Council in September, on the motion of one of the Avogadors, Bertucci Contarini, whose speech lasted two hours, passed by 848 votes against 298 the following resolution: "That by the authority of this Great Council the motion of the Council of Ten of the 8th July last, and communicated to the Cavaliere Zeno, then a Chief of the said Council, together with the motion for his arrest of the 23rd of the same month, and the sentence of exile of the 29th, being contrary to law and right, we have

caused to be quashed and annulled, as if they had never had existence, and that by the authority of this Council it be an instruction to whomever it may concern, that all books, records, and files relevant to the matter be destroyed."

On the publication of this decree from the Rialto, steps were taken to communicate the intelligence to the exile; and he returned on the 19th September 1628, amid tumultuous public rejoicings, and went direct to his own palace at San Marcuola, where he remained in seclusion till the 21st, when the Great Council was appointed to meet. He there referred to himself with somewhat unwise and superfluous self-assertion, and at somewhat fatiguing length, and then passed to the favourite topic of reform. He was, as usual, interrupted and browbeaten; but he did not flinch; and victory was now at hand. Himself more than once a Decemvir and even a Capo, this dauntless and indefatigable champion of right and principle, against whom his worst enemies could bring nothing graver than a baseless and absurd accusation of Cæsarism; obliged the Ten to accept a new and modified capitulary, by which they were henceforth disqualified from revising orders of the Great Council, and by which the latter assumed, saving the points or matters specifically enumerated, the exclusive and sovereign title to regulate and control the entire executive system.

The episode, of which the salient features have been given at some length, eminently deserves attention and study as, since the *Serrar del gran conseio* more than three centuries before, the most striking and dramatic one in these annals; and on the whole, looking at the solidity of the power of the Ten and the greater maturity of the constitution, the exploit of Reniero Zeno, which nothing but his position and character could have brought to so proudly successful a climax after a four years' bloodless struggle, seems to demand at our hands a higher encomium than that of the Doge Gradenigo accomplished in a much shorter time by far more unscrupulous means.

It was not the blame of Zeno that the body, which he laid for the moment at his feet, lived to regain its old power, and to sway the fortunes of Venice to the end. It must be to his glory that he was the only individual who ever made the Council of Ten sensible that there was one Venetian citizen—he a member of their own order and their own board—a descendant of Doges—whose personal influence was superior to their corporate jurisdiction.

The tendency grew, however, to render the Decemviral body less and less, as time proceeded, an object of competition among statesmen; the distaste with which the Inquisitors were regarded, and their intimate identification with the Ten, increased the unpopularity of the office; and the re-election became from year to year more and more difficult from the objection of many to associate themselves with a tribunal so repeatedly challenged and discredited, while others shrank from openly voting for candidates, because they offended such as they did not support. The latter inconvenience was obviated in 1667 by the adoption of the ballot; but the new phase was attended by abuses, and, among others, by the practice of dropping into the boxes ridiculous or imaginary names. Several experiments were made without much success, till, in 1676, Giovanni Sagredo submitted a proposal, which the Great Council accepted, that the Decemvirs should be chosen by ballot from the whole body of the ordinary Senate, with safeguards against the return of the same member within a certain interval (three years) and the concurrent presence of relatives in the first and second degrees on the Board.

A vast amount of unnecessary mystery and of melodramatic extravagance has been similarly attached to the Inquisition of State. Even before the establishment of the Decemviral Council in 1335, as a permanent tribunal, it appears to have become a practice to delegate to certain members of that body—usually a triumvirate—plenary powers whenever any question of more than ordinary importance, demanding secrecy and dispatch, arose. But there was this difference of principle, that the special conclave was composed, not as was the case with the Quarantia, exclusively of Decemvirs, but of two of that assembly and a Privy Councillor of the Doge, a third Decemvir, however, being nominated in the event of a vacancy from any temporary cause.

The first instance, in which such a course was taken, appears to have been on the 3rd January 1313, when three were so appointed with professedly temporary jurisdiction. The provisional arrangement possibly suggested the permanent one; but the former had a duration of upward of two centuries.

What is known as the *Inquisition of State*, however, was seemingly not called into formal existence till 1539, when the Council of Ten (Sept. 20) decreed that at the next ensuing meeting held in October with the Giunta or Zonta three Inquisitors

should be chosen to adjudicate specially in matters relating to the improper revelation of State secrets, and should be bound to serve under a penalty of 500 ducats; and that their decisions, where they were unanimous, should be reported to the Great Council, and be treated as if they had been passed by the latter. Here we readily discern an extraordinary evidence of oligarchical supremacy, seeing that the Decemvirs virtually assumed absolute authority, and merely acquainted the deliberative assembly with the result of their own resolutions in conference with the Giunta.

The cognizance of the Inquisitors was practically unlimited; but unanimity was indispensable; and where that could not be arrived at, the question was referred back to the Ten for ultimate settlement.

It is more than doubtful whether the designation, *Inquisitors of State*, was really applied and recognised till toward the end of the century (1596).¹ The functionaries were simply known as *Inquisitors*, nominally with a very specific and definite mission, actually with powers quite undetermined.

The appellation itself has acquired odium from the barbarity with which the papal officers and delegates carried out the instructions of a distinct institution—the Holy Office. But it was a term and a thing handed down from Roman times, and was applied to other legal and judicial formalities exempt from the features with which the Church invested and discredited it.

Thirty years had elapsed since the League of Cambrai (1509), when this movement took place; and in the justifiable apprehension, that another such coalition of the Powers might hereafter occur, the Government naturally sought to repress, above all things, the danger arising from treasonable disclosures of its policy and views.

In studying the Venetian annals, when we reach the sixteenth century, there is no difficulty in comprehending the object and wisdom of the Executive in creating a body, such as these Triumvirs, taken from the Ten and the Privy Council in the proportion of two to one; for repeated instances occurred, where treason was detected even in the Decemviral Assembly, and the State owed its salvation to three of its citizens, whose authority was almost plenary and absolute, while it was only annual. Its yearly duration was the safeguard of its employers.

The immediate occasion and motive of the formal establish-

¹ Romanin, *Gli Inquisitori di Stato*, 1858, p. 24.

ment of the political Inquisition in 1539 was the betrayal of confidence on the part of some person or persons, who were in possession of the *secret* instructions delivered in 1538-9 by the Council of Ten to the Venetian plenipotentiary at Constantinople, preparatorily to the Treaty of 1540. Lodovico Badoer was directed to endeavour to procure a settlement on the basis of an exchange of prisoners and territory equivalent to the arrangement of a *status quo ante bellum*; but he had in reserve the power of concluding peace on any terms; and, the Porte having gained by treachery a knowledge of the latter circumstance, the Republic was forced to surrender several places in the Morea. It was discovered that the informers were in the pay of the Court of France; three were executed; and the rest escaped. One of the culprits was secretary to the Ten.

The popular name for the tribunal of Three was the *Neri*, applied to the two members of the Decemviral body, who habitually wore black robes, and *Rosso* similarly applied to the delegate from the Privy Council.

While the Inquisitors constituted a delegation from the Ten, and their political existence was coeval, they were furnished with an independent code of instructions, approved by the Great Council; and we are qualified, by the survival of an authentic copy of this capitulary, chiefly in the autograph of the secretary to the Ten, Angelo Nicolosi, and subsequently acquired by the Cavaliere Cicogna, to judge, how ample and at the same time how circumscribed or defined was their jurisdiction. This series of regulations extends from 1411 to 1793, and was for the most part framed in the Council of Ten, sitting alone or in concert with the Giunta; but a few are directions sent down from the Great Council. The clauses anterior to 1539 refer to the body in its provisional and occasional capacity. The strictest secrecy is one of the earliest injunctions; but the orders and resolutions cover every department of the State and every section of society down to the control of casinos and cafés. A distinct prohibition existed against an inquisitor having any concern with the finances.

The necessarily constant need of an armed force to support political arrests and committals led to the assignment of a military guard to the Ten and their delegates, apart from the civil functionary, who was charged with the warrant; and in a case, which occurred in 1780, the secretary of the Three carried out his instructions, accompanied by some Dalmatian soldiers under a

colonel. Natives of the opposite coast were employed for a variety of purposes; the working crews of the war galleys were long manned by them; and in 1406 an executioner is specified to be a *Schiavone*, which may be similarly construed.

The Inquisitors in concert with the Decemvirs sometimes committed serious mistakes, which involved them in a common odium, as in the Foscari affair of 1622, and were occasionally attacked with some violence and reason, but never with such pertinacity as Reniero Zeno had exhibited in impeaching the Decemvirs from 1624 to 1628; and the later incidents partook of a different and less heroic character, inasmuch as they belonged to a period of commencing freedom of ideas and speech. The great crisis for the triumvirs did not arise till 1761, and originated in the expulsion from the capital by one of the avogadors, Angelo Quirini, of a milliner, who had not made certain bonnets or caps (*cuffie*) to the satisfaction of the mistress of the Governor of Brescia. The woman appealed to the Inquisitors from the arbitrary sentence; and it was quashed. Quirini was incensed at the stultification of his authority, and proceeded to organise a party of opposition to the Ten and their delegates among the Barnabotti and others in the Great Council. The Inquisitors caused Quirini to be arrested on the night of the 12th August at his house at San Moisé, and to be deported to Verona, where he was lodged in the fortress. This strong measure brought the matter to a head. On the 23rd of the same month, when the election of the Ten was due, the necessary minimum of suffrages could not be reached by any of the candidates; the attempt was repeated again and again with a similar result; and a private conference took place in the Doge's own apartments, composed of his Serenity, the six Privy Councillors, the three Chiefs of the Forty, and the legal Secretary, to consider what should be done. It was decided to propose to the Great Council the appointment of a commission analogous to that which sat in 1628 in the Zeno business. The Great Council accepted this project on the 9th of September. The Commissioners were five in number: the procurator Marco Foscari, the avogador Alvigi or Luigi Zeno, Quirini's colleague, Lorenzo Alessandro Marcello, one of the Chiefs of the Ten, Pier Antonio Malipiero, one of the Forty, and Girolamo Grimani, a savio of the Council. The conservatives had a casting vote, for only Zeno and Malipiero belonged to the opposition. The report was not

presented till the 18th November, for the Board went exhaustively into every possible kind of evidence and precedent; and the fruit of so much research and thought does not appear to have been considerable. The absolute and relative jurisdiction of the Decemvirs and Inquisitors was once more defined, and all civil suits were removed from their cognizance, the bonnet episode and a second one connected with the financial concerns of the Senola della Carita having in fact produced the whole agitation, and dislocated for the time the executive machinery.

About a decade later, Giorgio Pisani, a criminal lawyer, attracted some attention by his attacks on the oligarchy in general, and more particularly on the domineering procurator Andrea Tron, whose postal scheme he unsuccessfully resisted. Pisani does not seem to have had so influential a following even as Quirini; but he had the equal honour of being sent out of the way for a time. Revolutionary opinions were in course of formation; and men could no longer be safely treated as they had been in the palmy days of the Ten.

The *Quarantia Criminale* and *Quarantia Civile* had little in common beyond the name and the complement. The latter was merely a court of civil jurisdiction without any executive duties; but the other Forty in the persons of the three *Capi* formed part of the Signory, and enjoyed a co-ordinate power with the Decemvirs and the Advocates of the Commune. Instances occurred, where one or more of the chiefs contributed to constitute a provisional government during an interregnum. This appropriation of a far larger share of power than was originally lodged in the tribunal was unquestionably due to the prevailing complexion of the graver type of public delinquencies, and to the sensible need of a judicial element in the executive in addition to that represented by the Avogadors. Under the Venetian law or rather penal system, crimes against the State were those most seriously regarded and most rigorously punished; and hence it arose, that the presence and co-operation of the three Chiefs of the Forty became essential to the Government, when the advance of Venice to a foremost rank among European communities constantly tended to increase and complicate the difficulties of the Government and the danger of internal corruption and treason. We seem to discern in the proceedings relative to the constitutional movement of 1297-9, when the Great Council was closed against new families, the already distinct evolution of the Criminal Quarantia

from its normal standing into a prominent and acknowledged political factor; for the resolutions successively laid before the Great Council for its own reform were framed and submitted by the Forty, and in an official and public sense the Serrar was accomplished, and Venice converted into an oligarchy, by the pertinacious efforts of the latter, possibly inspired by the Doge and his party.

So we see that it comes to this. The Republic found itself toward the sixteenth century in possession of a Deliberative Assembly, as well as, down to 1425, of a National Convention, the latter only summoned on very special occasions, and of a Ministry, which was numerous without being really complex or intricate. The Senate, the Ten, the College, and the Signory, all played their parts, and understood their several functions; even the Decemvirs knew how to yield gracefully and opportunely; and the rest stepped aside, when the necessity arose, to allow the *Serenissimo* to occupy the foreground, and to receive kings and princes, and exalted personages of both sexes, with the dignity and freedom of an European sovereign.

The votes recorded by the members of such public bodies as the Great Council and the Senate underwent a process of verification at the hands of the *Censori*, who had a bureau in a doorway out of the Palace Court, where a vestibule was known as the *Atrio dei Censori*. The seat of this indispensable body became known, at least eventually, as the *Sala dello Scrutinio*, the walls of which became one of the receptacles for paintings commemorative of great Venetian achievements by sea and land.

The work of the *Censori* necessarily grew very heavy, when the Great Council acquired such large proportions, and each division had to be taken in the lobbies or *bussole* appropriated to the Ayes, Noes, and Neutrals. There were cases where as many as between 1600 and 1700 actually voted, and if the ballot was employed the tellers had to collect all the tickets.

The decrees of the several Councils, either in the name of the Doge or in their own, were long proclaimed by the crier from the *Gobbo* or Hunchback, which still exists in the Campo S. Giacomo at Rialto, or from the Edict-Stone in the square at the southern angle of the Church.

The evolution from that loose form of government, which distinguished the earlier centuries of independence, into the cohesive and stringent political system which made Venice

all that it was, and without which local conditions would have rendered the attainment of greatness and power impossible, was the fruit of a lesson slowly learned and circumspectly applied. The more thoughtful and more responsible citizens of the Republic had been gradually impressed by the evils attendant on the turbulent dissensions and disorders at home; and when they turned their eyes elsewhere they beheld the same scenes and the same consequences. With the development of their commerce and wealth a concrete and stable government was seen to be the grand policy and aim; and if we are apt to feel surprise that the Republic should not have sooner emerged from its civil and internecine struggles, we may advantageously remember that it was the first European Power to do so, and that was consistent and undeviating, when it commenced, in knitting together the sole constitutional fabric suitable to its wants and possibilities. The great and natural difficulty of the promoters and supporters of oligarchical government was the fundamental circumstance that in its very essence that type of administration reduced within comparatively narrow limits the choice of public servants, and could not afford to overlook signal capacity. During centuries, indeed during the greater part of its independent life, Venice was subject to an emphatically personal rule; and during the remainder it was a struggle between an artificial impersonality and the irrepressible force of individual character, asserting itself in defiance of all constitutional canons. More than once the Council of Ten, the Inquisitors, everybody, stood aside and suffered some masterful individual to take the lead, and to avert ruin or win back victory. So far from pursuing an automatic policy or adhering to the letter of the laws, the Republic learned the necessity and wisdom of judging cases on their merits, and even of interposing, after the registration of a stern judicial sentence on some national hero and favourite, to stay farther proceedings.

The Signory, as a corporate executive force, found themselves, at the moment when their country yielded to inevitable circumstances and exchanged a municipal for an imperial policy, parties to a game of skill, in which each of the players had to study its own welfare and aggrandisement, and the victory was sometimes to the cleverest and most callous, sometimes to the most free-handed; and the Republic was so peculiarly constituted that the governing class maintained the balance of power and the general security by acting and reacting on each other, and reserving for

the fewest possible occasions the investiture of an individual with plenipotentiary discretion.

It cannot fail to impress us as one of the most conspicuous, and one of the saddest, examples of the vanity of human ambition that the later annals of an oligarchy which laboured so long to repress individual action, owe nearly their whole interest to heroic episodes on the part of individuals often carried out in opposition to the oligarchy.

The regulations for the management of public affairs, within and without, which strike a modern critic as so drastic and so pitiless, excepted and spared no one. The tenure of high office by all but the Doge and the Chancellor was studiously brief; and the Decemvir or Inquisitor, who was a party to-day to the committal of a fellow-citizen to prison or to the cord of the executioner, was not exempt from the risk of suffering a similar fate to-morrow if he was convicted of a similar offence. Everything was subordinated to the interest and security of the State: personal deserts, domestic ties, human instincts. Yet, where no political or constitutional principle was at issue, even the Ten and the Inquisitors were by no means inaccessible to softer influences, and not unfrequently reversed improper decisions by other departments.

The Venetian Executive represented the earliest attempt to organise a bureaucratic machinery and a plan for the distribution of public functions; and Venice also led the way in founding the practice of diplomatic etiquette and official routine.

An impartial comparison between the Venetian and Florentine systems must result favourably for the former. The Tuscan Executive, even under the greatest and most capable of the Medici, was always more or less flaccid and always supremely venal and corrupt, while no tyranny could be more absolute, and no reprisal for injuries more barbarous or more undignified. The Lombard Republic would not have stooped to disfigure the walls of the Palace with coarse resemblances of political opponents head downward. It was deemed perfectly sufficient to award such a degradation to the bodies of criminals in exceptional cases.

There is perhaps no feature in the Venetian constitutional system which has been so seriously misrepresented as the unbending uniformity of the executive government; and this form of error may be easily traced to the malevolence of early critics and the superficiality of modern writers of the French school.

Now that it is competent for every one who chooses to examine all the archives of the Republic from the Middle Ages to the fall—an interval of about 700 years—there is no difficulty in arriving at a diametrically opposite conclusion. For in fact the Venetians, in common with all other great communities, were obliged to regulate their policy, firstly, by the topographical conditions under which they existed and flourished, and secondly by the immediate circumstances. The laws were stern and stringent enough; but not one of them was so stern and stringent that it might not be suspended or waived to meet an exigency. The cases are abundant enough where sentences were mitigated, and there were instances in which they were not carried out.

The Inquisitors resembled the elephant, which uproots a tree or grasps a sixpence. They dealt with the most intricate and critical affairs of State, or decided a case where a *modiste* complained of having had her expulsion from the city ordered because a lady was dissatisfied with the caps which she had sent home to the Signora.

There was just at the close of the fourteenth century a good deal of religious propagandism and hysteria, and processions were formed in the streets of cities of women in white caps, chanting the hymn *Stabat mater dolorosa*; and these were known as the Bianchi. They vociferated *Pace e Misericordia*, and exhorted all to penitence and works of pity. A certain Fra Dominici, of the Order of Preachers, made an attempt to introduce this agitation at Venice, and one day, after mass at S. Geremia, he, preceded by one Antonio Soranzo holding a crucifix, and followed by a troop of women, priests, and others, proceeded in the direction of the square of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. There, however, they found a chief of the Council of Ten, who snatched the crucifix from the hands of Soranzo, and ordered the officers of police at his back to disperse the crowd. The movement was vigorously put down, and the promoters punished.

A strange incident still more subversive of all preconceived and current notions occurred in 1550, when a violent fanatic from Urbino, one Matteo da Bascio, presented himself and began forthwith to inveigh against all the institutions of the Republic. He pushed his way into the ducal palace, and consigned to hell those who were oppressing the poor and the innocent, the sellers and buyers of votes, the enemies of the widow and the orphan. This individual, like another Diogenes, was discovered one day in

one of the courts of law, lantern in hand; and when he was interrogated as to his object he replied: "I am seeking Justice." The authorities exhorted him to transfer the theatre of his energetic proceedings to Chioggia. In two years he returns, hires a gondola, and traverses the waterways, attracting crowds of idle and wondering spectators by his denunciations of official villany and aristocratic luxury and vice. He introduces himself to the Saloon, where the Criminal Quarantia sat, and in stentorian tones sends all the judges to hell. There was a disposition to order him into custody and punish such outrageous behaviour; but one of the Court, who was subsequently Doge, interceded for the fellow, and presumably in some way or other he was gently transported beyond the limits of the capital. But what imperturbable forbearance! And the explanation doubtless partly lies in the fact that Fra Matteo was outside the arena of politics.

This qualified liberty of speech and even action was in the mind of the Venetian who gave the French envoy to understand that in his country men said what they chose, namely, on indifferent topics not affecting official questions.

There is a sentimental curiosity attendant on the contemplation of the Ten closeted in their small chamber upstairs, with its windows commanding the Rio di Palazzo, and its richly painted walls and ceiling, and thence directing mandates, which were to be a law to all Venetians, and whose range of influence not unfrequently in the course of centuries was only limited by the confines of the known world.

CHAPTER XLIX

Procurators of Saint Mark—Magistrato del Proprio—Salt Office—Oil Office—Singular Case in 1840—Uffizio del Frumento—Magistratura delle Ragioni—Public Records—Disastrous Fires of 1479, 1483, 1574, and 1577—Avogadors of the Commune and other Tribunals of Justice—The Grand Chancellor—Order of Secretaries—Proveditorial System—Syndics of the *terra firma*—Itinerary of Marino Sanuto, 1483—Management of Colonial and Continental Possessions—Foreign Relations—Diplomatic Policy—Efficiency of Venetian Representatives abroad—Vails or *Douceurs*—The *Poto di Vino*.

THE Procurators of Saint Mark, who were ultimately six in number, took official precedence after the Doge himself, and discharged functions of a very varied and equally responsible character, including those of overseers of the fabric of Saint Mark's and treasurers of the exchequer. They had their peculiar court and jurisdiction, and were exempt from the interference of all judicial tribunals; and it was competent for them to hold concurrently other posts in the public service, even commands in the navy, embassies, and colonial or provincial governorships. The place of procurator was in some measure a dignity apart from the performance of active duties; but as it was habitually bestowed on the foremost men of the day, it naturally followed that it was enjoyed by many of those whose names are part of Venetian, if not of European, history.

Nevertheless, the office was in the beginning of a different and far more circumscribed nature, and owed its rise to the creation about 810 of a Board of Public Works, when Rialto was selected as the final capital; and in some form or other this institution survived till the close of the tenth century, when, on the decease of Luca Talenti, Francesco Gradenigo was appointed Procurator of the buildings of Saint Mark's, and united with that function the charge previously fulfilled by the civic surveyor and architect.

On the other hand, in the seventeenth century, while the war of Candia reduced the Government to painful financial straits,

the title of procurator was conferred on a number of rich citizens able and willing to contribute to the public service; and as many as thirty were so created at one time on payment of a heavy fine.

Some dishonest transactions on the part of certain trustees, revealed by a monetary crisis in 1094, more or less immediately led to the institution of a new official department, entitled the *Magistrato del Proprio*, an apparent emanation from the Palace Court, and whose peculiar function it became to examine the legality of wills, to administer the property and effects of persons who might die intestate, to exercise a general control over the transfer and conveyance of estates and to protect the interests and rights of the orphan and the widow. All wills were deposited in the *Proprio* after proof. The Republic, while it retained its standing at Constantinople, had a similar tribunal in that capital for the convenience of such of its subjects as resided or died in the Levant. The legacy duty collected at home was chargeable with the maintenance in navigable order of the lagoons, of which the record is consequently to be sought in a quarter where it might be least expected.

A somewhat later branch of the *Proprio* was the office *Del Forestier*, which was found necessary to attend to the multifarious demands of foreign settlers or residents in the city.

The Salt Office at Venice, which pointed to one of the most ancient objects of industry and sources of revenue, and which must have existed in some rudimentary shape when the Gothic prefect Cassiodorus alludes to the traffic in 523, became in course of time very productive and important in a financial respect; and the utmost care was taken, as far back as the tenth century, to choose the sites and protect them from injury or encroachment, as the use of the commodity raised within the territories of the Republic was obligatory on all, and penalties of the severest character were exacted from persons convicted of offences by the proveditors of this department. In 1187 the revenue was mortgaged by the Government for twelve years as part-security for the repayment of a public loan. At a later epoch the large revenue derived from the salterns, direct or indirect, was at least partly applicable to the execution or acquisition of works of art and public monuments, just as the coal and corn duties were in quite recent times in the city of London. The pension which the Executive engaged to pay to the

Doge Foscari in the event of his retirement (1500 gold ducats) was to come from this source.

The fiscal control of the distribution of oil, which in mediæval times formed one of the staple commodities paid in kind to the ducal treasury, became under a more systematic official organisation an independent department with its overseers. The consumption in the absence of butter was very large and regular; and the excise amounted to an appreciable sum. The Government seems to have levied a third (*ternaria*), for which in course of time a copper token was apparently given as a receipt, on the same principle as the later Russian beard-money, although it has been held that these *jetons* were struck in connection with the distribution of oil to the poor. They have been traced back to 1511 under the same name, as if it was then an old usage. The almost unvarying practice of withholding from the currency its value as a medium of exchange, although the paucity of individuals able to read might render such information of slight use, led to a good deal of deception, and to numerous entries in the official archives relative to fines imposed on salesmen of oil and other goods, who took advantage of the youth or ignorance of their customers. Count Papadopoli furnishes in one of his numismatic *opuscula* some very curious extracts from the records illustrative of such cases, seeming at once to shew the minute care taken to protect the public and the disposition to clemency where the offender was poor.¹

It is assuredly remarkable enough that we should have to-day here under our eyes the names and addresses of parties to a case of delinquency which occurred in 1340, the very words used by the little boy who went into a shop five centuries and a half since to purchase a certain quantity of oil, the coin (*bianco*) which he tendered in payment, and the change which was given to him, with the conclusion of the authorities that, as the culprits were in indigent circumstances, it was a case for leniency.

One valuable office was the *Uffizio del Frumento*, an apparent development of the still earlier *Magistrati delle Biade*, which had to ensure a constant supply of bread-stuffs, and to collect exceptional stores in the face of a probable war with any power capable of intercepting shipments by sea or land, or both; and on the site of the present palace gardens were established public granaries in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

¹ *Del Piccolo e del Bianco*, 1887.

The *Magistrature delle Ragioni* and *delle Regioni Nuove* were alike products of the second half of the fourteenth century (1368-96), and responded to the ever-expanding territory, trade, and population. They took under their control all the public accounts, domestic and colonial, and had their staffs of clerks. Even the Mint fell under their cognizance, and necessarily proved fruitful of technical minutiae. The two boards may be described most intelligibly to English folk as a mediæval Somerset House, Audit Office, and Customs, under one roof and management.

A very indispensable institution was the *Giudizia de' Cattaveri*, composed of three members, and combining the functions of a naval prize court with the charge of lost property and unclaimed estates.

Some departments were periodically modified or subdivided; while others came into existence to meet emergencies or unforeseen requirements. The establishment of a regular and distinct Board of Trade seems to have been deferred till the sixteenth century, when the *Savii alla Mercanzia* are first mentioned as an independent branch of the Executive, although their duties must inevitably have been those of one or more persons centuries earlier.

A study of the pages of the indefatigable and conscientious author of the *Documentary History* is apt to impress even an enthusiast with a feeling, in which despair is an element. The minutiae into which this excellent writer enters, in respect to the details of the public service, are mainly of interest to other than Italian readers by reason of the triumphant proof which they carry with them of the unwearied efforts of the Government to arrive at the highest possible degree of efficiency at a period when no other country in the world had any such official and bureaucratic mechanism to shew. Nor does an exposition of the system assist the modern enquirer or reformer, since the duties of functionaries were allotted and distributed on principles based on requirements or on ideas so widely different from those now in force, where a separate jurisdiction was thought requisite to deal with charges of blasphemy in the face of the Holy Office. The recorded convictions are not very numerous; but they were limited to cases which came under official cognizance. The administrative system afforded a powerful contrast to the executive one; in the former there was an infinite subdivision of authority; in the latter the aim and result were to centralise. The Chancery alone with

its numerous staff of secretaries, notaries, and clerks, illustrates the radical divergence of Venetian from English institutions. At Venice the Chancellor was the head of the Commons. In Great Britain he is the head of the Lords.¹

The functions of the Tribune had undergone, since the age when he exercised sovereign jurisdiction, at one time over the whole territory of the Republic, at another over a section of it, a radical change, and had gradually assumed a municipal complexion. His political authority had long determined; and he in these latter days merely fulfilled subordinate local duties. In 1485 the idea occurred, and was carried out, of creating a new proveditorial office to control the acts of the sopra-gastaldi, who formed a court of second instance or appeal from the decisions of the gastaldi themselves; it was another of those ingenious refinements, which characterised the entire system of administration: every member of it had his check, and that check his counter-check, which once more in some mysterious manner was obliged to render an account to a third department. Venetian bureaucracy took its cue from the higher levels of the constitution. In the proceedings, which attended in 1521 the election by the Forty-One of a new Doge, two gastaldi are mentioned by name as waiting outside to receive, when the bell rang, the first intelligence of the issue, in order to notify it to the proper authorities. Beyond the mere appellation they had evidently lost nearly the whole of their ancient attributes; but we do not arrive at the exact nature of their functions or at their place in the public service, except that from their classification into gastaldi and sopra-gastaldi with a controlling proveditor they must have been numerous, and must have discharged duties of a quasi-judicial kind. From the circumstances under which they occur in 1521 a suggestion arises that they were tellers of the votes of councils and committees, and kept files of them in chronological order for permanent reference.

But this official type is not to be confounded with the municipal one attached to all the trading gilds, and so far more conformable with the original conception of the office and name, that in the gastaldo was here vested the supreme authority subject to official supervision.

The *Seal*, like its analogue, the Oriental tablet, long universally

¹ It may be serviceable to refer to a schedule or table of the administrative departments and officers under the Venetian Government in Romanin, vii. 399-401.

served the purpose of attestation or approval throughout every department of a mediæval government, and possessed equal force; nor was it an infrequent practice to dispatch messengers on important public errands with a verbal instruction, and this symbol as a token and a guarantee. At Venice and within the Venetian territories every prominent official was provided with his seal, which he was bound to keep in safe custody. Some of them have, no doubt, been saved from the crucible; one at least is before us, that of Giovanni Dandolo, podesta of Conegliano, near Treviso. It appears to be of bronze, is circular and uniface, and bears on the only impressed side the name and office of Dandolo, enclosing the winged lion.

The Doge had two seals, the Great Seal for public dispatches, and the smaller seal for secondary purposes; and during an inter-regnum the Senior Councillor used his own, those belonging to the Doge being on each election broken and renewed. The directors of the salt-office of Chioggia possessed two silver seals; one, the larger, representing the Doge seated and bonneted, standard in hand, with the legend: *sigillum salis comunis Venet.*, the smaller, with the head of the Doge and *Bulletta Salis*; and these were also replaced on every vacancy of the Crown. In 1485 the letter congratulating Henry VII. on his accession was accompanied by a silver seal; but leaden seals had been in vogue from a very remote time, although the most ancient at present known is that of the Doge Dandolo (1192-1205). But it is not the case that the pontiff Alexander III. in 1177 first conferred on the Doge the right of using such indispensable appliances. As a homage to the Oriental passion for display, which the Venetians were not indisposed to reciprocate and copy, the credentials of the representative sent to Cairo in 1512 not only bore a pendant gold seal, but were written in letters of gold.

The proceedings in connection with the demise of the Doge in 1521 disclose the fact that the ring, which his Serenity wore *ex officio*, and which was broken and renewed at each vacancy, then bore on the seal attached the legend *voluntas senatus*; and as a short interval was expected to elapse before a fresh appointment was made, a waxen seal was cast, bearing the coat of arms of the senior privy councillor.

The administration of justice was of course a branch of the constitution which emerged from the most primitive simplicity under the earliest doges, and gradually attained an elaborate and

almost complex maturity in the fourteenth or succeeding century. At first, as we have seen, under the account of the archaic *Curia Ducis*, the entire judicial system was conducted before one tribunal, originally under the Doge himself, and after a time by a court of delegates; but the growing needs of the State called for successive developments in this, as in other directions; and ultimately the civil and criminal sides were separated, each having, not its two or three judges, as in the Middle Ages, but its grand committees, composed of forty members (*Quarantia Civile* and *Criminale*), who were reinforced by two functionaries, denominated Advocates of the Commune, successors to the ancient Advocate of the Palace. The Advocates exercised constitutional, as well as merely legal, jurisdiction, and associated themselves in all important emergencies, when criminal process was contemplated, with the Council of Ten, whose *fiat* was insufficient without their quasi-judicial sanction, and might be suspended by them for three days.

The Advocates presided *ex officio* over the Heralds' College. Where among a fixed number of families the mere fact of legitimate birth was all that was required to admit a Venetian, on attainment of his parliamentary majority, to the Great Council; and where in many cases several branches of the same noble house existed with only differentiated coat-armour, the systematic registration of names and bearings was almost an essential necessity; and there were in later days periodical enrolments of new names on honorary grounds or for a pecuniary consideration.

The parchment Register, in which the names and other particulars were preserved is not apparently known of a date anterior to 1506, which is tantamount to an admission that the earlier records have been lost. The entries comprise the dates of birth and marriage, and the declaration of the father, husband, or next-of-kin before the Avogaria. The earliest inscription is of the 27th September 1506, and bears the name of Andrea Vittore Girolamo, son of Francesco, son of the late Andrea Bragadin and of Maria Bragadin. The last is dated 5th May 1797, and commemorates Giuseppe Antonio Alvise di Alvise, son of the late Giuseppe Antonio Corner and of Giovanna Maria Fini Gradenigo.¹

This was known as the GOLDEN BOOK, an unique institution, which this Government had been the first to conceive, and which enjoyed a duration of centuries. In 1797 it was closed for ever, and remained only to attest the extraordinary succession of dis-

¹ Letter of Count Papadopoli to the author, 27th January 1900.

tinguished personages of all nationalities, whom it pleased the Signory to inscribe on its pages. It has now long since matured into an archive, and reposes at the Frari for the inspection of anyone who desires for historical purposes to turn over the leaves of what may be considered the most remarkable volume in the world.¹ In May 1796, the Republic, anxious not to displease the new revolutionary government in France, ordered the Comte de Provence, subsequently Louis XVIII., to quit Verona. The Count complied, but requested the Signory to erase his name from the Golden Book, and to restore the armour of his ancestor Henry IV. The latter portion of the demand, at all events, was not executed; the armour is preserved at the Arsenal; but the sword has long been missing.

Some of the municipal gilds emulated the Government in the possession of a Golden Book, in which the names of distinguished members or honorary associates were inscribed, just as the Fishermen had their own Doge, whom the Head of the State condescended to recognise and to greet with a complimentary salutation on his entry into that annual office.

In deliberations of exceptional gravity, the practice grew into vogue of convoking a tribunal, of which the membership depended on circumstances. If it was an affair demanding secrecy and dispatch, the Cabinet (so to speak) was customarily limited to the Doge and his Councillors, the three Chiefs of the Ten, the three Chiefs of the *Quarantia Criminale*, and the Advocates of the Commune; and sometimes the three Decemvirs took the entire responsibility, after consultation with the two Avogadors or Advocates. But if there was an acute and urgent national crisis, such as the League of Cambrai, the question was referred to the Senate, which might summon additional persons (*Pregadi* or *Giunta*) to its aid; and there the proposals or measures were formulated, to be laid before the Great Council for its decision; but, previous to the existence of the Senate, the *Pregadi* were what their name imports, a body of trusty and experienced public men, who were specially prayed by the Signory (the Doge and his Council) to meet for the settlement of any momentous question, on which the Executive hesitated to act. Even when the Senate had been long definitely established, the recollection of the old custom was not lost, for

¹ It has been said that when Napoléon was at Venice in 1797, he ordered the *Libro d' Oro* to be cast into the flames. The *Libro d' Oro* is not to be confounded with the *Liber Auri Cancellariae*, which bore the same name.

the saloon in which it assembled bore the name of *Sala dei Pregadi*. Only in the rarest cases the deliberative assembly took direct action; its vote went back to the Senate or to the Executive for the arrangement of details, and was carried out in the name of the Doge. The personal intervention of the latter, beyond his right to express his opinion, was not in later times formally recognised; but the views and wishes of a man of great experience and high character—the qualities which recommended him to the electors—were never without their practical weight even under the oligarchy.

The creation and official endowment of Grand Chancellor of Venice in the thirteenth century (1268) in supersession of the earlier office of Keeper of the Seal (*Custos Sigilli*) attested the desire of the governing families to afford some compensation to the people or citizens at large for the withdrawal from their hands of political power; for this high officer of State, who was chosen for life, and who, in point of dignity and precedence, ranked next to the Doge himself, was selected, not from the Great Council, but from the *Order of Secretaries* or plebeian body, which supplied those highly essential adjuncts to the Councils and bureaux. The exalted personage, so preferred by popular suffrages, was chief of the ducal chancery and first secretary *ex officio* of all the Councils; he had free access to every assembly, but had no vote; he was qualified to enter on any public functions; in official rank he followed the Privy Council and the Procurators of Saint Mark, but his emoluments were higher; he enjoyed the honour of a solemn entry into the city on his election; and at his decease his obsequies were performed with the same splendour as those of the Doge.

It was to the Chancellor and the Ducal Notary, probably owing to their clerical aptitude, that in early days the dispatches addressed to the Signory by ambassadors and others were delivered, in order to be opened and perused, preparatory to their consideration by the Doge and his advisers. One instance was on record, when the Chancellor, long after his entrance on office, was ennobled without losing his position; and it was that of Raphael Caresinus, who was one of the thirty plebeians specially called up to the Great Council in 1381 in consideration of their patriotic services during the War of Chioggia. Caresinus is in the number of those Venetians who have obliged posterity with accounts of the times in which they lived; but of course his work long remained

in MS., if not unknown, and to his contemporaries he was purely the meritorious public official.

The subjects of Venice who were not inscribed on the register of the Great Council were not unexceptionally debarred, however, from official life. The services of members of the unprivileged families were utilised in many ways and directions, where political caste did not intervene, and individuals exhibited character and capacity. A plebeian was eligible, for instance, to the honourable and responsible post of a *Padrone* or Master of the Arsenal, and persons of secretarial rank were employable as residents at minor courts or on temporary missions. The secretarial staff under the Chancellor was necessarily numerous, and was composed of highly-trained persons competent to perform all kinds of clerical work of a confidential nature, and in the case of the diplomatic service even to correspond with the Government in the absence of the chief, or to take charge of the national interests, where no embassy yet existed, as in the case of Russia prior to the eighteenth century. Others were attached to the Councils, prepared the agenda, and entered the minutes of proceedings — extremely delicate and weighty duties, which seem to have been performed with general fidelity.

Of the invaluable art of calligraphy, which so greatly affected the preparation and transmission of records of all kinds, the origin, so far as Venice is concerned, is uncertain. It was long confined to the priesthood, who equally discharged the duties of scribes and notaries. Even in the fourteenth century official documents were drawn up by these ecclesiastics, and certified, not by the signature of a ruler or other principal, but by his seal. The earliest writing-books were by Italian professors; but the series does not commence till about 1520. Toward the close of the eleventh century the Doge Ordelafo Faliero Dodoni, who died in battle in 1117, subscribed a State paper, according to Zanetti, in a sort of rudimentary printing hand, of which he furnishes a facsimile, and there are examples of somewhat later date.

The successive styles of writing for official, diplomatic, and ordinary purposes were the Gothic with uncial capitals, the *minusculo antico*, the *minusculo regolare*, and the *corsivo* or running hand. But, of course, individuals fell into special mannerisms, and they created numerous schools. The surviving specimens of the sixteenth century demonstrate that public men and persons of station, at all events, learned to acquire not only a legible hand,

but what the earlier English masters distinguished as the Italian style.

The diffusion of a knowledge of handwriting among the laity raises an inquiry, at what epoch we are to fix the most ancient autograph manuscripts of literary works, and how many masterpieces of genius produced during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance are necessarily clerical copies, or at best manuscripts dictated by authors to professional scribes. There never doubtless existed holograph texts of such writers as Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio; and if some became competent to trace their names and even alter a sentence, it was a more difficult task to commit to paper or parchment a more or less lengthy narrative in prose or verse in characters available for purposes of reference or of recitation.

The usual hour for the assembly of official bodies was nine o'clock, which allowed about three hours before the midday meal. But before the members proceeded to their respective places of meeting, they were accustomed to loiter on the Broglio, where they conversed with acquaintances, listened to applications for their interest in a current business, or congratulated newcomers on their election to some board or employment. A considerable portion of the day was occupied by the more zealous or responsible functionaries, and their work not unfrequently extended till a late hour of the night. During the earlier period confession was a feature in the routine, which was very rarely and reluctantly neglected; but Lalande, writing in 1790, seems to suggest that this observance was then far less general.

It is to be easily inferred from surviving evidences that the Courts, and even the old tribunal, which sat at the palace, soon learned to look with respect on title-deeds and other archives, and owners of property displayed a corresponding solicitude for their preservation. So we account for the millions of items at the Frari and elsewhere. Even here Venice was Oriental. Everything was committed to writing.

It was a practice of which the origin is referable to the middle of the twelfth century, and even, perhaps, farther back, to register the proceedings by resolution of the Great Council, Council of Forty, and other bodies, on their respective minutes; and this collection of minutes, which was carefully preserved, became in time one of the most important branches, if not the most important, of the National Archives. Inasmuch, however, as the

latter must have been repeatedly destroyed in the successive conflagrations which consumed their repositories, a conclusion may be safely formed that posterity is indebted for a knowledge of the contents of these registers to the foresight of the Government of the day in multiplying copies; and it is more than probable that those from which Sandi and Romanin so largely quote existed, as they had long existed, only in the transcripts of originals which had perished many ages before the author of the *Venetian Civil History* was born. The names of the books which incidentally occur are sometimes suggestive of their origin or object, while others seem to defy solution at the present time. We meet with the following, which from their frequent citation may be taken to represent the leading authorities of this class outside the Capitularies and the Promissions:—

<i>Liber Albus</i> or <i>Blancus</i>	<i>Liber Marcus</i>
„ <i>Antelmus</i>	„ <i>Neptunus</i>
„ <i>Auri Cancellariae</i>	„ <i>Novella</i>
„ <i>Cerberus</i>	„ <i>Pilosus Avogariae</i>
„ <i>Diana</i>	„ <i>Padavinus</i>
„ <i>Frigerius</i>	„ <i>Regina</i>
„ <i>Fronesis</i>	„ <i>Registro Raspe (Avogariae)</i>

Four lamentably memorable episodes affecting the official papers of the Republic were the fires of 1479, 1483, 1574, and 1577, the last named immeasurably the most fatal. It swept away not only archives, but many valuable paintings and objects of antiquity. The conflagration of 1577—happily the last of its kind—was destructive beyond any precedent. It broke out on the 20th December in the evening in a chimney belonging to an apartment which adjoined the Great Council Chamber, and was aggravated by the lateness of the hour, a strong east wind, and a quantity of timber, ladders, and other inflammable material, including the notarial records of centuries. This appalling disaster, which there was some inclination to impute to incendiarism, is alleged to have occurred through the ignition of a flue connected with the kitchen, while a State banquet was being held at the Palace; and the circumstances and the hour really appear to strengthen the impression that the catastrophe was not purely accidental. It was never known with any certainty what perished on this occasion; but steps were taken to obviate, as far as possible, the recurrence of such a blow and loss.

The elaborate provisions for the continental territory and the colonies command our approval and respect, looking at the ideas and principles by which the Republic was governed, and in which she and her contemporaries had grown up. We may be disposed to criticise the unique disproportion of the Venetian base to its gradual superstructure—a disproportion appreciated as far back as 1221—and the conservative spirit which refused in the last years of the eighteenth century to adapt the constitution to the changing sentiments manifest on every side.

Annual tours of official inspection were undertaken to all the points on the *terra firma* within the Venetian frontiers in order to report on the state of fortifications, to audit accounts, and to satisfy the Government at home that everything was in form. Similar supervision was periodically exercised over more distant dependencies. It happened that the syndics of *terra firma* in 1483 were accompanied by Marino Sanuto the historian and diarist; and he has left to us an account of his and their itinerary.¹ The party visited between fifty and sixty towns and strongholds, commencing with Padua; and Sanuto has illustrated his narrative by a series of curious diagrams, evidently executed by himself. He was a youth of seventeen; and the work, under the circumstances, is marvellously good. He enters into particulars, which are neither novel nor interesting; but he informed himself, on the other hand, of many statistical and administrative points, to which it is remarkable to find so young a man directing his attention. The figures which he supplies of the emoluments of the Venetian officials strike us as eminently moderate in comparison with those bestowed on military commanders and the general freedom with which the Republic dispensed its resources.

Foreign relations were largely committed to the discretion of the Senate, which received the reports of all the envoys to European and other courts on their return, and delivered to them when they set out on their journey written instructions for their conduct, varied by the circumstances. The deliberative part was undertaken by the Senate; but the immediate communication was between the representative of the Republic and the Cabinet or College. Apart from his relation drawn up from loose papers or drafts, and put into suitable shape for the ear of the Senate, each envoy was expected to keep his Government informed at short

¹ *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la Terraferma Veneziana nell' anno MCCCLXXXIII*, Edited by Rawdon Brown, 4to, 1847.

intervals, even daily (if it seemed desirable), of the course of events within his observation, and more particularly of any political incidents or symptoms, which might strike him as likely to affect Venetian interests. The *Relations of the Ambassadors* do not survive without exception, even from 1425, when it was first ordered that they should be committed to writing; and of the acts of this character belonging to earlier times we possess only the bare record and purport.

In the first place the envoys were by a decree of the Great Council, 22nd December 1268, bound to deliver before it a *viva voce* account of their mission and its incidence, and on the 24th July 1296, a farther ordinance directed that they should pronounce it, equally by word of mouth, in the Council which had instructed and dispatched them. All these verbal diplomatic reports have naturally perished.

The well-known collections by Alberi and Tommaseo, with the Calendars of Venetian State Papers and the Diaries of Sanuto and Priuli, afford material and shew ground for rewriting the histories of nearly all the older States of Europe and Asia. The system was introduced to furnish Venice with the means of judging what all her contemporaries were doing or planning; and now it fulfils a different function by admitting the whole world to a knowledge long confined to the bosoms of an oligarchy. The men whom the Republic entrusted with these missions seem to have been eminently observant and sagacious; they even gave their country the benefit of the doubt by noting in their correspondence facts, which might or might not be beside the immediate point. But when an emergency or a crisis was imminent, their promptitude was marvellous. In the case of the League of Cambrai not a moment was lost by the Resident in France in communicating the conclusion of the European coalition against the Republic. It usually occupied from nine days to a fortnight for a messenger to travel from Paris to Venice; but on this occasion a letter written at Blois on the 7th February 1509, was received at the ducal palace on the morning of the 14th. The envoy required no special authority to disregard expense in such a matter; and his courier, a member of a privileged corps (*Corrieri della Serenissima Signoria*), must have almost flown. Not improbably, in anticipation of the event, a relay from point to point had been arranged; but that is more than we know. This service of public couriers was derived from the *terra firma*, chiefly

from Bergamo; and a spirit of emulation clearly existed among them as to who should beat the record. But seven days was perhaps a minimum, for in 1498, when one was sent from the banks of the Loire to notify the death of Charles VIII., he reached Mestra on the seventh morning, having killed thirteen horses under him.

The alertness attributed to the ambassador of the cinquecento epoch was not confined to Venice or even to Italy. Sir Richard Wingfield, in the sixteenth century, from the velocity and ubiquity manifested by him, acquired from the Italians themselves the punning nickname of *Volante*. He was the prototype of the first Earl of Peterborough, celebrated by Macaulay.

Not unfrequently it occurred that this rapidity of movement on the part of envoys of all grades bore important fruits, as when, on the receipt of the news at Venice of the death of Louis XII. of France on the first day of the year (1515), while the Cambrai affair still engrossed attention, a special courier was sent post-haste after Giustinian Giustinian who, on his way to London as successor to Andrea Badoer, had been instructed to call at Paris, and deliver letters of congratulation and presents: a ring for the secretary of State Robertet, and a jewelled cap for the royal bride, whom Louis had just newly espoused. The courier overtook Giustinian at Lyons, and handed him dispatches adapted to the altered circumstances: condolences to the widow, and condolences mingled with congratulations to the new king, "le gros garçon."

The nomination of resident ambassadors at foreign courts formed no part of the European diplomatic policy, till the fifteenth century was very far advanced; and the various independent Powers contented themselves with dispatching special and temporary representatives with credentials and instructions, so often as occasion required. Andrea Badoer, member of a ducal family which enjoyed almost regal power, while England was under a heptarchy, was the first regular envoy to the Court of England, and arrived in London, while Henry VII. yet lived. He was partly recommended by his excellent knowledge of our language, which, he tells his brother in a letter of 1512, was as little understood at Venice as modern Greek or Slavonic in London; his pay was to be 100 gold ducats a month, for which he was to be accountable to no one. But his expenses were heavy; he was expected to keep five servants, who were to be mounted, and to have his own horse. Owing to the unsettled state of the

Continent from the formation of the League of Cambrai, Badoer travelled *incognito* to his destination, and his credentials were forwarded by another channel. He held his position from 1509 to 1515, a convincing proof of the confidence in his ability and loyalty.

Nevertheless, so early as 1510, Badoer bitterly complains of the hardships of his position, the heavy outlay which he has to incur, the unpunctuality of payments, and the scandalous rumours, that he gambles and leads a gay life. The Venetian representative certainly lay on no bed of roses; he draws a most piteous picture of his condition, and states that he is living on borrowed money. He applied to the banking house of Lorenzo Pasqualigo in the City; but Lorenzo (as Badoer styles him) stated that he had *no orders*, which is yet the banker's euphemism for an absence of cash to your credit. Truly Badoer must have been exceptionally unfortunate or improvident, as one can scarcely imagine such a Government stinting its representative at the English Court, much less leaving his salary in arrears, when circumstances rendered it so important to preserve a good appearance before Henry and his surroundings. Yet Badoer retained his post seven years. His successor was that Giustinian Giustinian, whose correspondence with his Government from 1515 to 1519 has been partially printed.

We possess a minute account¹ from an anonymous Venetian pen of the coronation of Queen Mary, on the 1st October 1553, at Westminster. The writer speaks of eight of his countrymen, besides himself, being present as spectators, and of a representative of the Signory forming one of the diplomatic corps. He seems to describe the eight gentlemen as merchants, and tells us how they were attired, velvet and gold predominating; and we have full particulars of the costumes of the Queen, who was on a litter surmounted by a canopy and drawn by mules, and her retinue. The Princess Elizabeth and the divorced Queen, Anne of Cleves, followed her in a carriage. The Duchess of Norfolk, the Marchioness of Exeter, the Marchioness of Winchester, and the Countess of Arundel, were on horseback. The way to the Abbey, which our eye-witness makes a mile and a half in length, was spanned by triumphal arches with loyal and complimentary inscriptions, of which the contemporary tract preserves the terms.

¹ Coronatione de la Serenissima Reina Maria d'Inghilterra fatta il di primo d'Ottobre, m.d.liii. 4to [1554].

In the church the new sovereign was conducted to a throne, erected on a dais approached by ten steps, and sat down for a short time, but then rose, and was presented to the people by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, who asked them if they would have as queen the true heir to the crown, to which there were acclamations of "Yes! Yes!" The details furnished are graphic and picturesque enough; the dresses were superb, especially the Queen's. The narrator does not omit the appearance of the Champion, prepared to defend the title of Her Majesty against all comers; or the presence of the Earl of Derby, who officiated for the occasion as Lord High Constable; and he says that the ambassadors were afterward summoned to kiss hands.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Republic hesitated for some time whether it should send an envoy to congratulate her, till it was known what attitude she was going to adopt toward the Holy See; for, although the Queen was not much fonder than the Venetians of giving way to "the old man," as she termed a supreme pontiff rather younger than her Highness (when the words were spoken), they could not forget that they were Catholics, and that the goodwill of the Pope might at any moment prove beneficial.

It is said, however, that in 1597 Elizabeth expressed through Dr. Hawkyns, who was then at Venice, her desire to take the opinion of the Republic, which she loved and esteemed greatly, as to the succession to the crown, before she wrote on the subject to the Pope.

It ought not to escape our notice that the Venetian diplomatist became noted abroad by what in a State paper of the fifteenth century we find characterised as the *dolce maniera* or the *suaviter in modo*; and this, taken with the substantial means which he carried with him of ingratiating himself, doubtless helped forward many a political accommodation.

The ambassador in early days might not like his wife with him; but he was bound on prudential grounds to take a cook on whose good faith he could rely.

The earliest envoy, who presented himself at Venice on the part of the King of England is said to have been an Italian, Fra Riccardo, Bishop of Bisaccia, a subject of the King of Naples. This was in 1340; and the nature of his mission is elsewhere explained. At the outset of his reign, Henry VII. accredited as his representative to the Republic one Christoph Urswick, a

priest and apparently a German, who might have been calling at Venice on his way homeward. This piece of business or act of courtesy was very probably connected with the complimentary letter dispatched by the Doge to congratulate Henry on his accession, accompanied, as an exceptional honour, by a silver seal. It was just about the time when the Signory was beginning to cultivate the English alliance.

It is doubtful whether England established a permanent embassy at Venice till a much later period. Sir Henry Wotton held the post during several years in the time of James I.; and his name is probably the most familiar to our ears from his independent personal eminence. His services both to his own country and the Republic were manifold, and he was an eye-witness of the thrilling occurrences which attended the last days of his friend and neighbour Fra Sarpi. But occasional or special envoys on behalf of the British Government found their way here; and in 1546 an English Lutheran was suffered to take up his residence in a quasi-diplomatic capacity, having introduced himself as the bearer of letters sanguinely soliciting the Government to assist the Protestant cause against the Papacy and Charles V.

Upon the commencement of the Civil War in England in 1641, the foreign residents appear to have met with rather uncere- monious treatment. In a letter to the King, 18th November in that year, Sir Edward Nicholas notes: "Friday last . . . the Venetian Ambassador complained at the Council Board that his letters had been opened by the Committees of Parliament, and he was so much incensed at it, as he then made his protest, and declared that he would treat no further, and thereupon withdrew himself (as I hear) to Greenwich till such time as he shall advertise that Republic with that affront, as he termed it." The writer mentions that the Tuscan representative had also taken offence, and points out the injury likely to accrue by such proceedings to those trading with the countries.

The widow of Lord Fauconberg, on the death of her husband in 1652, thought that a daughter of Cromwell ought to be as capable of representing Great Britain at Venice in her own person as his lordship, and actually applied for the place of ambassadress.

But in the same year Thomas Killigrew, the dramatist, had been sent as British Resident at Venice on behalf of Charles II. then in exile; and his misconduct led the Signory to make an

order for his departure from the territories of the Republic. The Venetian Ambassador in London informed Sir Edward Hyde, it appears, of the unusually abrupt and summary course taken, and in a letter to Sir Richard Browne of August 6, Hyde states that the King is very much concerned about it, and intends to investigate the facts "from respect to that commonwealth, with which the Crown of England hath always held a very strict amity; and his Majesty's ministers have in all places preserved a very good correspondence with the ministers of that State, and therefore his Majesty is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident."

The last English representative accredited to the Republic was Sir Richard Worsley, who stayed long enough to make known to the Signory the victory off Cape St. Vincent, and also to receive his passports from the French Secretary of Legation on the 12th May 1797.

The Government, from at least the sixteenth century, adopted a code or codes of cyphers in its correspondence with its agents abroad, or in confidential communications with its other representatives; and it became a special function to draw up these dispatches in secret characters, and to translate them into ordinary language.

Ambassadors usually received complimentary presents from the Courts to which they were accredited, as a rule on taking leave; but these were returnable to the Signory, unless special permission was accorded by the latter to the contrary. This regulation dated back to 1257. In 1523, 500 gold crowns had been awarded to Jacopo Suriano by Henry VIII., and Suriano was allowed to retain the amount, by reason of the heavy outlay to which he had been put in accompanying the king, Wolsey, and the rest across the Channel to the Field of the Cloth of Gold with three-and-twenty servants and eleven horses.¹

The expenditure of the Republic on diplomatic service, which was never stinted, must have long continued to be enormous; and probably, on the whole, owing to the address and tact of the personages selected to represent their country, the cost was not unremunerative. The Venetian envoy was a model of adroitness and of pliancy to circumstances, and could be within bounds just whatever the state of the case seemed to him to demand. It is true that he carried instructions from the Senate, somewhat ham-

¹ The meeting had been planned as far back as February 1515.—Giustinian, *Four years at the Court of Henry VIII.*, 1864, i. 46.

pering his discretion; but it was not unusual for him to possess alternative orders, and where he was a man in whom his employers reposed more than ordinary confidence, he virtually had a free hand. Where the matter at issue was one of unusual importance or delicacy, two delegates were often appointed with the double object of securing a second opinion and a second pair of eyes and ears.

There was, as external relations became more complex and difficult, a correspondingly increasing jealousy and intolerance of communications between members of councils in their personal capacity and representatives of foreign courts, especially where there was friction or distrust, as more particularly in the case of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and indiscretions of this class were sometimes visited with terrible severity. On the contrary, the Republic found itself down to the end unable to cope successfully with the abuse and scandal created by the practice of some of the foreign embassies in harbouring dangerous political characters, who were at all times ready to perform any sort of service in return for an asylum; and so flagrant and intolerable became this mischief, that once or twice the Government overrode all diplomatic scruples, and forcibly entered the premises of the French or Spanish representatives.

The system of Vails or *Douceurs* may be accepted as entering into the practice of diplomatic strategy. The time soon came, after the arrival of the Republic at a certain stage of eminence and wealth, when no one who had done her a distinguished service, or was likely to do so, was left without a reward in honours or in money. A few varying examples may be sufficient. In 1345 the Prince of Botza received a purse of 200 ducats for operating the League against the infidels. The next year the pontifical general, Dolfino of Vienna, had 1000 ducats as a gratuity, and Jacopo da Carrara, "come hither," 100 *lire*. In 1390 the Signore of Mantua was not only entertained at a banquet, but was presented with a gift of sweetmeats and 30 ducats. All this was very Oriental; but it was almost exclusively *ex parte*; for the Republic accepted no equivalents, unless it was some unimportant gift from a crowned head to the Doge retained from fear of giving umbrage.

In Mr. Rawdon Brown's Preface to the Venetian Calendars of State Papers, are numerous interesting notices touching the commercial and diplomatic relations of England with the Republic. There is one rather curious case, where in 1488 the captains of

three English vessels, not receiving the required salute from a Venetian galley, attacked it, with the result that two Venetians and eighteen Englishmen were killed; but the Bishop of Winchester (the episode was probably near Southampton) recommended the King to compromise the matter with what the Venetian dispatch calls a *poto di vino* or a *douceur*.

CHAPTER L

Organisation of the Navy—Maintenance of vessels—Classification—Interchangeability of the Navy and Mercantile Marine—Loans of ships to other States—Mediterranean and Gulf Squadrons—Oarsmen—Burial-place near Southampton—Letters of marque—Sovereignty of the Adriatic—Assertion against Spain in 1630—The Arsenal—Reference to it in Dante's *Inferno*—Signal loyalty and value of the Workmen of the Arsenal—Development—Statistics—Venetian Shipwrights engaged by Peter the Great in 1698—War Department—Crossbow practice—Venetian Militia.

THE maritime greatness of the Venetians in a certain sense had its source in the ever-recurring necessity of protecting the commerce of the Republic against the inroads and attacks of the Saracens, who had successively gained possession of Syria, Egypt, Barbary, Spain, Sicily, Southern Italy, Cyprus, and Candia, and who sought to support and extend those conquests by the study of navigation and the maintenance of well-appointed fleets. To oppose these formidable antagonists, to repress their piratical excursions, and to render the ocean an open field to trade and enterprise, thus became the interest and aim of the Venetians; and in following them to their attainment, the Republic insensibly acquired a naval predominance and a commercial ascendancy which indemnified her for the enormous expenditure and severe sacrifices entailed upon her subjects during centuries.

When the faulty organisation of the Navy, and the vicious system under which the Signory, influenced by an unwise jealousy, allowed the management of that force to fall, are considered, it will cease to be surprising that the Venetians occasionally sustained crushing reverses, and it will become a source of astonishment rather, that their arms were attended by such a large measure of success. Whenever a fleet was to be dispatched on any distant or important undertaking, the chief care was to provide an Admiral or General Officer, to whom the supreme charge of the armament might be intrusted with safety and confidence. The next object

of solicitude was the appointment of a Council of Civilians (*Consiliatores Stoli*), which, though not strictly limited, rarely exceeded two. These Councillors were not furnished with any authority to interfere in matters of mere general discipline and detail; but it was their province to tender their advice to the naval commander in all difficult points of judgment on which a divided opinion might exist, to impose a veto on any intended step on his part, which they might conscientiously consider disadvantageous to the public service, and to decide any question of moment which might arise by a plurality of votes. This expedient, which seems to have come into operation when the Doge himself no longer commanded in person, in order to meet the difficulty and delay arising from communication between distant points, and which was subsequently introduced with the most unhappy results into the Dutch Republic, was adopted by the Venetians at least so early as the twelfth century; it was one which, while it seldom exercised a salutary influence, was frequently productive of the most unfortunate, and more than once of fatal, consequences. Among other illustrations which might be cited, the most signal was the loss of the Battle of Curzola, fought between the naval forces of Venice and Genoa in 1298.

Subordinate in rank to the Commander-in-Chief were the Proveditors, who seem to have corresponded to the Generals of Division of the other Service, and below the Proveditors were the Captains of the Galleys or *Sopracomiti*, whose authority, originally large and too loosely defined, was gradually circumscribed, as experience pointed out from time to time the cogent necessity for the improvement of naval strategy. In 1293, a decree passed the Great Council (August 10¹) by which it was rendered a capital offence on the part of Captains of Galleys to desert the main squadron, or to detach themselves from it without due authority; and, already during the short administration of Giacomo Contarini,² a *reformation*³ had appeared, which exposed any captain, returning from a mission or voyage under circumstances of ignominy, to a penalty of 100 marks of silver. Subsequently to 1295⁴ (February 2), the election of Captains or Counts of Galleys was made by ballot in the Great Council.

A *Camerarius* or Treasurer was appointed to every squadron;

¹ Marin, v. 222.

² Ibid. v. 199.

³ Among the Venetians, this term was equivalent to the *Bill* in England, and the *Projet de Loi* in France.

⁴ Marin, v. 199.

in his hands were lodged the funds, from which monthly payments were made to the officers and men. The Captain generally received fifteen soldi grossi per mensem; the engineers, of whom on an ordinary galley of war there were two, ten soldi; the archers and crossbowmen, five; the cook, four; the ship's clerks, of whom there were four, seven and a half; the steersmen, of whom there were often as many as eight, seven and a half; the common oarsmen, four; and others in proportion. The entire complement of the vessel reached from 260 to 280 hands, exclusively of troops: and the monthly expenditure upon each such equipage, independently of the pay of the soldiers, fell very little short of 1250 grossi or 2500 soldini. If this calculation be carried somewhat farther, it follows that the mere working crew of a squadron of fifty sail cost the Republic for six months (the usual term of a campaign) in bare wages without rations, no less a sum than 750,000 soldi or soldini. During the earlier centuries the men who worked the oars were exclusively free and paid hands; it was not till a comparatively late period that the galley-slave was employed.

Two *Judices Stoli*, or Judges of the Fleet, accompanied any flotilla of importance. The office of these magistrates, which was probably filled in most cases by members of the judicial bench at home, was purely temporary, and their jurisdiction was strictly local.

The interchangeable quality of the Marine has been already incidentally noticed. Down to the middle of the fourteenth century, the Republic does not seem to have possessed what could be strictly termed a Navy. Whenever a war broke out, or it became necessary to act on the defensive against the sea-robbers of Barbary or Dalmatia, the usual practice was to impress and fit out the requisite number of merchant vessels, for which a stipulated price was sometimes given, but which were often obtained gratuitously; and a *Chamber of the Armament* (Camera del Armamento) existed, where seamen were required to enter their names. At the close of hostilities, the vessels were released from their obligations, and applied or reconverted to the uses of trade. But the rule was never probably very strict in this respect; the principle of voluntary subsidies and contributions was carried at Venice to such an extent, that the State was not unfrequently relieved from the burdens, which weighed upon it in other countries; the munificence of private individuals spared not merely the expense of chartering galleys, but in some measure of

taking mariners into pay; and the modes of conducting a war were so various, and so manifold in points of detail, that it is impossible to arrive at any uniformity of custom.

The constituent elements of the navy, and the composition of the innumerable flotillas which the Republic in the course of a thousand years equipped and dispatched for commercial and belligerent purposes, do not come very clearly before us anterior to the eleventh century. The Annals incidentally name certain descriptions of light and heavy craft, which were thus employed from time to time, and which naturally, as the wants of the State multiplied, underwent improvement and extension; and we become aware of the principles of draught, poundage, and sea-worthiness, which were recognised; but the variation from modern usage and nomenclature is a serious obstacle to a distinct and accurate understanding of the subject. The Venetians naturally borrowed at the outset many of their nautical theories and plans from the Greeks and Romans, while their local maritime service inevitably adapted itself to the peculiar character of their insular territory. The need, which arose quickly enough, of protecting themselves against piratical incursions from the freebooters of the adjacent coasts, whose skill and daring rendered them formidable adversaries on the sea, brought with it, as an indemnity for terrible losses and sacrifices, the compulsory development of a marine and the demand for an arsenal; and it is easy to perceive, how the receptive genius of the new Power profited by every suggestion and experience, till, in a direction so vital in all respects to national well-being, its rulers succeeded in outstripping the rest of the world by incessant devotion of time, thought, and money to the fight for the first place among the peoples of the earth.

The Republic originally classified its fleet into *maggiori* and *minori*, both propelled by sails and oars, but of different calibre; and in course of time were introduced transports or *Uscieri* and *portocavalli* for conveying to more or less distant points troops and horses. The *maggiori* just mentioned were otherwise known as *Galere grosse*, which at a later period acquired the designation of *galeazze*, the counterpart of the Spanish galleon; but they seem to have corresponded to the *Dromoni*, large, powerful vessels furnished with two banks of oars and two turreted fighting decks capable of accommodating 200 soldiers. These men-of-war were regarded even by the Greeks in the eleventh century as so irresistible, that one of the Byzantine writers characterises them as floating rocks.

The *minori* were subsequently distinguished as *galere sottili*; they possessed a single bank of oars, and were not turreted; and they were employed where speed was essential, or where lighter draught, as among the lagoons themselves, became a necessity. In 1529 we hear of the approbation by the Senate of a proposal by the celebrated naval architect, Vettore Fausto, to construct a *Quinquerema* or ship of five banks of oars, which was viewed as a doubtful experiment, but which was found to answer as a means of facilitating and expediting the transport of heavy artillery. Many years before—in 1498—there were already vessels capable of taking aboard a hundred guns.

We have had periodical occasion to specify many other descriptions or denominations, and to explain, as far as was possible, the system, by which the Navy and Arsenal were regulated. The magnitude of the scale, on which preparations were carried out so far back as the commencement of the thirteenth century, involves the obvious conclusion that, long prior to the day on which Dante wrote his passing account elsewhere transcribed, the organisation and expenditure on this service was relatively enormous, while, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the charge was far less onerous than elsewhere by reason of the common adaptability of vessels to trade and war and the unfailing contributory aid of private individuals.

Naval efficiency was one of the earliest aims achieved, and was the last public interest to be relinquished. Other nations had of course taken advantage of Venetian inventions and improvements, just as Venice availed itself of earlier prototypes; and there was a continuous struggle for the retention of maritime supremacy. The authorities at the Arsenal were long wisely reticent on the secret methods which enabled the Republic to gain and hold the lead, and raised their officials above temptation by a generosity of payment perfectly unprecedented, accompanied by an exemplarily severe code of punishment for any disloyal revelations. As a matter of fact, the shipwrights and other operatives realise themselves to us throughout as models of devotion and patriotism.

Venice was not unwilling to lend its ships on suitable terms, as it actually did to England, France, and other Powers; and where the country was not calculated by its geographical position or political importance to become dangerous, we find the Republic even responding to a call for naval constructors, from Sweden in 1540, and from Russia, still in its infancy, in 1698, when Peter

the Great was beginning to combine with Poland, much to the relief of the Signory, in operations against the Porte.

No doubt, the Government defrayed as a rule the cost of armaments, including the wages of the crews; and it soon acted on the necessity of restraining a competition injurious to the public service in time of war by prohibiting owners of merchantmen from offering a higher scale of pay than that given by the State.¹ At the same time there is positive testimony that a specific obligation to furnish the Executive with ships in lieu of ship-money was exercised and acknowledged; and in 1187, when a squadron was to be sent to Dalmatia, the contract, into which the Doge entered with certain owners of vessels, provided, not for any hiring price, but for redress in case of loss or damage. The transaction was feudal rather than commercial.

The numerical complement of vessels in the Arsenal at the time of the greatest prosperity—about 1450—has been computed at 3300, manned by 35,000 hands, and employing in their maintenance and renewal a staff of 16,000 skilled operatives. The ready convertibility of merchantmen into vessels of war and *vice versa* was an essential element in the system, partly due to the never-ceasing necessity in old days of carrying on board at all times the means of protection and attack.

The oarsmen of the Flanders and other galleys were chiefly Slavs, and a special cemetery for them, while Southampton continued to be a principal place of communication between the two Powers, long existed at North Stoneham, four miles from the port. Mr. Rawdon Brown has given a Gothic or Lombardic inscription, which is still legible on the pavement of the north aisle of North Stoneham Church: "Sepultura de la Schola de Sclavoni, Ano Dni MCCCCLXXXI."

The necessity for the permanent maintenance of a squadron of observation in the Gulf, if not in the Mediterranean, was created at a very early stage of autonomy by the systematic piracy of the Narentine and other corsairs, whom the persistent efforts of the most powerful maritime State of the Middle Ages failed to crush; but there was a second exigency of a different class, which involved a combination of administrative vigilance and serious outlay; and it was the establishment and support of custom-houses and coast-guards on all stations and at all ports of entry. The staffs appointed on this service naturally reflected in

¹ Romanin, ii. 332.

their types the rude and unquiet times to which they belonged, and carried not only weapons but body armour; and nevertheless the smuggler and contrabandist were, no doubt, able to earn comfortable subsistence, and undersell less unscrupulous or more timid competitors.

In addition to the naval forces raised in time of actual war, the Republic licensed privateers on the principle of the more modern letters of marque, and often found the services of these independent allies or auxiliaries more effective in proportion than those of a cumbersome flotilla. The privateer sometimes proved useful in clearing the Gulf of other uncommissioned mercenaries of his own class.

The nomenclature of men-of-war was governed by a variety of considerations. The structure of the vessel, the name-day of the saint, on which it was first launched, its reputed capacity for defence and attack, its contribution to the renown of a fortunate and celebrated commander, and other reasons or fancies, influenced and swelled the vocabulary. Glancing through the pages behind us we meet with—

L' Aquila.	La Forza.
Il Boccacorte.	La Salute.
Il Bucentoro.	La Vittoria.
Il Mondo.	Madonna dell' Arsenale.
Il Paradiso.	San Nicolo.
Il Pellegrino.	Santa Maria.
La Fama.	

The historian De Monacis places it on record that the queen-dom of the Adriatic, which dated from the thirteenth century, and immediately arose from a casual circumstance, was symbolised by the capture of a sword-fish, which a Venetian trawler presented to the thirteenth-century doge Soranzo—evidently as a prodigy, which was new to those waters; and the incident, according to the contemporary narrator, created a deep impression throughout Italy.

By the treaty of 1355 between Venice and Genoa the latter sought to retaliate in some measure for the assertion of the exclusive title to the Adriatic by closing the Gulf of Genoa against the Republic.

We find the Queen of Hungary writing rather querulously and indignantly to the Doge in 1481, because certain domestic or household requisites, ordered from Italy, were delayed in transmission by the necessity of procuring leave from his Serenity for her Majesty's ship to cross the sea.

The tenacious and fearless, almost headstrong, spirit, with which the Venetians upheld their exclusive pretensions to the sovereignty of the Adriatic, is convincingly demonstrated by two incidents belonging to widely distant periods, and affecting Powers of very unequal rank. In the thirteenth century the patriarch of Aquileia was not only compelled to close his ports against his own subjects, but to allow a consignment of wine, which his Eminence had bought in the March of Verona for his own cellar, to be shipped to him as a favour in a Venetian bottom. In 1630, the Infanta Maria, sister of the King of Spain, proposing to travel by sea from Naples to Trieste with a Spanish naval escort, on her way to solemnise her marriage with the King of Hungary, son of the Emperor, was stopped by a polite intimation that the presence of foreign men-of-war could not be permitted on the Gulf, and that the Signory would defend its right by force of arms, but that it would place at the disposal of the most serene Infanta a convoy of its own galleys for the purpose free of charge. Spain and the royal bridegroom gave way; and the great lady was conducted to her destination with all the honours due to her rank. At the same time, the Signory was so staunch, that its resident at Naples signified to the Spanish Viceroy that if the princess persisted in her purpose, she would expose herself to the danger of coming in contact with the Venetian guns; and the necessary orders had been actually given to the Admiral of the Gulf squadron. But there were other signal instances¹ of the same kind, even where a policy of concession would have been apparently most opportune.

But the purely prescriptive title to the exclusive control over the navigation of the Gulf was one which could hardly be maintained, when the maritime preponderance of Venice had been shaken by the rise of Spain, England, and Holland, and when the reduced power of the Republic at sea had favoured the re-establishment of filibustering along the opposite coast and in the Mediterranean on a larger scale than ever. Not only Austria, but Turkey, was heard to complain, that the State, which forbade any other to send ships of war into the Adriatic, neglected to provide in an adequate measure for the protection of traders and private persons in those waters, and although the Government occasionally took steps to assist and justify its pretensions, and now and then even

¹ A precisely similar course was adopted when the Emperor Maximilian proposed to cross the Gulf to his coronation. The Republic lent his Majesty a vessel, and promised him 100,000 ducats toward his expenses.

resumed the old attitude, the grasp was sensibly relaxed toward the closing years of the sixteenth century, when such a third-rate naval power as Florence could presume to institute a right of search by the Knights of St. Stephen on Venetian vessels under pretence of looking for infidels. These outrages and the representations of other countries, which Venice knew to be often in collusion with the pirates, were met with a dignified front, and were either explained or withdrawn; but the position was gradually converted by the same chain of circumstances, which was to render Venice itself an anachronism, from a very proud into a rather false one.

Nevertheless in 1742 the ancient principle was still in operation in a modified form; for in that year a foreign squadron is escorted across the Gulf in what is said to be the usual manner; and forty years later that brilliant and admirable character, Angelo Emo, last of the great Venetian captains, once more performed the greatest prodigies of skill, valour, and daring, and commanded the seas, with the most inadequate resources.

The Arsenal, which is a rather conspicuous object in the twelfth-century plan published by Temanza in 1781, was under the management of three functionaries, who were designated the *Padroni* or masters. The mastership was a sufficiently honourable and advantageous post, and might be held by a plebeian. Each of these officers resided in a separate habitation, respectively known as *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, perhaps on no better ground than a playful homage to the author of the *Commedia*, who was equally responsible for the baptism of some of the prisons under the palace.

In addition to the masters or master (for the undivided authority was occasionally vested in an individual), there were the Grand Admiral, three Proveditors of the Armament elected triennially, the five Paymasters of the Naval Forces renewed every month, and the Presidents of the mercantile marine, whose functions comprised the provision of oarsmen for the galleys between the ages of eighteen and fifty. These were some of the heads of departments, and imply a very numerous and costly staff; but thousands of skilled operatives were employed in the building yards, and there were all those who superintended the ordnance and powder magazine.

Within the ample circuit of those walls were stored parks of artillery, gunboats, floating batteries, ammunition, and arms of

all kinds ; and a museum of antiquities was eventually established, to a large extent by the munificence of an Englishman, James Pattison. The gunboat and the floating battery were alike introduced here at a very early date ; and both performed excellent service, especially the latter, which was first used on the Po about 1480, and which Angelo Emo employed in 1785¹ in his operations against Tunis.

There is a clear indication that even in the eighth century (726-37) some facilities already existed for the accommodation of shipping. In the Temanza draft the Arsenal occupies a considerable area ; it is girt by a high wall similar in appearance to that surrounding the Piazza, with a tower at the southern angle ; and we know that during the dogate of Ordelafo Faliero (1102-17) a sensible development in this arm of the service took place by the conversion of a morass near Gemelle or Zimole into new docks, not in lieu of the older establishment, but in addition to it. The modern institution stands on the same site ; its development kept pace with that of the Republic ; and its boundaries were periodically set back. The Arsenal, to which Dante alludes, became in course of time the *Arsenale Vecchio*.

It is tolerably certain that the great Italian poet was already acquainted with the Venetian capital when he proceeded thither on behalf of his friendly patron the Signore of Ravenna in 1320-1 ; for in the *Inferno* he has left us an unique picture of the Arsenal, as he saw it ; and when we consider his active, roving life, it is almost safe to take his personal familiarity with the city and its rulers, its institutions, and its inhabitants, for granted—

We halted to behold another fissure
Of malebolge and other vain laments ;
And I beheld it marvellously dark.
As in the Arsenal of the Venetians
Boils in the winter the tenacious pitch
To smear their unsound vessels once again,
For sail they cannot ; and instead thereof
One makes his vessel new, and one recaulks
The ribs of that which many a voyage has made ;
One hammers at the prow, one at the poop ;
This one makes oars, and that one cordage twists ;
Another mends the mainsail and the mizzen.²

This passage was set down from ocular observation, no doubt

¹ See *supra*, ii. 132, 312.

² Longfellow's translation, xxi. 7 *et seq.*

many years prior to the last visit of the poet to Venice shortly before his death in 1321, as the envoy and advocate of the Lord of Ravenna; and the cold reception, with which he met at the hands of the Government, and the failure of the negotiation, are said to have hastened his end.

An English writer, in his account of Dante, has expressed some surprise that the Republic should not have shown greater reverence for the illustrious bard. But in the first place those works by which he is known to us, circulated in his lifetime very sparingly even among his friends; and it is quite probable that not a single copy had reached Venice or been seen by any Venetian at the time of Dante's diplomatic visit. The discriminating appreciation of literary merit had scarcely yet set in, moreover; nor would the indifference to the genius of the poet on the part of the Signory have been very unpardonable, if MSS. of his works had been much more widely diffused than from their nature was likely or prudent, when we consider how imperfectly all writers of the first eminence have been comprehended by their contemporaries in the most polished ages.

M. Yriate¹ has entered into rather laborious technical minutiae respecting this supremely important and vital element in the Venetian constitution or system, the varieties of craft and their carrying capacity, the immense and indefatigable care bestowed on the maintenance of efficiency and discipline, the terrible outlay periodically incurred by reason of fires and explosions, and the valuable arm which the working staff formed in consequence of the strict military drill and control enforced on the one hand, and of the liberal scale of pay and provision for families on the other. The operatives of the Arsenal were treated by the Government not only with the most generous consideration, but with implicit confidence; detachments of them were charged with mounting guard at the doors of the palace and the council-chambers, and where any sudden tumult arose in the city, a body of these stout fellows was brought to the scene to quell it. The Arsenal itself was strongly fortified and vigilantly watched; for that and the group of buildings, comprising the palace and its adjuncts, were the two objects to which the aims of conspiracies against the State, either domestic or foreign, were almost exclusively and invariably directed.

We perceive that in the sixteenth century, when Venice was

¹ *Vie d'un patricien de Venise*, 1874, p. 298 et seq.

face to face with Turkey in the East and Spain in the West, the government of the Arsenal was considered so responsible a post, that a single Proveditor was placed over it in the person of Marcantonio Barbaro, one of the Procurators of Saint Mark, a patrician of the most unexceptionable character and of the widest experience. This was in 1575, four years after Lepanto; the appointment was for three years; and Barbaro was not required to give up his Rectorship of Padua University. But he filled the office more than once. It was one of general superintendence and of supreme authority, under which the Grand Admiral acted as practical chief of the entire corps of operatives of every description. The appointment of Admiral had to be ratified by the Proveditor-General. But the Ordnance Department seems to have been under the control of a separate officer since 1491, and it demanded incessant attention and care, especially when gunpowder came into common use. In 1603 the Arsenal contained, it is stated, 800 pieces of artillery.

Part of the area devoted to this truly national establishment was occupied, as time went on, by the artillery dépôt and store magazines, and by covered basins, where trophies of naval victories were laid up. The whole place had undergone gradual development and extension; surrounded by lofty walls, and bathed by the waters of the eastern lagoon on three sides, it was as secure as possible from external attack, and at night watchmen were on duty in the square flanking towers to forewarn the authorities of the approach of danger or of any suspicious appearances.

Every year, as a compliment and homage to the service, the Doge paid a visit of inspection in state to the naval yards and docks; and no pains were spared to preserve at once the efficiency of the institution and the loyalty of the staff. On other special occasions feats of dexterity and address were not unusual. In 1574, when Henry III. of France visited the city, a galley in shell was built, equipped, and launched over rollers in two hours. This was the favourite object of nearly all the distinguished visitors to the city down to the last. In 1769 the Emperor Joseph II., while he declined most of the attractions prepared for him, having arrived *incognito*, desired to see the Arsenal.

A Spanish account drawn up prior to Lepanto states that the expenditure of Venice on her Navy and Arsenal was then 200,000 gold ducats a year; and in 1603 it is said by a second

Spanish authority (the Ambassador of Philip III. at Venice) that 200 galleys were in readiness for sea. A French writer in 1664 makes the annual outlay for material, wages, and saltpetre about 249,033 ducats; and at that time forced labour had been largely substituted for the free service, which cost about twenty-pence a day per man, the duty, like that in the Arsenal, being long regarded as privileged and artificially remunerated. But these and other statistics are more or less untrustworthy. It is only too certain that in the eighteenth century the figures had shrunk in proportion to the decline of power; and even in 1680, when the Turkish war was proceeding, the Arsenal which in 1570 could employ 16,000 artisans and 36,000 mariners, had only 500 in time of peace and 2000 in time of war. During the days of prosperity every article of use for maritime purposes was of the highest procurable quality. The Genoese ascribed the success of their great rivals at sea to the extraordinary proficiency of their shipbuilders and the excellence of the timber employed. But even in 1646 it was one of the recommendations of the body appointed to reconsider the coronation oath of the Doge prior to a new election, that his Serenity should present himself at the Arsenal once a quarter *without previous notice* by way of checking irregularities and abuses.

Several species of vessels were in vogue for belligerent purposes, apart from the lintra, the barcha, and the gondola devoted to internal and domestic use. This in the same way as elsewhere was a gradual development. The ordinary light galley or *ganzuarolo* probably came first, and long sufficed the demands of the State; but with the growth of power and empire, accompanied by the necessity for defence and protection, arose the need for ships of larger dimensions, and for the creation of a Navy, an Admiralty, and an Ordnance. The original galley was reinforced by one of heavier draught and ampler compass and by the *cocha* or transport; and these were followed by the famous galleass, a floating fortress with its fifty guns and 1500 or 1600 trained marines. Even the light galleys, employed for rapid transit and movements, ultimately carried fifteen guns, and were 135 feet in length; the heavy galleys were 175. It was long before any other country could compete with the Republic on her own element with such armaments, for the initial outlay was prohibitive; and where the Venetians sustained reverses at sea

during the height of their power, it was due to the indiscretion of the commanders or some unforeseen fatality rather than to any shortcomings of the Executive.

When the long prominence of Venice as a belligerent State had sensibly receded, and its participation in European affairs became occasional and languid, the Government continued to maintain the navy on a tolerably efficient footing, and still had at command the old militia or *cernide*, computed at about 30,000 men, ready to take the field on any emergency. In 1784 the expedition to Tunis consisted of twenty-four vessels, including six of the line; and down to the very end forty or fifty sail were kept constantly in commission to protect the Gulf, the islands, and the adjacent littoral.

The Romans, the Goths, and the Lombards had successively offered their institutions as models to the first race of Venetians, and we see the military notions, principles, and names in use among the insular settlers, which had met with adoption at the hands of the successive masters of the territory immediately contiguous to the lagoons. The necessity for some efficient means of protection from possible attack, and a natural taste for martial exercises, made the establishment of schools of military training under suitable instructors one of the earliest cares of the tribunitia, if not of the consular, executive. It has been shown that in the sixth century means were taken to found a national force, to which the several divisions of the settlement contributed its quota, and which was capable of uniting, in case of an invasion, under the leadership of a Master of the Soldiers. It is not difficult to understand that, comparatively speaking, this feudal organisation had fuller scope and greater utility in the earlier stages of constitutional development, in an open and scantily-peopled area, than when every variety of political circumstance had arisen and matured to render the presence of a permanent military force on such ground inexpedient and dangerous; and while the germ discerned as in existence in the Gothic epoch survived down to quite a late date, the militia of the six wards never attained more than a civic and municipal character, and, equally with the ducal bodyguard, ceased, so soon as the Government became solid and centralised, to exercise any dangerous influence on affairs.

The War Department of a later era had its committee or board of *savii* or sages in course of time, but at the outset and in

primitive days was probably under the management and surveillance of the Doge and his immediate advisers. Before the introduction of fire-arms and artillery, the crossbow, sword, and dagger formed the offensive weapons of the infantry, and the spear of the horseman. In the use of the *arbalista* or bow the Venetian was trained, so soon as he reached the age of fifteen, and was liable to service till he attained the age of thirty-five; registers were opened in the several municipal divisions of the city and its suburbs, in which were inscribed the names of the members of the corps; and at Christmas and other seasons of festival, especially after the yearly regatta, this organisation displayed its efficiency before the Doge and the nobility. The equestrian skill of the Venetian youth became noted in the thirteenth century; but the crossbow practice and drill were treated as, above all things, essential, and certain points about the city were appropriated to ranges and targets, where the militia, under their local officers, acquired their experience or maintained their efficiency. Agreeably to the curious conservatism which pervades everything Venetian, the localities, where these Bersagli were situated, have been handed down to us. One lay near the *Ghetto* or Iron Foundry, a second outside the Arsenal near the Church of the most Holy Trinity, a third in the Campo San Polo, and a fourth at San Angelo Raffaello, otherwise called S. Angelo dei Mendicoli. This was, of course, before firearms became general.

In a primarily and professedly maritime State an army had no existence. Outside the militia of the six wards and the ducal bodyguard or *Excusati*, the walls of the Arsenal embraced all that the Republic possessed in the shape of national forces. In the more and more frequent contingency of a foreign war a treaty with some Condottiero was concluded, when operations on the *terra firma* were contemplated; and this proved the arm on which its employers could the least rely, and to which on more than one occasion they were nearly sacrificed. These *Venturi* or *Forestieri* were principally drawn from Italian sources; but cases occurred, where Greeks (Estradiots) and Walloons were engaged; and owing to the generous terms accorded by the Government, offers came from all parts of Europe, even from Spain, from England, and from Scotland. One or two instances, however, offer themselves where resort was had to a conscription; but this plan was limited to occasions which concerned the immediate mainland, and to the period when military operations had not yet begun to

extend over all parts of the peninsula. In 1336 a return of the able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and sixty gave a total of 40,100; this census was ordered in view of a then impending contest with Padua; and that appears to have been the earliest case where the Republic engaged as its commander in the field a foreign condottiero, and entered on the pernicious system of associating with him two Venetian civilians as proveditors.

Akin to the local militia were the provincial *Ordinanze*, which were composed in a somewhat similar manner of the adults of the dominion on the *terra firma*. At its full complement this useful force was estimated at 30,000 men, maintained at an annual cost of 100,000 ducats. It was drilled on Sundays. But in the relations between Venice and its Lombard subjects we seldom encounter any notice of its employment in active service; and it was possibly no more than a military police charged with municipal duties.

The ordinary Board of War was comprised of three sages, who formed part of the College, and were responsible to the Senate. But on emergencies various other methods were adopted. The number of functionaries was reinforced from other bodies even to as high a total as a hundred; this tribunal was clothed with executive and deliberative powers; and if the state of affairs grew acutely critical, the Council of Ten took the supreme direction into their own hands.

The provision of space in the city for military purposes in the form of barracks was of the slenderest and most casual character and extent. Troops engaged for a campaign had no occasion to enter Venice, and the municipal forces, liable for duty, and called up on emergencies, were presumably domiciled in their own homes. No accounts reach us of foreign levies quartered within the capital, until in 1618 a body of Walloon mercenaries, brought to protect the Republic in the face of the expected attack by the Duke of Ossuna, is described as being lodged at the Lazaretto, and as having been a source of greater danger to their employers, through corrupt influences, than the Spaniards themselves.¹ For the foreign troops employed during the War of Chioggia (1378-80) appear to have been accommodated on the immediate theatre of operations.

¹ Romanin, vii. 373, note, furnishes a list of the numerous species of troops of all kinds, which served at different periods under the Venetian flag, including foreign auxiliaries.

CHAPTER LI

THE LAWS—The *Statuto* of 1242—Enlargement in 1255 and 1346—Synopsis of the *Statuto*—Periodical additions down to 1720—Detached Ordinances and decrees of the Councils—Usury—Bigamy—Law of Debtor and Creditor—Witnesses—Trial by Jury—Delivery of judgments—Writs of Capias—Promission of Crime—Theft—Forgery and Coining—Forms of punishment in criminal cases—The Nautical Capitulary—Marine Insurance—Limited legal machinery in old Venice.

THE cogent necessity of submitting all matters connected, nearly or remotely, with Commerce, Navigation, and Police, to the cognizance of certain fixed regulations, had early impressed itself upon the mind of Venice. In the ancient chronicles the references are frequent to laws of various kinds which passed the Legislature, more particularly to the Law of Shipwreck, the Law of Evidence, the Law of Insolvency, the Law to Control the Traffic of the Brenta, Adige and Piave, the Act for the Abolition of the Carrying Trade, the severe ordinances against the traffic in Christian slaves, and the strict rules observed for the preservation of the peace. Yet, until the eleventh or twelfth century, no systematic attempt seems to have been made to reduce these regulations to writing; and Orio Malipiero, who reigned from 1178 to 1192, though not the first codifier, was in all probability the first Doge, in whose time an effort commenced to produce for general reference and advantage anything at all approaching a consecutive and intelligible table of laws,¹ as well as to consolidate the ancient usages of the Dogado. The Code of Malipiero, which must have been largely indebted to traditional and still current practice and custom, modified by experience from age to age to suit altered and enlarged wants, consisted merely of a single part, the *Statuto* or Statute, which was divided into five books, comprehending the Canon Law. The useful and important work thus commenced, however, now

¹ Foscarini, *Letteratura Veneziana*, loco *infra* citato.

steadily progressed. Amid the stirring events, which arose to occupy his time and attention, Arrigo Dandolo found leisure (1195) to revise and enlarge the five books of the Statute, concluding his labours by the publication of a new and distinct code of criminal law, termed the *Promissione del Maleficio*.¹ To these two collections the Doge Ziani added, in the year 1225, a short *Nautical Capitulary*² or synopsis of Venetian Maritime Law. Such was the state of jurisprudence, when the Doge Tiepolo ascended the throne (1229). Between 1229 and 1242, that eminent man, founding his title to fame on his achievements as legislator, collected and edited the whole body of the Venetian statute law; and, in the latter year (September 6), he republished it in a complete form. The valuable task which Ziani's successor imposed on himself and his coadjutors, was undoubtedly one of magnitude and difficulty; but at the same time the Statute of 1242 was declaratory to a principal extent.

Unlike the codes of other nations, which were not only composed for the most part in barbarous Latin, but continued to be transmitted in that language or in Norman French down to a comparatively late epoch, the Venetian *Statute* of 1242, originally compiled in Latin, was translated at a very early date into the vernacular.³ But nevertheless, in an illiterate age, a Collection, of which the copies were not multiplied, and of which the meaning was hidden from the mass of the people, was of questionable value as a security for the personal liberty and civil rights of the subject. The only pledges which could be expected to meet with appreciation or to inspire confidence at such an epoch, were oral pledges. When a Venetian burgher of the thirteenth or fourteenth century was told that a table of laws had been compiled by a few learned contemporaries, and engrossed on parchment in fair characters, whatever might be his respect and his admiration, his satisfaction was modified by the reflection that, even should the manuscript be placed within his reach, he was totally incompetent to master a syllable of its contents. But

¹ See Cancianus, *Barbarorum leges antiquae*, v.

² *Leggi criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto, in un solo volume raccolte*, Venezia, 1751.

³ "Comenza il Primo Libro di Statuti et Leze di Venetia, i quali composti, reformadi et diagegadi, et redutti in uno, et di nuovo publicati sono, nel tempo dell' illustriss. M. Jacomo Theopolo, inclito Doze de Venetiani." Correndo l' anno della Incarnazione del Signore MCCXLII. A di 6 uscendo il mese Settembrio; Inditione Prima. A copy of a later edition of the *Statuto* will be found in Harl. MSS. 4770. The *Statuti et ordini di Venetia* were printed at Venice, 4to, 1475, and folio, 1477.

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when he heard the Promission recited aloud in the Church of Saint Mark before the coronation, and when he heard My Lord the Doge engage by word of mouth to observe the laws and the constitution, to revere the municipal customs of the Republic, and to dispense justice without bias, he understood what was signified; and he felt that in common with the rest of his countrymen he had the most substantial safeguard against the corruption of judges, the tyranny of magistrates, and even the excesses of the Crown itself. Hence it unquestionably arose that the coronation oath was venerated by the early Venetians as the first and greatest of constitutional guarantees; and in the same fact lies the true explanation of the consequence attached to the solemn investiture of the Doge, which took place from a period of the highest antiquity in one of the metropolitan cathedrals before a multitude of persons who, although they might never have seen a spelling-book, had a sufficiently keen sense of their own interests and a tolerably correct estimate of their own rights.

But an age, in which a knowledge at least of the rudiments of learning is so widely diffused, is almost incapable of comprehending the condition of affairs, when printed literature had no existence, and popular education was untouched ground. At the hands of two later rulers, Reniero Zeno and Giovanni Dandolo, 1252-68, 1280-89, the five books of the Statute underwent farther processes of enlargement and revision; and, in the course of 1255, appeared an improved edition of the *Nautical Capitulary* originally published in 1225. The present Capitulary was divided into 129 chapters.¹ It does not appear to have been till nearly a century after, that the next attempt at codification was made under the auspices of the doge Francesco Dandolo (1328-39), who incorporated a Sixth Book.

The Statute, in its amplified form, embraced all those judicial reformatations which had been periodically enacted by various councils since the last consolidating measure of 1242, in continued amendment or elucidation of the laws affecting appeals, transfer, descent, and administration of property, dower, wardship, and widowhood, testamentary jurisdiction, and other germane matters; and the additions alone extended to seventy-seven chapters.² The work was again re-edited by the doge Andrea

¹ Cancianus, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, v.

² Dandolo, lib. x., p. 363; Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 558. *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, Ven. 1477, folio; *Novissimum statutorum Venetorum volumen*, Ven. 1729 4to.

Dandolo (1343-54), who proclaimed it on the 26th of November 1346; and in an age when juridical learning was a rare accomplishment, it at once established the reputation of its successive compilers as legists and legal antiquaries.

The change, which was wrought in the aspect of jurisprudence toward the middle of the thirteenth century, preceded by nearly two hundred years the accidental discovery at Amalfi, in 1416, of the celebrated *Pandecta* of Justinian: and any features of resemblance or points of identity between the latter and the Statute of 1242 are therefore apt to create an impression, that the old customs on which the Statute was unquestionably based in considerable measure, were neither more nor less than detached fragments of Roman law, of which all record had been lost in the lapse of time. The course of procedure, which was pursued at Venice in civil actions in conformity with the letter of the Statute, distinctly reveals indeed a Roman prototype.

By the principles established in 1242, the STATUTE was divided into Five Books, and the latter were subdivided into two hundred and three chapters.¹

The first Book, which extended to one-and-twenty chapters, set forth—I. The form of appeal in civil actions and actions for debt. II. Certain regulations for the non-alienation of church temporalities, which could not be accomplished in the case of Bishops without the consent of their clergy, or by the Metropolitan without the sanction of the episcopal bench. III. The Law of Evidence; 2. The different classes of evidence, and to what extent, as well as in what manner, each was admissible; 3. The amount of proof, which was necessary under various circumstances; 4. The examination of witnesses, and the competence of the sitting Judge to compel the attendance of any person, whose testimony might be supposed relevant to the point at issue;² 5. The acceptance or refusal of Bail. IV. The Law of Marriage: 1. The regulations connected with the Settlement of the dower, and its treatment; 2. The share of the wife in the estate of her husband during coverture, and her claim after his decease, over and above the dower, to the free and absolute use of any property, which might have been left intestate. V. The Law of Inheritance,³ which contained provision for cases, where the departed left behind him sons only, or daughters only; 2. Or both; 3. Or

¹ *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, 1477.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, lib. iv. cap. 24-7.

neither, in which instance, if no heir-apparent appeared within a stated time, it was the practice to purchase the estate in the name of the Commune, and afterward to sell it by auction; 3. The rule for the partition of any property, which might have been left to several persons in co-parceny or in common, and which one of the co-heirs might wish to distribute; 4. The two principles that in default of other issue, children born out of wedlock might succeed to possession, wherever it could be shown that the parents had at a subsequent period, and prior to the preparation of the will, been lawfully united; and secondly, that no testament or codicil could be pronounced valid, by which a child, whether legitimate or otherwise, was totally disinherited. In this particular the Venetian law followed the Civil Code. It was the *Legitima Portio* of Roman jurisprudence, and was analogous to the Scottish *Legitim*. VI. The Law of Probate and Testamentary Jurisdiction, whereby, among other points, such as had taken the cowl or the veil, being accounted civilly dead, were declared incompetent to make wills,¹ to succeed to property, or to administer the property of others. VII. The Law of Insolvency, exhibiting the relations between Debtor and Creditor, in which respect the Venetian practice, though undoubtedly marked by severity, was a considerable modification of the Roman Law. It was the practice to advertise defaulting and fraudulent traders by cry, and in the fourteenth century it had become usual for bankrupt estates to be wound up by the *consoli dei mercatanti*.

The Second Book of the Statute, embracing fifteen chapters only, treated—I. of the appointment of Guardians and Trustees to the estates of Minors² and Lunatics, of the necessity of bringing forward competent and proper witnesses to prove in the latter case, that the patient was of unsound mind, and unable to manage his own affairs; 2. The disposition of the property of the insane person; 3. The right of his or her heir or heirs to succeed to possession in due course, and to make wills; 4. The obligation imposed on the Trustee to surrender his charge, and to give an account of its administration, in the event of the lunatic dying, or recovering the use of his faculties.

The Third and Fourth Divisions, consisting of sixty-three and

¹ *Statuti di Venetia*, edit. 1477, cap. 28.

² In the *Codex Publicorum*, quoted by Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 138, appears the petition of one of the Celsi family for the restitution of certain property, which had been unjustly taken from him during his minority, his parents or guardians having died abroad.

thirty-six chapters respectively, bore — I. Upon the Law of Partnership. II. Upon the Law of Landlord and Tenant, among the articles of the latter of which appears a provision for the omission to pay rent, and similar contingencies. III. Upon the Law of Possession.

The Fifth Section, which was limited to eighteen chapters, was of a somewhat miscellaneous nature. It contained several isolated clauses respecting the possession and descent of Property, and the character of Title-Deeds, which were valid only when they bore the signature of two, at least, of the Examiners. This Book likewise constituted a receptacle for one of the stray articles on the Law of Insolvency, which strictly belonged to the first division, but which were scattered through the whole body of the collection without much regard to order or perspicuity. This absence of method, notwithstanding the vigorous attempt which had been made to digest and classify the contents of the Statute, still continued to be a leading blemish in a system which was, on the whole, entitled to the highest encomium.

The farther instalment of the work published in 1346¹ comprises many interesting features, while it is liable to the same objection, as regards the absence of order and classification. Civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical matters follow one another, and are mixed up together; and there are certain clauses which form supplementary enactments to the *Nautical Capitulary* hereafter described. Even in re-editing the entire corpus of legislation from the earliest period down to 1720, the superintendent of the collective volume printed in 1729 has done nothing in the direction of collating or consolidating his material, and has merely presented to us the labours of successive ages in a crude and raw state. There are Books i.-v. of the Statute; Book vi.; the Statutes of the Judges charged with hearing Petitions; a series of Decrees of various kinds from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century; the Pisani Law of Appeal, 1492; the Practice of the Palace in relation to legal procedure; Additions to the Statutes of 1242-1346 under a succession of Doges from 1487 to 1677: Laws, Ordinances, and Decrees of various Councils in Civil Actions or Causes: A Summary in alphabetical form of all the Laws, which constitutes the sole attempt at a synopsis of the Contents.

Besides the *Statuta Veneta* of 1729, however, there were the successive collections made by Bartolommeo Zamberti in the

¹ *Statuta Veneta*, 1729, p. 72 *et seq.*

sixteenth century, apparently no longer known, and those of Giovanni Finetti and Marino Angeli, commenced in 1609 and not completed and published till 1688; and in 1685 the Council of Ten caused a fair copy to be made of all the ordinances of the Great Council, which still remains in manuscript among the Venetian archives.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the practice of usury was assuming dangerous proportions; the followers of the calling, both Venetians and foreigners, were extraordinarily numerous; and the rates of interest, which they had grown into the habit of exacting, were exorbitant and ruinous. It was thought necessary to check the progress of the evil; and in the third year of Zeno's administration, a resolution, which passed into law, was carried (June 10, 1254) by the Great Council, to the effect that it should hereafter be unlawful for any person, whether a born subject of the Republic or an alien, to put out money to usury, or to cause it to be put out to usury, in any wise, at home or abroad, under penalty, for the first offence, of the forfeiture of the whole amount so invested and a pecuniary mulct, and on the second conviction, of undergoing a similar punishment in addition, if a Venetian, to being publicly branded as a money-lender, if a foreigner, to being expelled from the Dogado. It seems likely that the measure ought to be construed in a restricted sense, and that it by no means contemplated the legitimate current quotation on the Exchange; and it may be suspected, moreover, that it was directed principally against the Jews, for whom, although there might be a larger sympathy at Venice than elsewhere, there was no willing toleration, and who may have already begun, about this period, to render themselves troublesome and obnoxious. There is also some room for an hypothesis, that this Usury Act of 1254 originated among the greater Venetian capitalists, and that the legislation was therefore founded on a belief that it would practically entail inconvenience and loss only on the smaller traders and Hebrew brokers, by whom the former were supplied with money on certain conditions.

In 1288,¹ a statute was enacted for the first time in the Great Council (September 27) against the crime of Bigamy. It was prescribed by this law, that the offender, whether a Venetian or a foreigner resident in Venice, should be required to make restitution of any property which he might have received with his

¹ *Leggi criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto*, 1751.

second wife, and if no such property existed, or in other words, if money had not formed the inducement to the transaction, he should be adjudged to pay to the aggrieved party, that is to say, the woman whom he might have inveigled into marriage by misrepresenting his existing engagements, an indemnity of 100 *lire* within a stated time, or in default to undergo a twelvemonth's imprisonment.

In the laws of a city, where monetary transactions were necessarily so constant and extensive, it was natural to attach special weight to such as affected the relations between Debtor and Creditor, and laid down the principle of operation in the recovery of claims, and in the prosecution of fraudulent insolvents. On these points, therefore, it is not astonishing to find the Statute more than usually explicit. Whenever one Venetian desired to open a civil action against another, it was necessary for him to present himself in the first instance before the Doge in Common Pleas, and there to pray for a *Ministerial* or licence *in jure*, with an order to the defendant to appear on a certain day in answer to the charge. If the ground of complaint seemed good and sufficient, the prayer of the plaintiff was allowed; and the *subpoena* was left by an officer of the Court at the dwelling of the defendant, whose absence from home was not admissible, under ordinary circumstances, as a plea of ignorance. If at the appointed time the defendant appeared, a space of four days from the date of service was granted to him for the purpose of obtaining counsel; and on the expiration of that term legal proceedings were suffered to commence. In difficult and complicated cases, the Bench often found itself unable to arrive at an immediate decision on the facts before it; and in such circumstances sentence was necessarily deferred. In this manner suits and litigations were sometimes prolonged over several years; instances were known in which their duration exhausted several lives.

When it happened, on the other hand, that the defendant neglected to reply to the summons either in person or by proxy, and the suit of the plaintiff appeared to be just, the law provided that the Judge should grant an order, which forbade the recusant at his peril to leave the Dogado, unless the defendant himself or his friends were in a position to offer sufficient bail. In criminal proceedings, at all events, the unlawful withdrawal from jurisdiction was known as "breaking the confines," and entailed a special penalty.

The judicial writ remained in force during a twelvemonth,

when a second and definitive summons was issued by the Court on the same understanding as regarded the choice of counsel, as in the preceding instance. If the defendant still continued to be a defaulter, no farther grace was extended to him; and after receiving on oath the evidence of the plaintiff and his witnesses, judgment was recorded against the absentee.

Such was the form of procedure, in actions for debt and other civil suits when the amount involved upward of fifty *lire di piccoli*, in the bishoprics of Caorlo, Malamocco and Torcello. In the other dioceses, or in cases where the debt or other claim fell below such an amount, the Court declined to grant a second summons. Than the adoption for political purposes of the ecclesiastical divisions of a State, nothing was more common at that time; but the origin of the inequality of civil rights lay in some ancient franchise accorded to the favoured localities at a period when the Republic was alternately swayed by the contending factions of Malamocco and Heraclia.

It was one of the principles laid down in the Statute, that neither the prosecutor nor his counsel should be suffered to cross-question or interrogate the opposite party in a vexatious spirit or from an unfair motive. The acceptance or refusal of bail was at the discretion of the Bench.

The writ *Ne exeat*, which the Judge was enjoined on no account to sign without mature consideration, affected the personality of an insolvent, as well as his freedom. In case of default, or inability to satisfy the demands of the plaintiff, a distrainment was usually made on his goods and chattels, and he was committed to prison, until some satisfactory arrangement could be concluded. It was necessary, however, that the complainant should be able and willing to produce, if required, his legal authorisation for proceeding to extremities: for his omission or refusal at once, and *ipso facto*, destroyed the validity of his claim; and the action thereby lapsed.

In receiving evidence, considerable caution was observed.¹ Affidavits made at Constantinople were invalid, unless signed by the Venetian Bailo.² The witnesses, who might have been brought forward on either side, were severally and separately subjected by the Bench, prior to the commencement of the trial, to a searching examination; and if it became apparent, from their conflicting and contradictory statements, that they had been

¹ *Statuti di Venetia*, 1477, cap. 25.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 30.

corrupted or suborned, their testimony was rejected as worthless. It was, moreover, in the competence of a judge to call on any person who was, or even who was supposed to be, in possession of information of a relevant kind, to attend the trial; and if such person omitted to respond to the summons without assigning an adequate reason for his conduct, the judge had farther the power to inflict a penalty for contempt of the Court.

The preliminary examination of witnesses before the judge on oath may seem to have entitled the procedure of which it constituted part to the appellation, in literal strictness, of Trial by Jury.¹ The jurymen were not then understood to be twelve individuals, empannelled and removed from external influences for the purpose of deciding points of fact; but they were such persons merely as were ascertained, after due inquiry, to be best acquainted with the character of the accused, and to be most competent to give evidence on the charge under consideration, or on the case at issue. They were the neighbours, perhaps, of the defendant, his gossips, or his acquaintances. They were those with whom he had been last seen walking, or with whom he had last had money transactions. Their sole function was to make depositions; the Bench was the judge of questions of fact as well as of questions of law. The mediæval jury was as totally distinct from the modern jury as the statesmanship of the age of Petrarch was distinct from that of the nineteenth century.

Judgments were doubtless in many cases delivered by word of mouth from the Bench; but in difficult or important suits or trials we have evidence to satisfy us that it was customary to commit the decree to writing, and read it in Court. The mode in which the Doge sometimes subscribed such documents is illustrated by an abundance of extant records; and in an instrument on parchment of 8th April 1308² we observe the subscription on the part of the reigning prince, Pietro Gradenigo, accompanied by those of three judges who sat at the hearing of the case. The body of the MS. is in the handwriting of a priest (*Marcus Presbyter*), and was drawn up under the direction of the Doge or his judicial subordinates. The process of arrest or *capias* in civil suits was carried out by sergeants or apparitors, of whom the precise antiquity is not known, but who in the thirteenth century were sufficiently established and notorious to

¹ See Prior's *Ancient Danish Ballads*, iii. 62.

² Original sold at Sotheby's rooms in 1892.

give their name to a street, the *Ruga domorum de sergentibus*, where, no doubt, as with us, persons under detention were lodged pending proceedings. The *Domus de Sergentibus* was a sponging-house.

The juridical system of the Republic, copious and explicit enough on those points which more or less nearly touched its interest as a commercial State, is silent on many others to which we find prominence elsewhere accorded. There is no indication in the Statutes of an attempt or desire to treat the clergy as a separate and favoured caste. The members of the church enjoyed their civil rights, and at the same time were required to discharge their civil obligations; and many of them attained great influence and wealth. Nor do we encounter any provision for challenges, duels, wagers of battle, and other feudal observances or practices; and the omission is not due, as we become aware, to the exemption of Venice from the feudal system, but must be supposed to arise from the peculiar constitution, which had begun to assume a definite and concrete form, before the crusades and the principles of chivalry acquired appreciable force. At the same time, in the period of corruption and decline, the practice of duelling was by no means unknown, although it was in connection with affairs of gallantry rather than affairs of honour.

The pages of the *Promission of Crime* are not unstained by that barbarous spirit which has characterised the criminal legislation of all ages and of almost every people down to comparatively recent times. Yet there were some respects in which the Venetian laws of the thirteenth century exhibited a greater degree of mildness than the laws of other countries in the eighteenth. Such was the case with regard to bigamy, coining, and forgery, the last of which was naturally viewed in a less grave aspect at a period when the system of paper currency was hardly known. It is obvious, at the same time, that some margin is to be allowed for the discrepancy which invariably exists between the letter of the law and its practical application; and it must also be borne in mind that in a mass of unconsolidated legislation a more or less considerable number of enactments, dating from remote epochs or owing their origin to peculiar circumstances, will always be found which, though nominally and strictly enforceable, have long grown out of practice or memory. At Venice, as elsewhere, the Bench had the express power of mitigating¹ the

¹ *Statuti di Venetia*, 2nd edit. 1477, cap. 28, et alibi.

statutory penalty, or of recommending to mercy; and it may be fairer to look upon the principles laid down in the Promission as exhibiting the extreme point of rigour to which justice might be stretched than the ordinary character of its administration in the Dogado.¹

Theft and larceny were the offences with which the Venetian lawgivers dealt most severely. Like ourselves in this nineteenth century, they treated offences against property as more heinous than those against the person. The world has not outgrown this sentiment. Even in England, with all its boasted refinement, a man may steal a goose and maim his wife for life nearly on the same terms. In cases where the amount or the value of the property extracted exceeded not ten soldi, and where there was no proof of a former conviction, he or she was allowed to escape with a flogging. But on a second offence the sentence was more than proportionably heavy; and according to the gravity of the crime and the character of the offender, it ascended in a graduating scale to capital punishment, which was awarded in those instances where the amount was upward of forty lire. If the condemned person was a man, he was hanged between the Red Columns; if a woman, she was put to death in such manner as the judge might think proper to direct.

Forgers and coiners were adjudged to lose one hand. Burglary with violence, rape, and adultery were punished with the mutilation of a hand and exoculation, unless, in the two latter cases, the culprit was in a position to offer a suitable and sufficient indemnity to the injured party. Simple burglary was treated as theft.

On conviction, a prisoner was sentenced to imprisonment; to mutilation by the loss of one or more limbs, according to the nature of the offence and the frequency with which it had been committed; or to death. Of capital punishment there were several kinds: starvation, decapitation, strangulation, breaking on the wheel, and hanging. The first was accounted the most cruel; the second was generally adopted by preference in cases of political conspiracy; the third was the least ignominious; and the gibbet or submersion was the common method of disposing of ordinary malefactors who were adjudged to suffer the extreme penalty.

Where a culprit was to be publicly hanged, the scaffold was

¹ Romanin, viii. 341, furnishes a quotation from the *Memoires* of Leopold Curti, illustrating the confidence of strangers in the equity of the Venetian civil law: "Eamus ad bonos Venetos qui judicant secundum allegata et probata, et bene judicant."

erected either between the granite Columns or at one of the casements of the palace looking toward the Piazzetta, and an additional ignominy was the suspension of the body after death head downwards. At Chillon they seem to have suspended the condemned from one of the pillars inside the prison, and then to have let the remains drop into the lake through a sliding trap or panel. An analogous contrivance existed at Venice; but the secret executions there were usually accomplished by the cord or cloth (*pannicello*). In one case, which occurred in 1622, a nobleman had been privately strangled in the night, and was subsequently hanged by his feet between the columns.

Quartering was also part of the Venetian code, and one instance is known where a criminal was quartered alive. It is extremely probable that a graduating scale of remuneration for the various forms of punishment was provided, as we find such to have been the case elsewhere; but no document directly illustrating this point has yet fallen under our observation. At Hesse-Darmstadt, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, a man could be boiled in oil for 24 florins, burned alive for 14, and hanged for 10.¹ To break on the wheel cost 5 florins 30 kreutzers, while putting on the rack, branding the back or forehead, and slitting the ear or nose, brought the operator five florins only. The executioner at Venice was not infrequently an alien or at least a person not a native of the city. The individual who strangled the two Carraresi in 1406 is described as a *Schiavone* or Dalmatian Slav. Evelyn saw a novel form of execution between the Red Columns in 1646; the culprit, who had murdered his master, had his head chopped off "by an axe that slid down a frame of timber," the executioner striking the axe with a beetle. This was, in fact, a forerunner of the guillotine.

In the starving process,² the condemned, having been led to the Campanile, was there inclosed in a large wooden cage with iron bars, suspended by a strong chain from a pole attached to the building; and he was fed on a diminishing scale with bread and water which he received by letting down a cord (so strong is the love of life!), until the unfortunate wretch, exposed to every weather, perished of cold, hunger, and misery. Such was a method of punishment in extreme cases, which is known to have prevailed largely in the Peninsula during the dark ages, and to the invention of which the Venetians are not believed to be entitled.

¹ *Antiquary*, vi. 228.

² Gallicciolli, *Memorie*, lib. i. c. 8.

The *Nautical Capitulary* appeared for the first time during the administration of the doge Pietro Ziani from 1205 to 1229; and it was reproduced in an amplified form thirty years later, under the auspices of the doge Zeno (1252-1268). An unique copy of the Capitulary of 1255 was among the Quirini MSS., where it had lain neglected and forgotten during many centuries, when it was transcribed by Cancianus, and included by him in his collection of the *Barbarorum leges antiquæ*.¹ But a code of mercantile marine was compiled by order of the Senate, and published in 1786, and it is observable that its appearance was almost simultaneous with that brought out under the auspices of the French Government, which recommended the grant of nobility to deserving naval officers—a course which the Venetian representative at Paris commended to the imitation of his own country, forgetful of the fact that at Venice every naval commander was already a patrician.

The whole Capitulary is conceived in a sensible and judicious spirit; the wording of every article is lucid and unequivocal; and the minuteness, with which every point touching the tonnage, rigging, and equipment of a vessel is treated in detail, is highly admirable. It serves to indicate the degree of importance, which the Republic attached to the preservation of her Mercantile Marine in a due state of efficiency.

The code² is divided into 128 chapters; but its contents may be classified under certain heads. I. 1, The poundage of vessels; 2, the method of selecting the crew, and the number of anchors to be carried which, as well as the complement of seamen, was proportionable to the actual burden of a ship. II. 1, The reciprocal obligations of the seaman and his employer; 2, the signature of articles; 3, the payment of wages to the crew, with the penalty of omission or refusal; 4, the punishment of desertion. III. 1, the arming and victualling of ships; 2, the allowance of wine, water, flour, and biscuit; 3, the weight of metal, in the form of balistæ and other projectiles, as well as the description of side-arms and pikes with which vessels should be furnished according to their poundage. IV. 1, The lading of vessels, and the measurement of the cargo, which was to be taken at a port by the local authorities, as a precaution against the practice of excessive lading; 2, the penalty attached to the infringement of the

¹ *Barbarorum leges antiquæ*, 1792, 5 vols. folio.

² *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, 1477, sign r³, et seq.

prescribed standard, which was a fine amounting to double the value of the goods found on board beyond the legitimate quantity. V. 1, The disposition of the cargo; 2, the obligation of the consignee or consignees to remove his or their property, upon due notice being given, within two days after arrival, or in default to forfeit two *lire* a day until the law was complied with, saving always those cases in which sufficient cause could be shown for the demurrage; 3, the illegality of storing goods between decks. VI. The expenses of pilotage, which devolved on the owner. VII. 1, The appointment of ship's clerks; 2, their functions, and the character of the articles which they were required to subscribe. VIII. The reparation of damage and loss, which might accrue from various causes, and the regulations as to unseaworthy ships. IX. The duties and obligations of the Master, whether he was the owner as well as captain, or merely the latter. X. The relative authority of the Master and the local representatives of the Government at home and abroad.

Vessels were reckoned by the *pound*, not by the *ton*. The *Miliarium* was 1000 pounds. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, hardly any vessels were found to exceed 1000 or 1050 *miliaria*, i.e., about 400 tons. The utmost length was 200 feet at the keel.

All ships were marked at a certain point on one or both sides, as a water-line, with the figure of the Cross. During the first five years of service, the owner was at liberty to lade two feet and a quarter above this point. In the sixth year the standard fell to two feet; and subsequently to the seventh, not more than a foot and a half of water beyond the Cross was permissible. The character of the penalty is recorded above, and it may here be added that the Government reserved to itself the right of levying on the most valuable portion of the cargo.

The principle of marine insurance or underwriting was in full force at Venice in 1564, when a vessel and cargo, loading at Constantinople for Venice, the property of Domenigo Duodo, Brothers and Co., was underwritten by Lorenzo Bembo and Giacomo Ragazoni, on behalf of a syndicate of fifteen, for 2000 ducats for a premium of 150 ducats. The ship was lost, and the insurers received a bill for 1910 ducats drawn in favour of Duodo and Co. on the banks of Pisani and Correr.¹ It is characteristic enough that the policy of insurance of those days commenced with *Laus*

¹ *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian Series).

Deo and concluded with *Iddio la salvi!* A curious case occurred in 1588, where 100 bags of currants, consigned from Venice to London, and insured at 15 per cent, were damaged by the leakage of wines. The consignee declined to accept them, and the matter was referred to the arbitration of two grocers, John Hyde (ancestor of the Earl of Clarendon) and Richard Aldworth, who rated the loss on each bag at 40 shillings. This award was upheld by Lord Chancellor Hatton, and enrolled as a statute for future guidance and government.

It requires a rather strong effort of the imagination on our part with an overcrowded Bar and an interminable roll of attorneys, to realise a condition of the law, when its exponents and professors were exceedingly few, when no digested body of statutes was open to reference, and where nine laymen out of ten were not only unable to read a legal document, but to comprehend it, when it was read to them. In early times a complainant in a civil cause held, so to speak, his own brief; and for a great length of time the only trained practitioners were the Advocates of the Commune, who took charge of criminal proceedings, and were the legal advisers of the Executive, the still anterior Advocate of the Palace, who watched and safeguarded the legal interests of the ducal throne, and the lay advocates of monasteries common to other countries. But, in the case of the Republic and other mediæval states, the cliental relations which subsisted between large sections of the poorer classes and the great houses furnished a certain protection against injustice to a portion of the community, which would have otherwise found it impossible to make its voice heard in an ordinary tribunal. It also appears easy to see how, under such a federal constitution as Venice long possessed, the nobles might defeat the ends of justice, and shield their dependents and supporters from the legitimate operation of the law. But, apart from special considerations, the language of statutes, in common with that of treaties, has always been apt to produce a misleading impression on the student, who merely considers the text without allowing for contingencies. The probability is that no country in the world ever produced so vast a body of laws, enactments, and ordinances as the Republic, and that no country possessed so many which were virtually inoperative. Many laws were, in a practical sense, dormant, until some emergency arose to force attention to their provisions. Others were set aside, if it seemed to the Government, under exceptional

circumstances, to be necessary to dispense with them. In criminal cases, where a political question was involved, rapid and arbitrary action was the invariable course; but the Italian did not view offences against the person, even when they reached homicide, with the same eyes as others are accustomed to do, unless the victim was some one of rank and influence. The civil side, while it existed and worked on the ostensible principle of equality of rights for every Venetian, laboured under the same disadvantage and reproach as the civil side in all places and under all systems, but more especially in former times and in regions more or less subject to Oriental sentiment. In regard to the real distance between legislation on paper and legislation in fact there is the peculiarly noteworthy maxim, that the Venetians were in these matters more given to talking than doing.

CHAPTER LII

Police—Primitive system—*Signori di Notte*—*Cinque alla Puce*—*Sbirri*—Passports—The Bravo—Prisons—Primitive places of detention—Colloquial names for them—The Torricella, Orba, Gheba, and Catolda prisons—The Terranuova—*Carceri Forti* or *di Sotto*—Celebrated inmates of some of these places—Classification of prisoners in 1441—Separation of civil and criminal offenders and of the sexes—The *Piombi*—Comparison of Venetian with other prison systems.

THE preservation of the public peace devolved in the first instance on the *Capi de' Sestieri* or *Chiefs of the Wards*, under whom were the *Capi de' Contradi* or *Chiefs of the Streets*; and subordinated to the latter again was a certain Staff of Officials, denominated *Custodi* or *Watchmen*. These patrolled the streets and canals, and took into custody any refractory vagrants and any troublesome passengers by land or water, reporting them to their immediate Capo, who, in his turn, submitted the circumstances to the consideration of his chief, the Capo Del Sestiero. The latter, who was a species of stipendiary magistrate, possessed the power of disposing of petty offences, or of inflicting summary penalties of a light nature and short terms of imprisonment. But in cases where the delinquency happened to be of a graver complexion, the Chief of the Ward simply committed the prisoner for trial before the Judges of the Palace or other tribunal, or, when that Board had been established, handed him over to the *Signori di Notte*.

There can be little doubt that the Chiefs of the Wards, the Chiefs of the Streets, and the Watchmen, with their graduated functions, represent the germ of a system which was afterward carried to much higher perfection, and which terminated, as it might have been expected to terminate under a Government with such tendencies, in the conversion of these officers of the peace into a political organ and a secret service.

There are some missing links between the police of the thirteenth and the police of the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

turies, which it is not easy to supply. In the slow transition which the office of *Custode* underwent, it was necessarily divested of that simplicity which originally belonged to it. The Republic was in this respect far from being in the rear of her neighbours and contemporaries; and it may be surmised that the Venetian constable of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was at least as efficient a guardian of the Peace of my Lord the Doge, as the English sixteenth-century character, which Shakspear has immortalised in Dogberry.

In a metropolis, where civil tumults long continued to be so frequent, and where private plots and assassinations were so common, the existence of a numerous and efficient body of watchmen became a point of the utmost consequence; and it is probable that a series of flagitious crimes was powerfully instrumental in producing the development and extension of the system.

The *Signori di Notte*, whom every incident of a criminal tenor in the course of the Annals has brought under notice, appear to have arisen as an institution under this title posterior to the distribution of the city into *Sestieri* or Wards in the twelfth century; and, agreeably to this municipal arrangement, they were six in number. They combined the functions of the superintendent of police and the commissioner of sewers. In common with other public bodies, they had their own code, defining their duties and jurisdiction, which comprised on the one hand a personal surveillance by night over the capital, and on the other control over the repair of bridges and highways.

The reason for this dualism was perhaps the exceptional opportunity which the board enjoyed of observing during their constant visits to all parts of the city any points which required attention. They were even charged in 1241 with the execution of a decree of the Great Council regarding the glass furnaces, and directed to add the clause to their capitulary.

These functionaries, who were often patricians of high family, seem to have occupied a position analogous to that of the Roman *triumviri*.¹ Their office in 1341 is shown to have been on the terreno or basement, over which at that point of time the new saloon of the Great Council was appointed to be built, and to be supported on columns, with an open staircase leading to the apartment. The Signori in fact were lodged in the vicinity of the old *camerotti*, and their quarters probably had a direct com-

¹ Bekker's *Gallus* by Metcalfe, princip.

munication with these. The designation carries with it the exclusive idea of nocturnal jurisdiction, and at the outset the Lords of the Night were doubtless called into existence to supplement and oversee the Watch. But their functions gradually extended, and down to the time when the Republic provided itself with a corps of Sbirri and the *Messer Grande* or *Capo*, there was no other police executive to protect the capital and carry out the orders of councils.

We have had occasion to record the precautions which the Council of Ten in 1310, at the very outset of its career, while the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy was yet fresh in all minds, concerted with a view to the maintenance of public order and safety. But previously to that event the existence of the *Cinque alla Pace* with an independent bureau seems to be conclusively established by the fact that one of the acts of the conspirators was to burn these premises in common with others.

This Board or Bench dealt with offences of a more or less petty or subsidiary character within the metropolitan area, and formed the tribunal, before which the Lords of the Night brought or summoned the culprits. But in capital or important matters of a political character they do not seem to have intervened. The Lords of the Night received their instructions in such cases direct from the Ten or the Signory, as we perceive in the Foscari affair in 1456.

But whatever the value of the machinery for preserving the public safety in dangerous and unsettled times, and in the face of growing jealousy on the part of certain foreign Powers, may be or may have been, the tragical and alarming incidents and complications attending the conspiracy of the Duke of Ossuna in 1618, and its nearness to accomplishment, imposed on the Government the necessity of trying to render another occurrence of the same kind an impossibility; and the system of police surveillance was made far more strict and effectual. The presence of disreputable and suspicious characters in the capital and its outskirts had long been a matter of notoriety; but there was evidently no idea that in the very heart of the Republic, almost under the eyes of the Executive, such a formidable plot could be brought to the eve of maturity without discovery or betrayal. The key to the mischief lay in the facilities which were afforded by so many gorge-like thoroughfares, which it was unsafe for the ordinary officers of police to penetrate, by the improper advantage taken of diplomatic

sanctuaries, and by the promiscuous groups which on some pretext were constantly lounging about the open spaces. Such was the occasion, and such the sufficient apology, for the claim of the Decemvirs to take into their own hands the control of the secret detective force, known as the *sbirri*, just as in 1459 they had judged it requisite to reserve for their own special use the Torricella prison.

We seem to be deficient of an exact knowledge of the circumstances under which the *sbirro* or private instrument of the Decemvirs and College arose. He was an official evidently chosen with particular care; and the election of one is incidentally mentioned in 1625¹ as on the eve of accomplishment by the votes of the Council; and we hear only casually of the *sergeants*, whose province it was to arrest for debt, and who did not intervene in criminal procedure. They had their sponging-houses to which they conveyed their prisoners, and where they temporarily detained them.

Of anything approaching an urban constabulary of the modern type the older Venice was naturally destitute. The majority retired to rest at the sound of the curfew; and nocturnal wayfarers were usually individuals or parties on their return from an entertainment. The mission of the *sbirro*, when he appeared on the scene, was purely political; and public nuisances and even misdemeanours are always interpreted by local and contemporary sentiment. The earliest precautions against disorder and violence were directed against a class of persons whom the ancient constitution scarcely recognised, the hired emissary of a domestic malcontent or of a foreign court; for the feuds of the clans in the Middle Ages and the quarrels of great families were matters, so long as they lasted, beyond the control of an ordinary police—very often beyond that of the Executive itself, till the latter was more consolidated; and, in fact, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was decided by the Ten to force an entrance into the French embassy, the task was assigned to the workmen of the Arsenal.

The *sbirri* were under the immediate superintendence of a *Capo della sbirraglia*, who was officially known as *Messer grande*, and who formed part of public processions or gatherings, where the Doge and the Signory attended in State. He was usually assisted by the *uscieri* of the Council of Ten; but Venetian crowds were,

¹ Romanin, vi. 205.

as a rule, orderly enough to render a very slight amount of control sufficient.

The Sieur de la Haye, although he appears to have been acquainted with Venice, and was employed by the Republic, assuredly mistakes the function and place of the *sbirro*, when he speaks of him as being under a provost called a constable, and of the force itself as being devoted to the execution of the orders of the Senate, and consisting in the suppression of ordinary ruffianism. He also thought that the *sbirro* would not presume to lay his hands on a gentleman. But it is quite likely that the writer is correct in describing his method of capture, for it is precisely that adopted in the case of the Cavaliere Foscari in 1622. "If at any time it be their duty to seize upon any of them [the rascals]," he says, "they [the *sbirri*] throw their cloaks over their head, and muffling them up in that manner, they carry them to prison." De la Haye gives us to understand at the same time that the water-police was very inefficient; this was about 1660.¹

Apart from the credentials furnished to diplomatic representatives and the military safe-conducts issued in time of war, unknown strangers coming to Venice were apparently obliged to obtain a passport at the point of departure, establishing their identity, the route to be taken, and the freedom of the place which they left from plague or other cause of infection. Such documents have a natural tendency to disappear; but one, connected with a very painful incident in 1607, is preserved with the rest of the evidence collected at the time.² It introduces Rutilio Orlandini of or from Ferrara:—

"GRATIS,

"Baptista Mazzarelus judex sapientum et conservatores sanitatis civitatis et ducatus Ferrariae. Facciamo fede come da questa citta, per la Dio gratia sana et libera da ogni sospitione di peste, si parte M. Rutilio Orlandini per Rovigo, Padova et Venetia con suoi arnesi.

SEAL.

Dat. Ferrara a di 6 ott. 1607."

[SIGNATURES.]

Orlandini contemplated a visit to the city, and had luggage

¹ The *sbirro* was adopted by the Austrians after the Treaty of Campo Formio, and became under that rule more officious and obnoxious than he had been under the old Republic.

² Romanin, vii. 72-73.

(*arnesi*). He had scarcely crossed the Venetian frontier, when he was arrested by order of the Ten, and brought to Venice a prisoner. He was suspected of being privy to a projected attempt on the life of Paolo Sarpi. An intimation had reached the Government from the ambassador at Rome, that Orlandini might be expected, and had some nefarious object in view. He had formerly been in Venetian employment. Evelyn, on leaving Venice in the spring of 1646 to proceed to Milan, and to other parts of the Spanish dominions in Italy, procured a passport from the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, and has preserved the text in his *Diary*. A considerable portion of the document is occupied by the titles of his Excellency.

The system of foreign mercenary service, and the facilities which it afforded to lawless and proscribed members of communities to earn a livelihood, or perhaps to retrieve a career, seems to have laid the foundation of that discreditable and scandalous element in Venetian life, the Bravo, who derived his origin and subsistence from a dissolute class unknown to the more primitive times and the product of the impoverishment and demoralisation arising from misfortune or extravagance. In the wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, families of ancient standing had already suffered vicissitudes, and had lost social and political weight; and the Republic itself gradually counted even among those, who were qualified to sit on the benches of the Great Council, unscrupulous adventurers with small or no resources, who were prepared to lend their aid to any profligate scheme either for the sake of obtaining a pecuniary advantage or of gratifying a personal resentment. It was partly to assist in the execution of such undignified and compromising movements, and partly to screen the principals, that the latter gathered round them desperados, who had no pride to wound and no reputation to forfeit. But there were other cases, in which patricians, who had their wild oats still unsown, made use of these instruments merely to enable them to indulge in licentious and foolish pranks under the very windows of the Ten and in the very teeth of the police. The occasions were not frequent; but they were sufficiently so to reveal a germ of corruption and decadence.

The evil is disclosed in what may be regarded as its parent type in an episode of 1355, where we come across certain desperate characters engaged to throw discredit on the aristocracy during the Faliero plot, and ostensibly prepared to lend themselves without inquiry or scruple to any project for a price; and the vicious

system and element remained more or less active throughout the entire duration of independent Venetian life. A second and even more distinct trace of this type of social distemper meets the eye less than twenty years later on, when the accomplices in the Novello conspiracy are discovered in a house of bad repute kept by a humpbacked woman; these individuals are clearly adventurers of the same stamp. The mischief acquired an habitual character—almost became part of the daily experience. In 1510 one Agostino Coppo, a Venetian patrician, was outlawed on account of some outrage committed by him; he subsequently stabbed to death another nobleman, who had been equally proscribed; we next hear of him as successively in the service of Julius II. and Leo X., of whom the latter interceded for him with the Signory without effect. He succeeded, however, in currying favour with Francis I., whom he helped in his amours and even in his toilette; and his death is recorded in 1517. We here recognise a portrait of a man, who could point to respectable and even noble ancestors, whose name was on the register of the Great Council, and who was not ashamed to stoop to acts the most unwarrantable and the most unworthy. Even in that century there were periodical street-squabbles between parties of hot-headed young aristocrats and men of lower social rank. A knot of these former, accompanied by some *bravi*, armed with arquebuses, go to Lido, and encounter a party of *bravi* with their female associates. One of the women being insulted by Carlo Boldu, a noble, there is a collision; the Lido side is victorious, and the others are severely thrashed. A complaint is lodged by them with the council of Ten; the Council virtually replies: "you got your deserts."

The *Bravi*, of whom and of whose place in the Venetian system a wholly false estimate will be formed by the ridiculous story of the *Bravo of Venice*, were a class of men destitute of any fixed employment, who attached themselves to the casual master or masters in need of the services of bullies. They were the *Venturi* or *Forestieri* of the capital. In the earlier and purer period they would have been ordinary cliental adherents to some noble house. As the Republic lost its strength and moral tone, they grew more numerous and more abandoned, and with the Barnabotti or impoverished patricians constituted a social element capable of creating a good deal of mischief and annoyance. A signal instance presented itself, where a person, who had rendered himself amenable to justice, sought an asylum at the French

embassy, situated in the Calle St. Moise, where the police might easily be foiled in attempting a capture, even if the place had not been by courtesy and usage exempt from service and entrance. It was accounted so delicate a task, that one of the Avogadors of the commune in person repaired to the spot, accompanied by a force of police. He met three of the retainers or members of the embassy in the courtyard, and politely solicited them to announce him to their master. These men ran back, shouting to those inside to be on their guard, and Zorzi the avogador, advancing to the entrance, found the staircase blockaded and the premises in possession of a gang of ruffians, some of whom proceeded to hurl pieces of furniture and other missiles through the windows on the heads of the officers. It was in an international and diplomatic sense neutral ground; but the Council of Ten, having learned all the facts, ordered 600 men from the Arsenal to proceed to the spot, to force an entrance, and to take possession of the offender and all others implicated in the resistance to authority. The affair must have been considered by the Council a serious one, and the danger was augmented by the impregnability of the house. The Power affected by this resolute measure was one with which it was the interest of the Republic to endeavour to preserve amity, in spite of constant proofs of insincerity; but it was highly essential to let the French understand, that its representative forfeited his privilege, when he suffered his residence to be a harbour for criminals and banditti. There does not seem to be any indication that France took public cognizance of the affair. It was in 1539. The Ten were well aware, that at the Spanish legation the same abuses existed; and their action was perhaps intended as suggestive. In 1556 Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, died at Padua. His death was popularly attributed to low fever; but he was actually murdered by Marco Risano, a Dalmatian bravo, hired by the Spanish minister Ruy Gomez. His papers were consigned, at the request of the French ambassador at Venice, to the podesta of Padua, till the pleasure of Queen Mary was known. They were ultimately surrendered to England. It appears, however, that the Council of Ten had meanwhile directed their secret transmission to Venice, had examined them, opening the cabinet and closing it again with the utmost care, and had found certain documents, which they detained, and which pointed to the deceased having been an agent and spy of the French Court.

Probably the most conspicuous instance of unblushing and

callous ruffianism and defiant disregard of the laws was that of a man of aristocratic family and ancient descent, Leonardo Pesaro, who is described as having combined in his own person all the vices of the period. He flourished at the close of the sixteenth and opening of the next century; and he seems to have dedicated his life to the commission of the most atrocious crimes and the most dastardly outrages on society. He was repeatedly arrested and banished; but he continually returned, or for the time changed the theatre of his operations, for he had accomplices or tools in several places outside the capital. On the 28th February 1601, passing under the window of Lucrezia Baglioni, mistress of a nobleman named Paolo Lioni, he addressed to her some ribaldry, which he begged her to convey to her protector; and the same evening, meeting them both at a wedding *fête*, he muttered the expressions between his teeth in their hearing. "What are you saying, fool?" inquired Lioni, smiling and collected! "What I please," retorted Pesaro, "and if any one desires to cross swords with me, I am at his service." Lioni retired, observing that that was not the time or the place to discuss such matters. But the other, going home, armed himself, and collecting some *bravi*, went in search of the chosen companion of his infamous exploits, Camillo Trevisano, who was at All Saints with his mistress, Camilla Cocchia; he pulled him out of bed, saying, "Come! there is something for us to do." They put on their morions and masks, and returned to the residence of Lucrezia, where they assailed her with their bucklers, and assassinated Lioni. They then made a raid among the company at the marriage, ran from one room to another, wounding several of the guests, and extinguishing all the torches, except one, which the bridegroom held in one hand, while he defended his wife with a chair held in the other.

So during some time this scoundrel continued, in spite of the Government, to torment and insult all those with whom he was brought anyhow into contact. But on the 3rd April the same year, having eluded arrest, he was expelled from the Venetian territories by default, and the price of 300 ducats set upon his head. The sentence was published, and it included his associates Camillo Trevisano and Gabriele Morosini. Here the curtain falls.

A still different type of social scourge was due to the unsettled semi-feudal state of the Venetian provinces so late as the second half of the last century. In 1760 a certain

Count Alamanno Gambara, a signorotte and virtual outlaw in the Bresciano, was banished on pain of death, if he was taken, for collecting round him brigands and bravi, whom he used as instruments for a systematic course of violence and rapine. This notorious personage was not improbably of the same family as that celebrated in another sphere and in an anterior century, Veronica Franco, who was by birth a Gambara of Brescia.

Collaterally with this loose and profligate posture of affairs under so strict and vigilant an executive as that of Venice was the introduction of that curious and foolish aftergrowth of the days of chivalry, the Duel, of which no trace is to be detected in the earlier sentiments or laws of the Republic. It was one of the vices which the Venetians borrowed from the West, as they borrowed others from the East. The system followed the same lines as elsewhere; its incidence is reflected for our edification in the drama and stage of the eighteenth century; gentlemen called each other out on the most frivolous pretexts; nor was there a freedom from the abuse even of a folly, for the bully and the bravo here again played their part, and used the fashion as a medium for levying blackmail from cowards. There is a story of a Sicilian at Bergamo, who habitually claimed the wall, and made every one go into the kennel, under threat of an appeal to the sword till, meeting a reverend canon one day, the latter presented a pistol at the head of the fellow, and made him give way.

The aggregate body of bravi in Venice had perhaps reached its height in 1618 at the time of the Spanish plot, for, when the movement was discovered, all the lodgings in certain parts of the city were found to be thronged with persons of this class either guilty or suspected of being hirelings of the Spanish incendiaries and assassins. But in 1611, when matters between Venice and Spain were growing critical, the Spanish embassy was known to harbour the worst characters, and to shield them under a diplomatic figment.

The Sieur de la Haye,¹ referring to the habits of the Venetian aristocracy about 1670, mentions that, whether they were in their coaches or on horseback, they were accompanied by a rabble of Hectors they call *Bravi*, many times only in ostentation, but too often for a worse end.

In the descriptions which reach us of these collisions and affrays from the seventeenth century the sword and pistol, however,

¹ *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, 1671, p. 68.

are less frequent as weapons employed than the arquebus and stiletto, of which the former strikes us as strangely clumsy and inconvenient. The stiletto, on the contrary, was the perfection of lightness and portability; it was the implement used by the counterfeit Italian who stabbed Fra Sarpi in 1607. An exquisite refinement of atrocity was the glass poignard, of which the hollow blade was a receptacle of poison; but perhaps this delicate invention may have existed only in the imaginative brain of the author of the *Bravo of Venice*.

It was remarked by Montaigne in 1580, or at least by his secretary, that in the Venetian territories alone people did not carry side-arms. This peculiarity, however, if it had been so, dated only from the fourteenth century, when the Government found it necessary to restrain the mischief and bloodshed arising from *mêlées* in the streets. But if side-arms were not openly used, concealed weapons were generally at hand, and the arquebus, when gunpowder was introduced, seems to have been treated with almost strange toleration.

The bravo possibly survived the revolutionary changes of 1797, yet in a very degenerate shape. He no longer performed the notable exploits of his professional ancestors, who were ready at the bidding of their hirers for any dark and atrocious villany, regardless of persons, so long as it was no one immediately associated with the Executive. In the ill-lighted state of the subsidiary thoroughfares down to the close of the old regime, it was an easy task to push the object of attack, when he had been tracked, into a canal, after passing a rapier through his body; and these ruffians actually went so far as to slash the features with a razor (*dar uno friso*) of a wife or mistress, who had incurred the resentment of an injured husband or lover. Such men of course expected high pay; but they too often escaped detection through their knowledge of the movements of the police, if not a friendly understanding with the force. There seems to be slight doubt that, towards the close, there was a commencing tendency on the part of the administration to curb the assumption and violence of the nobility with its abandoned and reckless environments in the form of bravos and courtezans, who were at all times prepared to join in any nefarious and desperate enterprise. Sometimes the guilty party or parties of course escaped justice, as when in 1785 a Count of Brescia (possibly identical with the above-mentioned Gambara) succeeded in ridding himself of no fewer than twenty persons, whom

he deemed obnoxious. But in another case a patrician, who had long owed a sum of money to an operative, and who tried to dispose of the matter by shooting his creditor, was disarmed by the latter on his own premises, and when the affair was brought before the Inquisitors, they directed the immediate settlement of the debt and substantial security for good behaviour. But, which was the most curious aspect of the affair, the Signore was required to find a bravo, whose function it was to follow the injured man everywhere, and see that no harm befell him.

The Prisons and Prison Policy of Venice form a subject which has a natural and necessary affinity with her laws and with her civilisation. The knowledge which the majority, even of educated persons, possess of this matter has been derived from the modern narrative of Pellico and the so-called *Memoirs of Casanova*, from the historical romancists of France and the notes to Byron's *Childe Harold*. Those who have seen the ancient prisons of Germany and Italy, and who can remember that, during the reign of King Bomba at Naples, a system of brutal ferocity and cruelty parallel to the darkest mediæval types prevailed, do not require to be admonished that early Venetian gaols and gaolers were not such agreeable acquaintances as the model institutions which almost offer a premium to crime. The modern opulence of artificial light, however, prepares us to regard with greater repugnance the total state of darkness incidental to the more rigorous forms of punishment than those to whom a total state of darkness was under normal conditions familiar after dusk.

The oldest place of durance at Venice appears to have been analogous to the *Geôle Prévôtale* at Paris, which is delineated by Lacroix. Both, in fact, were the municipal prison. In the one case, the building and its inmates were under the charge of the Provost of Paris; in the other, under that of the gastaldi or tribunes, who were at first supreme magistrates in their own persons, and, subsequently to the creation of the ducal office, became the functionaries or ministers for the control of civil and criminal jurisdiction immediately subordinate to the Crown.

The original city prison was part of the tribunitial residence, on the site of part of the present ducal palace; it probably occupied the basement. There can be no question whatever that the earliest arrangements were excessively barbarous and imperfect, both in respect to accommodation and treatment; and of course the demand for additional space soon arose. In 1321, two con-

tiguous houses were fitted up for the reception of prisoners; and only five or six years later (March 2, 1326) the gastaldi had to find quarters elsewhere, the whole block beneath the palace being appropriated to the purpose. These places of confinement, in which civil and criminal offenders were herded together without much discrimination, as at the Marshalsea and the Fleet, were called *camerotti*; and on the eastern side of the canal, which bathed the walls of the palace, lay another block which, at a much later date, was connected with the main building by a bridge. Many of these prisons were distinguished by particular names conferred on them under a variety of circumstances. There were, for instance, the *Lione* or *Liona*, the *Volcano*, the *Frescagioja*, the *Mosina*, and the *Moceniga*. The two last were christened after the individuals whose dwellings had been taken by the Government to meet enlarged requirements. The first is specified in judicial proceedings of 1549.

The primitive theory in regard to the custody of the keys of the prisons was that the Doge held them; but practically, no doubt, the officer or officers of the gastaldi undertook the charge, so long as all arrangements remained on a simple footing, and the requirements were not large.

In an official paper of 1354, the Torricella or Dorasel, the Orba (Blind), the Gheba (Gabbia or Cage), and the Catolda are described as the *Carceres Superiores*. The three former, at least, were chiefly devoted to prisoners of state or of high rank, and were pretty clearly nothing more than ranges of apartments in the ducal residence fitted up as wards in comparatively comfortable fashion. The *Orba* was reached by a corridor leading from the *Sala delle Quattro Porte*. The palace underwent from time to time such extensive alterations, resulting in the gradual disappearance of all the ancient edifice, that it is far from easy to identify the exact position of all these; but perhaps the Gheba was constructed over the new Great Council Chamber erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and faced the Rio di Palazzo. The Catolda may have been on the eastern bank of the canal, where two or three tiers of cells are on the right hand, as any one stands on the *Ponte della Paglia*, looking toward the *Ponte dei Sospiri*. The latter are at present the only portions in actual use; but they have been modernised.

The Torricella, of which the Gheba was a later adjunct, is fairly supposed to have been a remnant—the last surviving one—of the turreted and fortified building which rose on the site of a

still more ancient mansion-house of the Doge after the great fire of 976. It then formed the eastern tower of the palace, somewhat in the same way as the Donjon tower at Vincennes; and it held the suite of apartments assigned to the Emperor Otto III. when he visited Venice in 998.

One of the earliest allusions to the Torricella as a place of durance is a passage in Sanudo, derived from the MS. Chronicle of Zaccaria da Pozzo, where an account, which has the air of authenticity, but which has been discredited by some, is furnished of the mode in which the Government, in or about 1301, disposed of certain political agitators. Here it is explicitly stated that they were inveigled into the Great Council, a few at a time, on a fictitious pretext, and sent away to the Torricella, where, when their corpses had been stripped, they were thrown into what is termed a *trabocco*, otherwise a well, pit, cellar, or some sort of *oubliette*, till the process of slaughter was completed. At this date, it is therefore perhaps presumable that the portion of the palace, originally devoted to normal purposes, had been set apart as a gaol, with the usual subterranean appurtenances; its choice on the particular occasion (if the story is to be credited) was recommended by its proximity; but it usually occurs as the destination of prisoners of State.

Carmagnola was committed to the Orba in 1432, and the younger Foscari to the Torricella in 1456. In 1459 the Council of Ten directed that the latter prison should be reserved exclusively for the reception of persons committed under its immediate orders or decrees, and that the keys should be kept "in domo principis," which may import some place of safety within the precincts of the palace. At a rather later date the Count and Countess of Frangipani spent more than four years within the walls of the Torricella as prisoners of war, and it was at the expense of these two noble personages that the *Roman Breviary* of 1518 was printed at Venice by Gregorio de Gregoriis.

The count himself had been an inmate of the Torricella since 1514, when he was taken prisoner after having committed great excesses as the imperial commander in Friuli during the hostilities, which lingered so long after the formation and even virtual dissolution of the league of Cambrai. His wife was apparently permitted to join him. An inscription on the window-sill of the apartment long commemorated the abode of this distinguished couple: "Incluso qua intro . . . fino terzo zorno de setembre del MDXVIII io

Cristoforo Frangipanibus chonte de Vegia, Senia et Modrusa, et io Apolonia chonsorte de sopradito signior chonte."

Ruskin supposed that the small square tower above the Vine angle in the early sixteenth century view of Venice, ascribed to Dürer, may have been the Torricella. "It appears," he says, "about 25 feet square." But it has now, we believe, totally vanished.¹

In 1344, when the new saloon of the Great Council was in progress, even these more airy localities were so overcrowded by all classes of prisoners, and the atmosphere of the staircase leading to the official and other apartments of the palace itself was so tainted by the absence of ventilation and the fetid throng of human beings, that a committee was appointed to report on the subject. But the evil seems to have been very slowly alleviated, although the Government from a very early date evinced a humane intelligence in dealing with what continued for centuries to be everywhere a social puzzle and a social scandal.

In 1378, after the battle of Porto d' Anzo, the Genoese prisoners were lodged at San Biagio and elsewhere under guard; and, between June 1380 and September 1381, it is said that as many as four thousand Genoese captives perished in the *Terranuova*, a name of which we then hear for the first time, and of which the designation imports a more or less recent origin. There is a probability that it was situated either at Chioggia or at the Arsenal; and, moreover, from the manner in which it is described in the Annals, the inference seems to be that the place was some storehouse (perhaps one of the vast magazines used for naval material), converted to a different account on a sudden emergency. Such of the Genoese as survived their incarceration were treated on their release with the greatest generosity by the Venetian ladies, who supplied them with food, clothes, and money; the poor wretches who died had, no doubt, succumbed to hunger and cold. But it was thought extremely hard that the enemy should have behaved on their side with such a want of proper consideration for the Venetian prisoners of the better class, that hundreds perished in exile; and it is cited as a proof of gross neglect that these unhappy persons were left without beds, and fed on bread and water. The proceedings in regard to

¹ Sansovino states that the Gheba was afterward called the Torricella; but, if such were the case, the meaning must be that when the old Torricella was finally demolished, the contiguous building took that name.

the Carrara family in 1405 are a collateral indication that a bread-and-water diet was prescribed at Venice only in extreme cases, where the captive was of good family. Such a distinction at that time, under any circumstances, was to be expected; but under an aristocratic constitution it strikes us as almost a matter of course. But at no period in the Republic's history were her prisons capable of containing any large number of captives after a victory on land or at sea; and it was the usual policy to release or exchange at the earliest juncture on more than one ground. So long as prisoners of war were necessarily detained at Venice, they were distributed, as in 1380, over any vacant spaces, and found shelter even within the walls of monasteries. The Executive was occasionally reduced by the scarcity of accommodation, even so late as 1509, to temporary expedients, for, in that year, a portion of a chamber, used by one of the Councils, and containing the still homeless public library, was fitted up as a place of detention; and in the year following, in consequence of the Marquis of Mantua being in the hall of the Great Council, the Decemvirs met here to transact some important business touching Cyprus.

Some proceedings in the Great Council in 1441 admit us to a knowledge of the fact that a special prison was then devoted to female delinquents; and in that year, owing to a pressure for space, men whose offences were not deemed grave, and who were more or less persons of quality, were permitted, on condition that they observed their parole, and subject to the pleasure of the Doge, to use a ward adjoining the women's quarter. We consequently apprehend that, although the doors were locked at night, and the prisoners were remanded to their cells, the outlets and approaches were comparatively unguarded. The sort of discipline maintained here, and the licence enjoyed during the day, where the detention had no political motive, or it was a mere case of debt, carry back the thoughts of a Englishman to institutions and scenes which many yet among us remember as part of our own economy. In 1510 we hear of a debtors' prison in the Merceria or Frezzeria, called *Casone*, being attacked at nine o'clock at night by a mob, doubtless in order to liberate the inmates. This was not far from Saint Mark's. These attempts at rescue were periodical, but could scarcely extend beyond the more or less accessible establishments.

The *Carceri Forti*, or Lower Dungeons, must have been con-

structed at least in the fourteenth century. In 1388 Luigi Veniero, the Doge's son, for an offence which scarcely amounted to more than a serious misdemeanour, was consigned to this place of confinement, and left to die there of a broken heart.

In 1406, the patrician Pietro Pisani was sentenced to two years' incarceration here for having entered into treasonable correspondence with the Lord of Padua, at that time in arms against the Signory. But his wife and children were allowed to see him. The lady, after a while, represented to the Government that she did not like, on these occasions, to be thrown into contact with the common prisoners, whose cells or wards she had to pass on her way to that of her husband, and the illness under which the latter was labouring rendered the almost constant presence of his family, more particularly of the Signora, imperative. We thus see that these malefactors, whose demeanour and conversation are described as indecorous, filled the corridors, and obstructed the fair and noble visitors to their companion in captivity; and it takes us somewhat by surprise, looking at the popular idea of Venetian prison life in former days, to learn that the Great Council was pleased to sanction the formation of a special approach to the cell of Pisani, provided that he paid the expense of breaking through the masonry, and replacing it, when he was set at liberty, or restored to health.

But it was such an episode as this, with its obvious liability to recurrence, which produced the salutary movement of 1441 for the better classification of culprits and the complete severance of political and civil offenders from the criminal side. Already indeed, in 1377, the Signori di Notte had drawn a line of distinction in favour of insolvents.

In the January of 1406, the Lower Dungeons counted among their inmates a much more eminent man than Pietro Pisani. For their doors were opened to admit the venerable figure of Carlo Zeno, who was adjudged to expiate here, like Pisani, certain indiscreet communications with Padua. Zeno passed a twelvemonth of his old age in that chafing restraint; but it is, of course, more than likely that, in such a case above all others, the rigour of confinement was mitigated by the collusion of the satisfied majesty of the law and the society of sympathising friends.

Of these dread and grim receptacles for the guilty or unfortunate of centuries, there were two tiers on as many corridors, of

which the lower was reached by a staircase of sixteen steps from the upper one, the latter having its approach from the landing above by a similar ladder-stair built between two walls. Each cell was distinguished by roman numerals, the numeral V being for some unexplained reason cut upside down. The measurements and internal appliances were approximately similar to those of the *piombi*, but the position afforded scarcely a ray of light at any period of the day. Yet former occupants have left on the walls of some of these miserable places, in pencil or charcoal, sometimes assisted by a tool, records of their individuality, of their wrongs, and of their sorrows, even in verse. So recently as 1795, one G. M. B. tells us that he was most unjustly incarcerated in No. 3, and that if God did not deliver him, his numerous and honest family would be ruined. It is possible that an indulgent warder sometimes gave the use of a lamp among other privileges.

Mutinelli describes the panels or wainscot of the *piombi* as formed of larch planks, but does not inform us whether the same timber was used for the Pozzi—more probably oak. In 1797 not more than four occupants were found in these vaults.

The dimensions given tally very closely with those which we have of the almost subterranean and subaqueous dungeons in the Bastille. They also correspond with the *Little Ease* in the Tower of London and the *Fin d'Aise* at the *Grand Châtelet* of Paris. They probably formed the standard measurement of these dens everywhere—in Scotland, in Wales, where the old seigniorial system lingered into the present century, at Carisbrook, throughout the Continent, throughout, in short, all portions of the world happily so civilised as to have such institutions.

The ponderous and massive double doors of the strong prisons, sheeted with iron and heavily studded with nails, were so constructed, according to the account of a former occupant of one of them (for they have been removed), that unlike the double oaken door to the so-called Lollards' Prison at Lambeth Palace, the lock of the interior portal faced the hinges of the exterior one. It was a peculiarity of the architectural plan, that although the interior was sufficiently lofty to permit a prisoner of ordinary stature to hold himself upright, the entrance was so low, that the ingress and egress could scarcely be accomplished even by mere stooping. Casanova, in 1755, describes the door of one of the *piombi*, which he occupied, as three feet and a half in height; but his statements are not trustworthy. By the side of the entrance was an aperture

in the thick stone wall, to allow the ingress of food and inspection by the warder; and in the gallery or passage stood a niche altar-wise, where the priest came, just prior to every private execution, to administer to the condemned the last offices of the Church.

In one of the passages connected with the range of *Forti*, they yet point out the exact spot where the prisoner suffered, the sink which received his blood, and the broad opening in the wall (once a door, probably, but now closed), through which the corpse was thrust into the contiguous water. They also shew you the cell in which Byron slept as an experiment, and those in which you may believe (if you choose) that Marino Faliero and Carmagnola spent their last moments. The cells used to be wainscoted as a partial protection against the excessive damp; but they were totally destitute of light and air, and the sun scarcely penetrated even into the adjoining gallery. If it was on such horrid places as these that the popular phraseology and a grim local humour bestowed the nicknames of *Volcano*, *Frescagioja*, and *Lione*, they certainly well deserved them. Yet they and their tenants were often, perhaps, not ill-paired.

Casanova refers to an apparatus in the *Forti* for which he demanded of the gaoler the use, and which, it was explained to him, served as a machinery for carrying out sentences of strangulation. It was an iron collar fixed to one of the walls, into which the neck of the condemned was introduced, and which was susceptible of being contracted till life was extinct. It was in this manner that the Lord of Padua and his two sons were dispatched in 1406. But the operation was also conducted, as we shall see, outside the cell. Strangulation was a medium constantly employed in the East, from which Venice might have borrowed it; but it equally prevailed among the Romans.

The extraordinary precautions taken to preclude escape are scarcely intelligible, where the prison was situated in the heart of the city, instead of being at the extremity of it, like the old Bastille in Paris, which lay within a short distance of the open country. But to one who carried his life in his hands the canals afforded, on the contrary, after nightfall unusual facilities for flight and temporary concealment; and it must also be received into calculation that the individuals here incarcerated were such as had been convicted of crimes which, in the sight of the Venetian law, were of the most flagitious character.

The *Camerotti* or *Carceri di Sotto*, as distinguished from the *Pozzi* on the one hand and from the *Carceres Superiores* on the other, were open to the public thoroughfare; and the inmates, who were not ordinarily manacled, were at liberty to look through the grated casements or *schiavine* of their cells—those barred, unglazed windows which at the present hour meet the eye everywhere in Venice—to hold communication with their friends, and to receive at their hands or from the benevolent money or food. For, except where the captive was immured in the *Forti* or *Pozzi*, and was inaccessible to external intercourse, the State, under the old system, seems not only to have declined the cost of alimony, but to have imposed a tariff dependent on the accommodation conceded or required. These fees constituted the emolument of the gaolers, and were known under the old French *régime* as *geôle*; but they were distinct from the gratuities which a prisoner, desirous of enjoying special indulgences, had to provide—the *garnish* of the “Beggars’ Opera.” The friends of a man were expected to keep him; if he had none, public charity did something. But in cases where a prisoner belonged to a noble family, and the circumstances were not politically serious, he procured facilities for obtaining all that he needed, and might have his own attendant. In 1405, while his father and his brother Jacopo were in the *Forti* below, Francesco Novello lay in the *Orba* accompanied by his private servant. Jacopo himself, who had at first been sent there, was transferred to the *Forti*, on a diet of bread and water only upon his father’s persistent refusal to surrender the Lord of Ravenna.

Mediæval Venice, in her prison system, as in everything else, naturally conformed to a large extent to the maxims and principles which she found in force on every side of her, with a tendency to be in advance of her neighbours. Her doctrines in respect to political offenders and offences were not importantly dissimilar from those which were elsewhere entertained upon such points five centuries ago, when the public safety and the security of property were considered by governments of immeasurably greater consequence than the lives of individuals in the community. If Venice shared the Machiavellian doctrines, those doctrines were not at any rate of native Venetian growth. But the whole question in relation to Machiavelli has been generally misunderstood. The opinions which the Florentine secretary put into writing were by no means opinions originating in him. They

were opinions which existed, and which every government in Italy virtually followed, before he was born. They were opinions of which Machiavelli at least is not entitled to the odium; for they had their source in the political conditions of the Peninsula both internally and externally, and in the Italian character.

The Venetian prisons were not unfavourable types of the period; and so far as the *camerotti* were concerned, and indeed all the gaols, except the *Forti*, the quality of the climate during eight or nine months of the year superseded the necessity for artificial warmth. During the winter the Government supplied coverlids or rugs. Nor have sanitary laws been a subject of study anywhere very long. They were, it may be securely conjectured, far from uppermost in the thoughts of Middle-Age Venetians.

The study of habits of life favourable to health seems to be, after all, a matter of culture rather than of climate; for among the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Russians and the Esquimaux, communities existing under widely different temperatures (not to add the Scots and Irish), one perceives the same insensibility or indifference to cleanliness and noxious effluvia; and even our own not very distant forefathers tolerated both in their places of assembly and places of confinement an atmosphere against which any decently-bred Englishman of the present day would instinctively revolt. It is by no means surprising to find that both Casanova in the eighteenth and Silvio Pellico in the nineteenth century were equally tormented in the *Pozzi* and *Piombi* by gnats and other insects, to which the former, in his confused description, adds the annoyance from water-rats, probably without foundation.

In 1585-86 the Council of Ten, experiencing inconvenience to themselves and other similar bodies in consequence of the want of some place of security in close neighbourhood to the apartments where they held their meetings, discussed the propriety of fitting up a few cells above the chamber of the *Capi* or chiefs; but nothing was immediately determined at that time. The question revived, however, in 1591-92, when the scheme was carried out, and four cells were constructed to meet the continually recurrent cases, where accused parties were under examination and could be thus brought down from time to time without difficulty or publicity. This new arrangement was reached by two short flights of steps ascending from the lobby, where the Ten and the Inquisitors usually sat. The *Piombi* never superseded the other

places of confinement, and the extent of accommodation pointed to their special and temporary function. Scarcely any traces of them existed, when Mutinelli wrote in 1838; but Lazari the architect, who accompanied him to the spot, made them measure from six to seven feet in height and from ten to twelve feet in width. Of the four cells, one looked on the inner court, and the other three on the Rio di Palazzo. The prisoners supplied their own bedding and personal appurtenances. Scissors, knives, and razors were forbidden; reading was allowed, but not writing, nor the use of a lamp. The Government provided diet, and the small aperture in one of the walls permitted the inmate to gain a view of the scene around and beneath him to some extent, and to enjoy the fresh air so long as it was neither too hot nor too cold; but the situation was exposed to the most trying extremities of temperature. It was the duty of the gaoler to bring the food and cleanse the apartment once a day at an early hour; and he was precluded from paying a second visit, as he approached the locality through the *Brussola* or ante-room of the Ten, and it was not deemed expedient for him and persons waiting their turn to be admitted to the Council to confront each other. As soon as he had discharged his morning work, he restored the keys to the secretary of the Inquisitors of State.

It therefore appears that for criminal purposes the Republic had, subsequently to 1591-92, the prisons already specified, and more immediately for cases of an exceptionally flagrant or dangerous character the *Pozzi* and *Piombi* indifferently; and these two latter were, as we have attempted to explain, so situated above and beneath the council chambers of the Decemvirs and the State Inquisition, that they were accessible without the slightest suspicion outside of what was taking place. Within earshot of the bright and splendid saloons, where the Doge met the Senate or the Parliament, and where joyous and costly festivities were celebrated in honour of great occasions or illustrious guests, a widely different class of spectacle was to be witnessed by such as were behind the scenes day by day. The members of certain tribunals must have often passed from one phase of experience to the other. It was a rather hardening official routine.

But there was also an exit from the *Pozzi*, which were in fact on a level with the palace court, in a corner of the vestibule, which was designated the *Atrio dei Censori*, and which constitutes the sole modern approach. The floor of the lower

gallery was above that of the crypt of the Basilica, where religious services were occasionally held down to 1604.

The old *Carceri Superiori* were always retained for special occasions, where on purely political grounds a person was detained pending an inquiry into his case and an uncertainty how he might be used for the benefit of the State, as when Balthazar Juven of Grenoble was placed under arrest in 1618 in connection with the Spanish conspiracy, and testified that the Government made him as comfortable as if he had been in his own house.¹ It was here that a peccant proveditor-general was lodged on a ten years' sentence in 1630. All these places were known as *prigioni alla luce* to distinguish them from the *Pozzi* or *prigioni all' oscuro*.

But the removal of the prisoners from public access inevitably carried with it the necessity for the settlement of certain details on a new footing. The clearance of the old camerotti or Lower Dungeons, and the rest of the original buildings devoted to a similar use, by the transfer of the occupants elsewhere, and the disappearance of the familiar faces from the barred casements under the colonnade, must have been considered for the moment as robbing Venice of one of its sights. But at the close of the sixteenth century it was time that such a barbarous anachronism should be suppressed, though even in London it continued so much longer. When the Venetian and French power had been extinguished, the *Piombi* and other gaols or prisons became the receptacles of the wretched victims of Austrian ignorance and despotism; and if a miraculously happy change had not occurred, the Leads of the Ducal Palace would to this hour be receiving all Italians who might have the misfortune to be Liberals in speech as well as in thought. The prisons of the new Government are on the other side of the canal across the Bridge of Sighs. They are not shown to visitors; but they are said to be on an improved model.

A singularly valuable testimony of the relative mildness of the Venetian prison system exists for us in an account left by Brother Felix Faber, who was at Venice in the time of Francesco Foscari (1423-57). These are his observations:—"Not only do they (the Venetians) exhibit their piety toward the deserv-

¹ "Rispondeva ch' egli non avea se non a laudarsi di essa [la Repubblica] e del modo come era stato trattato durante la sua prigionia, in cui tranne la libertà era come se fosse stato in casa propria."—Romanin, vii. 142.

ing, but even toward such as incur the highest penalties of the law. For the prisons of malefactors are under the colonnade of the palace, having an outlook to the public way, and are lighted with windows strengthened with bars, through which the captives can see and stretch their hands, and talk with their friends, and, if they are poor, solicit alms from passers-by. But those who are in confinement for heavier crimes are in closer and stronger cells, yet tolerable."

Faber proceeds to contrast this state of things with what he had witnessed in Germany:—"Among the many cruelties of the Germans there is that one, that their gaols are inhuman, terrible, dark, at the bottom of towers, damp, cold, and sometimes swarming with vermin; far isolated from man; nor does any one come to those poor wretches, unless it is some one to terrify, threaten, and torture them. Another merciful characteristic the Venetians have, that even where one is condemned to death, they do not keep him in suspense."

To the concluding paragraph the writer insensibly imparted a touch of caustic irony. The rope or the cord responded with secrecy and celerity to the judicial fiat. From Faber's account it is not difficult to see that the camerotti were the only prisons he actually inspected. He was not enabled to view the Carceri Forti, to which he alludes from hearsay or at second-hand. Nor does he seem to have been aware of the existence of the Upper Prisons.

Marino Sanuto in his *Itinerario*, 1483, mentions Montagnana, a little known to history as the residence of Galeotto Marzio, a man of some learning, who had been tutor to Sixtus IV. He was accused of heresy, and taken to Venice. When he was crossing the Piazza, his very corpulent figure struck a bystander, who exclaimed: "O che porco grasso!" Marzio retorted: "E meglio essere porco grasso, che becco magro." In a letter to a friend, written from prison in 1477, Marzio describes his cell as very noisome and dark, and not favourable for correspondence. He owed to the intercession of his pontifical pupil, it is said, a somewhat gentler treatment than he might have otherwise experienced.

A newspaper of February 1, 1898, is the authority for what is subjoined. The passage refers, as it will at once be seen, to a locality which was, during intermittent periods, a portion of the Venetian territories on the mainland—Udine in Friuli; and we

appear to possess very scanty particulars of this part of the subject:—"The Castello of Udine, a great square ugly building of three centuries ago, now used as barracks and civil prisons, stands on the site of the ancient castle, on a great mound of earth thrown up, tradition and Bædeker tells us, by Attila, whence he could watch at his ease the burning of Aquileia. The other day it was found necessary to repair part of the foundations of an inner wing. On the flooring being removed, the workmen came upon a small, massive, tight-fitting stone trap-door. It was raised with difficulty, and it disclosed, as in romances, a flight of steps. On going down it with lights the workmen found themselves in a subterranean chamber. From one corner of this ran a passage, in the walls of which were five low narrow doorways, opening into the most horrible prison-cells imaginable. The door-ways still held the heavy iron hinges which had supported enormously thick doors, as shown by the depth of the stone frame-work. . . . At the end of the passage two other cells were found, suggestive of still more dreadful suffering; for, while the others are of ordinary size, these only measure two feet four by two feet eight—a size that made it impossible for the unhappy wretches confined in them to lie down. A small hole near the top of the doorpost of all the cells was used for the passing in of food. At first it was hoped that this horrible place was merely an accidental survival from the Middle Ages, but full examination brought to light some inscriptions scratched on the cell walls. One of these was 'Giovanni Grimani, 1607,' shewing that they were in use in civilised times; and, more shocking still, as it is a witness to the cruelty of Austria, another consisted of the words, *Viva l' Italia, viva l' Italia*, and the signature *Giacomo Moraro*."

On the other hand, nearer home, in some of the more central towns, such as Padua, Brescia, and Bergamo, the excellent provision, which benevolent persons made for the prisoners in the form of bread, wine, and other requisites, was censured by a governor as a premium to crime.

Great care seems to have been judged necessary, at a tolerably early date, in selecting the personage whose function it was to be the governor or general superintendent of the ducal prisons. In the coronation oath of Giacomo Tiepolo, 1229, the earliest which we have in a complete state, it is expressly laid down that the Doge shall appoint him, who is to be the warden of his prison,

and to whom he shall deliver the keys thereof, according to fitness and law, and agreeably to his conscience.

So far back as 1275, it had been a condition incorporated with the Oath that the Doge should keep himself acquainted from time to time, through his notaries, with the number of prisoners in the cells beneath the palace, the dates of their commitment and the arrangements for bringing each to trial within a month from the period of arrest. Subsequently this duty devolved on the three Chiefs of the Ten; and to their personal observation, and the reports which were placed before them by the heads of the police, were due, no doubt, the improvements which continued to the very last to be made in the system. There was a staff of officials, termed *scrivani* or scribes, who conducted all the clerical business connected with the prisons; they do not often fall under notice; but we observe their presence in the pompous funeral procession of the doge Loredano in 1521. A century later, the *cause célèbre* of Antonio Foscari (1622) discloses a *Captain of the Prisons*, a *Keeper of the Dark Prisons* (*Carceri Forti*), and a *Captain of the barche* or boats, which were specially commissioned for this service, and which probably comprised in their functions the process of submersion in the canal.

The humane principle of gaol-delivery, which was admirably calculated to check judicial tyranny and legal corruption, was a feature in her criminal procedure which did infinite honour to the Republic, and which formed, in fact, a precursor of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was a measure betokening a degree of civilisation far beyond the rude age in which it was first adopted; and even if we take it for granted that in its practical working it proved imperfect, it is to be remembered that no other modern State had so much as dreamed of the idea. So late as 1775, when Mercier wrote his *Tableau de Paris*, the French were destitute of any such charter of personal liberty.

At Venice torture was seldom applied, except in cases of treason, where it was found impracticable to elicit the truth by gentler means. And the law directed that under no circumstances should any person be subjected to the process unless a certain number of the Privy Council and the Forty were present to take depositions, and to observe that no undue cruelty was exercised. There can be little difficulty in perceiving that, under a mediæval constitution, especially under an Italian one, the only class of crime which was apt to suggest a resort to procedure of this kind

was political treason. The Republic, in common with her neighbours and contemporaries, was acquainted with a less complex and more summary method of dealing with offences against property and the person.

The torture-chamber was as much a parcel of the old judicial system as the court and the statute-book. We hear at various times of a recourse to the rack, the cord, the estrapade, and the brazier—the last anciently familiar as a medium for blinding obnoxious rulers; but none of these was special to Venice, and the processes of application have become sufficiently known. We need not go very far in point of time or distance to recall the days and the place when our own Government and our own Tower of London were accustomed to regard torture as an incident of almost daily occurrence. In Scotland, in France within the Bastille and without, in Germany, among the Orientals with Oriental intensity, and in the cabin of the Red Indian, it was the same. It was the same at Moscow in the time of Peter the Great and much later, and Peter, on the occasion of the Strelitsi revolt in 1698, was present, not to check the operations, but rather to stimulate the operators.

The modern visitor to the noble edifice on the Thames, where a frightful *oubliette* has been recently discovered, to Ratisbon, to Baden-Baden, to Nürnberg, to Naples, to Messina, and to fifty museums, can form his own judgment and his own conclusion. He will find, we apprehend, that the criminal procedure and prison discipline of Venice are capable of favourable comparison with those of other countries, and of other parts of Italy, including the gemelle and oubliettes of Papal Rome. The French writers animadvert with severity on the Venetian *Piombi* and on the Inquisition of State (with a French knowledge of both), a little forgetful of the system of mouchardage among themselves at all times; a little forgetful that mankind has never beheld, and hopes no more to behold, anything so barbarous, so degrading, and so loathsome, as the dungeons of the Bastille and the Grand Châtelet, even so late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. But in respect to iniquitous abuses and dastardly cruelty, the English and Scottish gaols, such as Bridewell, the Tolbooth with its Heart of Midlothian, the Marshalsea and the Fleet, down to the last days of the good old *régime*, do not surely lag far behind.¹ Dr. Johnson,

¹ Alexander Neckam, in his treatise *De Uensilibus*, written in the twelfth century (Wright's *Vocabularies*, 1857, p. 105), in describing a castle, says:—"Assint etiam

in his *Tour to the Hebrides* (Oct. 6, 1773) refers to the seigniorial prisons in North Britain at that date; and the same thing existed down to a later period in parts of Wales. At the present moment, when the nineteenth century is so fast dying, the press yields disclosures of barbarities and monstrosities, which relatively eclipse any anecdotes handed down of Venetian misdeeds in this direction.

One of the earliest, as well as most curious, examples of prison-literature must be the *Specchio della Giustizia*, in verse, published at Venice in 1530, and inscribed to the Doge. It is a poem in three Dantesque divisions: *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, and describes the horrors of the prisons, the vexations of lawsuits, and the beauties of the great council chamber. The writer appreciated the unloveliness of the gaols, but seems to have discerned in it, almost as a motive, a dissuasion from crime.

On the left side of the Scala d' Oro, reached after ascending the Giants' Staircase, with its colossal figures of Neptune and Mars, is yet noticeable the long disused *Bocca di Leone*, a slit, into which informations were formerly allowed to drop, the outlet being in the interior wall of the *Bussola* just named. Here those who possessed intelligence calculated to serve the Government and the State, or some grievance or complaint with which from motives of personal security they did not wish to have their names publicly associated, could slip a paper specifying the circumstances, and signed by the informer and at least two reputable witnesses to his *bona fides*. The authorities took no official cognizance of any anonymous communications. In 1507, a paper without any signature was found, not in this receptacle, but on the staircase of the palace, directed to the Doge, alleging that three female patricians, Lucia Soranzo, Marina Emo, and Adriana Cappello, were ruining their families by their extravagance. The denunciation was ignored, because it had no subscription.

carceres debitis mansionibus distingti, in quorum fundum detrudantur compediti in manica ferreis positi."

CHAPTER LIII

The Feudal System—Forms of tenure prevalent at Venice and in the territories of the Republic—Partial adoption of Knight's Service—Financial returns of 1423 and 1469—Villanage—Payments in kind—Services in lieu of Rent—Cliental and sponsorial relationships—Experiments in taxation—Agriculture—Facilities afforded by the Government to farmers—Drainage and manuring—Protection of draught oxen from legal seizure—Freedom of inland navigation for agricultural and commercial purposes—Private munificence—Endowment of charities and other Institutions—Equipment of ships at private expense—Serfdom—Its universality among the Laity and in Religious Houses—Inoperative legislation against it—Link with Prostitution—Earliest direct clue to a brothel (1371)—Montaigne as a Witness—Who was his Imperia?—Fascinating address of the Venetian Hetaïræ—Grades and tariff—Professional class—Maladies produced by the evil.

THE territorial insignificance of Venice itself, and the necessarily confined extent to which agriculture was practised within its own boundaries, might lead to the conclusion that the feudal system, even if it existed, would be unlikely to make an enduring impression, or to leave any permanent vestiges on the soil of the Dogado. The spirit of the constitution was diametrically opposed to the formation of a landed interest and the growth of military tenures. Nevertheless such a view would be very far indeed from being a correct one. In early times, while the population remained excessively scanty, and many of the islands continued to be wholly uninhabited, the Ducal Government learned to make it a point of policy to bring these waste lands under culture by granting them out on easy terms to the servants and dependents of the first magistrate, and to others; and it becomes worthy of note that such grants were invariably founded on a strictly feudal basis. In truth a certain survival of the Roman cliental and gentilitial systems may be readily traced in the mediæval Republic, just where one was led to expect, and is able to understand, it. Two or three examples of this usage have already presented themselves in the annals of the ninth century under those circumstances of acute political trouble which so often befriend

the historian. The principle of feudalism once existed in the old Priory of Lovoli, which lay under a singular obligation to contribute nineteen men to the Excusati. If such obligation, of which no other instance can be discovered, could be proved to be, what it most probably was, nothing more than a homage on the part of a Corporation for its lands, an illustration would at once be presented of the familiarity of the Venetians with the ancient and honourable tenure by Free Socage,¹ of which perhaps the case of the tenantry of Poveja may not unfairly be admitted as a second case.

Tenure by Knight-Service, which prevailed in Colonia Venetorum (Candia), as well as in Corfu, was altogether unknown to the parent city, from which the whole system of fees or feuds was, with a few incidental exceptions, excluded by a cause already brought under notice.

The dominant principle in force between Venice and those colonial dependencies, which became in course of time so extensive, so important, and so scattered, was seigniorial rather than possessory. The acknowledgment of suzerainty, and the ratification of satisfactory commercial arrangements, were the two leading features of relationship; and the former basis and tie involved again a double advantage in the obligation of the vassal not only to pay tribute in money or kind, but to supply vessels or troops, or both, in the event of war between the Republic and other Powers. At a time when the ducal exchequer was largely reliant on offerings other than money, and even before a currency had been established on any systematic scale, the aggregate receipts from the various fiefs in all sorts of commodities available for domestic use were really considerable; but they were naturally subject to interruption or shrinkage at seasons of political disturbance, and it was due to the comparative independence of the head of the State here of official emoluments that a far greater measure of inconvenience did not arise in this direction and way prior to the institution of a regular quarterly payment out of the treasury. But the main point remains, that the footing on which the Dogeship long stood was a manifestly and almost exclusively feudal one alike in respect to internal economy and foreign jurisdiction and allegiance.

Of the two kinds of Vilains or Vileins (*Villani*), known to

¹ The definition of this word as tenure of lands by inferior services of husbandry appears to be at least incomplete. "The term," as Mr. Kerr (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, ii. 79) observes, "is more properly derived by Somner from *soc*, liberty or privilege, than from *soca*, a plough."

the feudal law, namely :—1, *Vilains Regardant* or *Attendant* ; 2, *Vilains in Gross* : the latter alone, who were not necessarily *adscripti glebae*, but unconditional bondsmen, seem to have existed under the early constitution. The frequent allusions to *Servi*, which are found in the archives and annals of the Republic from the eighth to the fifteenth century, must lead to an inevitable conclusion, that this class of persons was proportionally not less numerous at Venice than in other parts of mediæval Europe ; and in a treaty concluded in 996¹ between the Doge Orseolo II. and the Emperor Otho II., a clause is found inserted for the extradition of fugitive serfs from the territories of the latter. At the same time, there is no apparent authority for the supposition, that the Venetian serfs were employed otherwise than in a menial capacity.

Among the archives of the Monastery of San Girolamo appears an instrument under which one of the brethren cedes and sells to another for fifty-two lire a Russian female slave, aged thirty-three, sound in limb and understanding, according to the custom and usage of the country, and because he had in the serf in question a freehold. By the will which he made in 1323, Marco Polo manumitted and restored unconditionally to liberty one of his servants ; and let us hope that the eminent traveller, like the good man Job, was kind and considerate to those in his power. During the war of Chioggia in 1379-80, masters were required to pay an extraordinary tax of three silver lire a month for every serf in their hands. In 1410 a singularly curious law was enacted to impose a check on a practice then too common among the serfs of both sexes in Venice, of dabbling in the mysteries of the Black Art, as an expedient for gaining the affections of their employers.

In the obligation to contribute to the revenue in kind by supplying articles of consumption and use to the Doge and the Bouche of the Court, as well as to the Dogaresa, and vessels in time of war or need, free of charge save on account of damage or loss, as an equivalent for ship-money, there was, when we consider the tolerable frequency of such calls and their costliness, a clear feudal element of substantial importance ; and of course, whether the service was rendered by land or by water, in ships or in horses, in men-at-arms or in mariners, the theory was the same ; and it was a feudal one. In 1438, for a term of two years only, during the

¹ Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 27-9 ; Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, pp. 371 *et seq.*

Milanese war, lance-money was raised to pay the cavalry engaged in the field. The evidences grow under the collector's hand. Within this category fall the right of the head of the State during ages to the free use of a water-service contributable by the islands on some principle of rotation; and the singular usage by which his Serenity was long accustomed to present to each of the judges of the palace annually four casks of Chioggian wine. In all hunting excursions the provision of a suitable entertainment for the ducal party, whether the Doge himself accompanied it or not, devolved on the Chioggians by custom, possibly at a time when Malamocco was the capital; and the chase was followed at intermediate points, either within the Dogado or on the opposite line of coast. But the usage was different when public progresses were made through the islands; for the coronation oath of 1229 explicitly declares that the cost of these excursions was to be defrayed by the Doge himself.

Naturally, as the system of government grew more orderly and compact, these institutions passed one by one silently out of sight and recollection. Yet here and there we encounter traces of archaic customs under modified forms, as where in 1521 each of the Fruiterers of Venice, 130 in number, presented as a purely complimentary donation a lemon to a new Doge instead of paying it as an offering in kind.

Then, in the system of taxation from the outset almost down to the end, the method was always of this complexion; and the financial weakness, which the Republic betrayed under the pressure of enormous demands on its resources during the wars by land and sea of the later centuries of existence, proceeded to a large extent from the conscious and advised survival of the most primitive and empirical system of fiscal economy side by side with the most finished and elaborate mechanism in every other respect. The oligarchy studiously spared the pockets of the class which it deprived of a voice in the government; it reconciled the loss of power by the alleviation of burdens; and this policy it extended to the dominions on the mainland, and so won the affection of communities previously accustomed to the insatiable extortions of the tax-gatherer, and anxious to avoid a return under an arbitrary rule, with which even that of Florence under the Medici might be favourably compared. But in order properly to understand the pecuniary embarrassments which the Republic frequently experienced, it is necessary that we should recollect this anomalous

element in its constitutional fabric, which left the disfranchised class freer and more independent, and placed the State at the mercy of a limited number of wealthy houses, whose subsidies or advances were optional.

The statistics, which we have received of the public income and expenditure about 1420, when the former at least was probably at its highest point, say very little about direct imposts or inland revenue, and deal almost exclusively with the profits of trade and capital. Even at that flourishing period the lower grades of the community were probably the most lightly taxed in Europe.

The cliental and sponsorial relationships of older Venice form a somewhat interesting, and at the same time obscure, aspect of the framework of that singular city, which lay so close to the Italian seaboard, and presented so many points of difference in its social institutions from its continental neighbours. The Doge was not only during centuries regarded as the father of all his people, but between the patricians and the lower orders there was a certain cordiality, a certain tie, approaching feudalism without the humiliating incidence of that system; and whatever momentary ebullitions of popular discontent may be on record, there was no Venetian denizen who would not have submitted to any sacrifices rather than have accepted another system of government.

The feudal principle and sentiment, although they never attained on this soil much development and force, are recognisable in the intestine disorders under the Badoer and Sanudo Doges, when the leading families took sides, and were supported by their respective retainers, the antique lines of building and a feeble central authority favouring impunity and revival.

The financial returns of 1423, incorporated with the address of the Doge Mocenigo to the Pregadi, are ostensibly incomplete, as they do not name even the Salt Department and the necessarily large revenue from the glass manufacture. Nor do we meet with any specific mention of cottons, which are said to have long employed 30,000 women and children, not reckoning skilled labour. But it is observable that there are in the Doge's statement certain general heads, under which these and other omissions may have been grouped together. The statistics were possibly drawn up at short notice, and it was a class of economical science still waiting to be thoroughly understood; yet it is unaccountable

that in regard to salt and glass the Doge should have been silent. His figures, assuming them to be fairly correct, afford a vivid picture of the state of trade at the time, and a tabular view of the income and expenditure at a somewhat later date, derived from Sanudo, is collaterally instructive. The entire body of information is not free from the suspicion of having been retouched here and there by an editorial hand—not that of Sanudo himself, who could scarcely have interpolated the passage in the oration of Mocenigo, where we hear of 200,000 ducats *of silver* being annually struck a century previous to the existence of such a coin—one which the eye of the Historian and Diarist never beheld.

But at any rate there is no serious hazard in calculating the Venetian revenue in 1423 (apart from direct taxation, which was casual and intermittent), at something like 1,000,000 ducats; and the returns of 1469 seem to shew 1,031,970 ducats.

It appeared to the Executive in 1539, after a prolonged series of exhaustive wars, necessary to resort to some more methodical principle, and one calculated to reach the whole of the population earning a competent income. Five different plans were laid before the Senate. The first was to impose two levies on the City and on the Chamber of Loans, issuing 100-lire stock at 90, and to raise from the territories of the mainland 200,000 ducats payable in four instalments. Various objections were raised to this method: one was that experience proved that such calls on the city were very tardily met, a balance of the last one remaining still unpaid; and another, that the proposed contribution from the *terra firma* was likely to bear too heavily on the poor in the rural districts. The second idea was to make a poll-tax of a ducat, excepting the clergy, children of twelve and under, and persons whose rent fell short of twelve ducats, those who paid up to fifteen giving only a quarter of a ducat, up to twenty half a ducat, twenty and upward a ducat. Householders with 100 ducats of income were to contribute eight ducats, those with 500 to 1000, sixteen, those with 1500 twenty-four ducats, and eight ducats for every additional 1000. Many difficulties were apprehended from this alternative, which breathes the air of being framed in favour of large revenues, as the ascending scale is so very lenient; but whereas the first scheme was estimated to yield 140,000 ducats, the second promised to bring 400,000. A third proposal was that all should be required to pay a uniform tithe of their income, which was gravely recommended by some as an

ancient usage sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures and in vogue since the beginning of the world, and was to be leviable on estates agreeably to the last official returns. One ground of exception to it was the dislike of the tax-payer to divulge his income; the rich did not want the world to know how rich, nor the poor, how poor, they were. The fourth suggestion was a kind of modification of one of its predecessors, and was to the effect that the tithe should be confined to the rural districts. The final arrangement was a tax of six soldi on each head, each field, and each ducat of revenue. This was in part a resuscitation of an abortive attempt made in 1508 to create a land-tax of 5 soldi on each field or *campo* under the name of *campadego*. There was so strong a feeling against it that it was withdrawn.

The Senate adopted the general tithe (March 12, 1539); the decision was cancelled a few days later (March 17), but ultimately confirmed. Then there were so many complaints and appeals, and deputations, that the tithe was abandoned (March 27), and two levies in the city, and two subsidies in *terra firma* were substituted. The debate gave occasion for a good deal of personality and strong language, and one of the Savii, challenging a statement made by another speaker, was led to animadvert on the principles of the Government, which provoked an injunction to him from a Chief of the Ten to sit down, whereupon the Privy Council intervened, and objected to the act, but without avail.

This scene is reproduced sketchily on paper as a sample of the loose and crude system which had outlived so many centuries, and which exhibits to our view a State, in almost all other ways and directions so precocious and advanced, in one respect from constitutional motives so imperfectly developed, and against severe emergencies so imperfectly prepared.

One of the most conspicuous features in fact in the early constitution, which sensibly survived till quite late times, was the prominence and distinctness, which it allowed from the first both in religion and politics to private enterprise and liberality. Works, which were undertaken elsewhere by the Government, were here undertaken by one or more individuals. Charities, endowments, and other institutions of various kinds, which were founded elsewhere by the nation at large, were founded here by an Orseolo or a Badoer. What in other States were general burdens, at Venice were class-burdens. An ancient and perhaps immemorial usage, prescribing that all the great families should maintain in their

domestic establishment an armoury, from which they might at any time be compellable, on due summons from the Chiefs of the Wards, to contribute their quota of weapons of offence and other necessities to the support of a war, manifestly sprang from this fundamental theory. In truth, while the nobility sought from the earliest times to be exclusive in the enjoyment of political power, it courted rather than evaded the responsibilities of such power; and whatever might be the vices of the system of government which it established, neither excessive taxation, nor arbitrary levies, nor oppressive imposts, were often to be reckoned among them. To one class, indeed, the Republic owed her greatness; and the debt was fully repaid. The aristocratic government is largely responsible for having made Venice what she was and what she is.

Throughout its ample dominions on the *terra firma* the Signory afforded the utmost stimulus and encouragement to agriculturists and farmers; and upon the extension of the Venetian rule over Treviso and the contiguous provinces landowners were placed in possession of facilities, never before known, for the improvement of their estates and for the cultivation of the soil.¹ Drainage by hydraulic pressure, artificial manuring, and other inventions were patronised and fostered. In the poorer localities, proprietors were indulged by a partial exemption from taxes; and after a war, the districts which had formed the seat of hostilities were compensated for their losses, so far as possible, by a liberal distribution of relief in kind. Pawnbrokers and money-lenders were forbidden to receive in pledge draught-oxen or other animals used at the plough. To promote the interests of the same class it was, that many rivers in the Peninsula were for the first time made thoroughly navigable, and that ecclesiastical corporations were recommended to grant leases of their temporalities, instead of allowing them to lie fallow. In Dalmatia, the people were left at liberty to navigate all the rivers in their own bottoms without constraint for commercial and agricultural purposes. In this, as in other respects, wherever the Republic extended her jurisdiction, she carried with her the same paternal solicitude for the welfare of her subjects and for their material prosperity; and nothing can be more untrue than the too generally received notion that, in pursuing her conquests, Venice obeyed merely the instincts of a blind and selfish ambition. The Venetians had in common with

¹ Andrea Gloria, "Intorno alla storia e collezione delle leggi riferibili all' agricoltura del Padovano," *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, nuova serie, iv. pt. 1.

their neighbours Italian blood, the Italian name, an Italian soil and sky; but it was a very broad constitutional line which separated them from Rome under the Colonna or Milan under the Visconti. In social refinement, in moral and intellectual culture, and in general civilisation, Venice stood on an unapproachable eminence.

We have only for a moment to reflect, however, to place ourselves in a position to understand that the condition of the territories on the *terra firma* was influenced in the first place by an imperfect acquaintance with agricultural economy and, again, by the incessant political disturbances and changes which destroyed the sense of security and retarded the progress of improvement. Whatever might be the superiority of the Venetian system in spirit and on paper to that of preceding or intermittent rulers, the difficulties of legislation and control, where the tenure was at all times precarious, and where it was often qualified by some inalienable feudal pretension, were so enormous that the Republic may be said never to have enjoyed a full possessory sovereignty over any portion of those lands which constituted the *Dominion*. Throughout these possessions both in Lombardy and Illyria, as well as indeed at more distant points, such as Candia and Cyprus and the Ionian Isles, where religious questions continually arose to aggravate the position, Venice had her civil and military establishments directed by some of the most able and experienced of her public servants; but the occurrence of a crisis usually proved their inadequacy and the need of heavy reinforcements. Then the fiscal problem was always here equally a source of perplexity and embarrassment; the Venetian tax-gatherers were accused of being harsh and remorseless, and after a war or a bad season the farmers and shopkeepers had probably no more than enough to cover their backs and fill their mouths. The scourges of war, plague, and famine reduced the population of Friuli alone from 250,000 in 1560 to 170,000 thirty years later.

There was no remissness on the part of the Government in taking steps to inform itself of the state of the provinces from time to time. A practice had been adopted analogous to that in force in respect to the foreign diplomatic service; and reports were drawn up by governors of cities and districts, on their return home, for oral delivery before the Senate. It was, of course, much easier for the official to expose deficiencies and hardships than

for his employers to rectify them; but this principle, introduced in 1524, had a clearly salutary tendency, as it extended to all the branches of each of the executive organisations. There is nothing which more thoroughly persuades us of the sincere and intelligent solicitude of the Republic to consolidate and reform its imperial policy than the eagerness and zeal with which it seized every interval of political repose for this purpose.

In the sixteenth century, the epoch of highest prosperity, the aggregate population of the *terra firma* was estimated at 1,800,000, spread over the provinces of Friuli, Belluno, Padua, Vicenza and the Seven Communes—Verona, Treviso, Rovigo and the Polesine, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema. These figures do not embrace the trans-Adriatic territories. The capabilities and resources of all those places were immensely unequal owing to differences of position and soil; and in many parts the grain-crops were insufficient to meet local consumption. In the Padovano a fourth of the land was out of cultivation; the remaining two-thirds were in the hands, in about equal proportions, of Venetian owners, the Church, and Paduan agriculturists. There was admittedly great room for an amelioration of affairs, and one of the Venetian proveditors in 1587 is found criticising in severe terms the state of the poor, their ignorance and illiteracy, and the consequent facilities afforded to the exactions of the officers of the revenue.

At the same period (1596) the inhabitants of Vicenza were far more flourishing and prosperous, and exported large quantities of silken and woollen goods to Frankfort-on-Maine, Antwerp, Cologne, and Lyons; but they seem to have been hampered by protection and high duties, which prejudicially affected selling prices. But Verona surpassed it and all the other centres in population and wealth; and the name was said to be interpretable into its union of the commerce of VENICE, the architectural grandeur of ROME, and the topographical amenity of NAPLES. Its staple product was silk, of which in these days it exported to Germany to the yearly value of a million ducats. On the outskirts resided an industrial population engaged in various trades; and a large revenue was derived from the cultivation of citrons and oranges. In the Bresciano there was also great manufacturing enterprise and activity. But the Bergamasque, except in the valleys, where the inhabitants were more thriving, was relatively poor, owing to the hilly character of the country; and there was

a constant stream of emigration to Venice and elsewhere. From this source it was that the Republic acquired its best couriers for official purposes and some of its most successful men of business in the capital. The population was conspicuous for its staunch loyalty to Venice; and when affairs reached a climax at the French Revolution, it is said that 8000 Bergamasques were prepared to march to the defence or relief of the city.

Istria, Dalmatia, and the Illyric Isles were equally liable to the evils and drawbacks attendant on not unfrequent alterations in political circumstances. An appreciable proportion of the inhabitants hired themselves to any employers who were raising troops for mercenary service; and, not possessing means to educate their sons at Padua, they passed direct from elementary schools to some vocation in life, till a new finishing seminary was established at Lesina. The Ionian Isles seem to have experienced the most uninterrupted tranquillity, and to have had corresponding opportunities of profiting by their rich and fertile soil. In Zante alone the grape-crop was reckoned to be worth from 25,000 to 30,000 ducats; but scarcely any grain was sown, till the Venetian authorities intervened to insist on a certain allotment of space for that purpose. Cephalonia was even more productive, yielding corn, wine, oil, honey, and other necessities in abundance, with a financial surplus.

Altogether, wherever we turn our eyes during this period (1575-1600), the burghers appear to have had the most comfortable life. They had fairly onerous claims to meet in the shape of taxes and calls; but their commercial interests were studied, and their personal security was seldom threatened. The aristocratic class was jealous of each other, and was constantly involved in petty dissensions; and the lower ranks were undoubtedly miserable to excess.

Throughout the Lombard part of the empire or dominion the same solicitude, however, was shown by the establishment of hospitals and refuges, and by the loan of money on easy terms, to alleviate distress, provide for old age, and assist traders and agriculturists. The Monte di Pieta was an universal institution, and was under strict official control. That at Brescia advanced to any poor person on adequate security without interest up to three *scudi di oro*, and if the money was not returned within a year, the pledge was sold, and any surplus returned to the borrower, deducting only a *soldo* for the expenses. The Monte

at Verona was under the management of a committee, which lent on security at 6 per cent to commercial houses or individuals, and was said to have on its books as much as 200,000 ducats of annual business; but to the poor it lent sums not exceeding four *lire* gratuitously. The hospitals were of various kinds. Some were infirmaries or asylums for the aged. Some merely furnished lodging and food for a single night. Some (*Consortii dei prigionieri*) provided the inmates of the gaols with necessaries; and one of the provincial governors protested that in hard times some committed offences in order to secure themselves in this way a comfortable living.

In the Levant, except to a certain extent in Candia, the foreign and colonial policy of the Republic is elsewhere shown to have been importantly different, and to have been based on the system of colonisation in force among the ancients, and familiar to Venice by tradition. The methods pursued toward the acquisitions made after the fifth crusade and at a later period, were exactly those employed by other Italian States under similar circumstances; the two foreign constituents were commercial and military, the depot for trading purposes and the garrison for its protection; and a tribute or other form of homage served as a recognition of suzerainty. But apart from these features the internal affairs of the settlement proceeded, as they had done before the overlord set down his foot on the soil; and the Republic interposed neither to change nor to ameliorate the civil and economic institutions of the district, until it became a question of bidding against a competitor for the possession, and conciliating the population by improving their state, and lightening their burdens. This course was agreeable to ordinary experience. Politicians have seldom anticipated national demands.

From a period of unknown antiquity the constitution recognised, on the part of masters, as exclusive and uncontrolled a property in their serfs, as the Greeks and the Romans, as the Anglo-Saxons and the Muscovites, as the rice planter of old Carolina and the sugar-grower of the Surinam; but in the Republic the bondsman was, as a rule, one who had been purchased in the open market, unattached to any estate or soil, and was the property of his owner, *jure emptionis*, like an ordinary chattel. So far back as the tenth century a right of extradition was inserted in the Venetian treaties with the Western empire. But a second method existed, by which serfs were obtained and multiplied. In 1124, during hostilities in the Levant, the youth of both sexes

are said to have been reduced by the Venetians to slavery, and the practice may well be supposed to have been more or less customary, and to have been adopted by the Republic, rather than to have originated there. Under the ancient Roman system the slave who acquired by a release from *mancipatio* a personal identity, became, not free in the modern sense, but a freedman or *libertus*, and still lay under cliental obligations to his former master or his representatives. We seem to see how at Venice the predominance of commercial ideas might have had a modifying or mitigating influence on this legal principle; but the system continued, as it did everywhere else, both as a tolerated element in the social economy, and as a profitable source of commerce, for centuries after it had been morally and legally condemned. The Venetian pursued as a merchant the traffic which as a legislator he had reprobated; and the sale of human flesh, which the piovano denounced from the pulpit, the clerical notary ratified in his bureau. Good laws were enacted; but parliamentary control was too indirect and lax, and the administration was apt to find, in the case of advanced measures, that it had to cope with practical difficulties which the legislature had not foreseen, and to submit to compromises and even infringements of the statute, arising in some degree from a want of common action outside the Republic.

At the same time, down to the seventeenth century the galleys of the Republic, and even the Bucentaur, were manned by slaves, while forced labour did not enter into the Venetian penal system. The traffic must have consequently been continuous and heavy; and even that was not wholly unattended by romantic episodes. The prisoners taken by the Turks in a war about 1440 with Vladislas IV. of Poland were sold to Venetian dealers, and among them was a Polish noble, who, when he was next identified many years after, was found discharging a high office at Venice, having regained his liberty and, under a new Italian name, risen to distinction. His family may have redeemed him; but he, it is said, declined to forsake his adopted country. The galley-slaves were quartered within the lofty walls of the Arsenal, and doubtless formed part of the appointments of a vessel much in the same sense as the oars, which they wielded. The present was a question inherently prolific of inconsistencies and contradictions; and the Republic lived to cross over to the other side, and to become, in the last hours of independence, the

champion of the Christian captives who fell into the hands of the pirates of the Mediterranean.

Originally the importation of persons in a condition of vassalage or servitude did not, perhaps, go beyond a desire to obtain a class of vassals who, of course, in harmony with the normal conditions of serfdom, might be available for all the various branches of domestic occupation, not only in secular establishments, but in the monasteries and nunneries, where the slave often discharged, as in the East, the functions of a confidential agent, and, in the case of institutions for women, a party to intrigues with outsiders. Nor need we doubt that the *servi* specified in the earlier coronation oaths of the Doge as attached to the palace were of this type. But, as there is no lack of documentary testimony to prove to our satisfaction,¹ the practice gradually degenerated into a systematic abduction of females from the East for purposes of prostitution and immorality. A custom, which traced back its origin to an epoch when the demand for labour began to surpass the supply, was made, when the market for employment no longer required any such stimulus, subservient to a growing taste for licentious pleasures and corrupt diversions, quite Oriental in their depravity. It is said that even in the time of St. Chrysostom (A.D. 347-407) female slaves were exposed for sale at the Amphictyonic fairs,² and the Angles, whom Pope Gregory I. is reputed to have redeemed in the market-place at Rome, may, if the familiar legend be true, have been brought from England by Venetian traders. To the lower grades of the population in Venice proper, as well as in the Dominion, the state of personal servitude, as it slowly died out, tended to impart a hybrid character.

It is scarcely desirable to lift the curtain from the scenes portrayed in official papers, and by writers of a reliable character,³ as occurring in the Venetian capital, and even within the precincts of the ducal palace, not many years after the time of Francesco Foscari (1422-1457); for there is even a story of a Doge who in his old age felt the same chill which crept over holy King David, and thought of the same antidote. It may be sufficient to say that the girls and women, whom the dealers in such commodities brought to Venice, played the same part

¹ Molmenti, *La vie privée à Venise*, ch. 12.

² Walford's *Fairs, Past and Present*, 1888, p. 3.

³ *Legge e memorie Venete sulla prostituzione*, 4to, privately printed for the Earl of Orford, 1870-2. Illustrations.

four or five hundred years ago, which the same unhappy species play among us at the present moment, and were made to minister to orgies prototypical of such as our modern cities continue to know. Even there Venice was a pioneer; and her very vices and extravagances were the outcome of the same energy which led to the production of masterpieces in art, to the successful fight for commercial preponderance, to the lust for the attainment of immense political power. This immoderate indulgence and unbridled sensuality, of which we find symptoms at Venice generations upon generations before the author of *Childe Harold* was born, were an incidence of high and luxurious civilisation, and followed the traditions of the Greeks and every other great people. The early intimacy between the Republic and the East, her southerly climate, and the growth of wealth, were influences which concurred in favouring the development of social abuses and impurities of this kind. It was a class of mischief and licence widely different from the *sfrenata lascivia*, which Dante thought that he observed growing up among the once simple Florentines.

The celebrated conspiracy which was formed against Venice in 1371 by Francesco Novello, Lord of Padua, furnishes the first direct clue to the existence of professional prostitution in the Republic. From the details of that movement it is collected, that in the time of Andrea Contarini a house of ill-repute was kept in the capital by a procuress known as La Gobba (*the Hunchback*). On this particular occasion the house was found, upon being searched by the police, to contain several dangerous political characters, who had come from Padua with a diabolical project in contemplation, and who were betrayed at the last moment by two courtezans.

To check the progress of the evil, and to diminish the chances of contamination, as well as the scandal of a system of prostitution, formed the steadfast aim of legislation. In the earlier part of the fifteenth century, a law passed, which prescribed that all the stews of the metropolis should be concentrated in a single quarter, and that the women, who belonged to them, should wear a dress of a motley pattern peculiar to themselves; and such a measure, to whatever extent it was mistaken in principle and practically inoperative, was meant to be a step in the right direction. A late experiment of a different kind, by which the brothels were suppressed, was still less felicitous; it was a remedy worse

than the evil against which it provided; and a short trial sufficed to establish its futility.

The biographer of Montaigne, who was at Venice in 1580, dwells a little on the splendour and excellent *status* of the hetaira there at that time, and particularly notices the luxuriously appointed residence of the famous Imperia, who was openly visited by persons of the highest rank, and who possessed not only musical tastes but a library of Latin and Italian books. Mr. St. John adds: "When she died, a public monument was raised in the Church of Saint Gregory, recording not only her beauty but her profession." The lady here mentioned was probably identical with the notorious Veronica Franco, who has been elsewhere mentioned as one of the literary and musical ornaments of the city, and who held a perfectly unique position among her contemporaries. Is it not possible that Veronica owed to her social supremacy the sobriquet of Imperia, now more familiar to us from the *Contes Drolatiques* of Balzac? The lady, with whom the English traveller Coryat (1611) describes his interview, and of whom he has left a not unprepossessing portrait, was a Venetian, or at least an Italian. There were numerous types of this class of women, as we readily infer from the graduated official tariff, and as there were many above it, there were others below, whom the police restricted to certain quarters, where they were not too fastidious or frugal in the exhibition of their charms from the casements, till the law interposed. There was the universal feature of kept mistresses and of actresses of equivocal repute, for whom rival suitors frequently competed and occasionally fought. In one instance one of the admirers of a theatrical belle, Theodora Rizzi, happened to be Gozzi the dramatist, and in his *Droghe d' Amore* he so mercilessly and effectually ridiculed her other admirer, that the latter, unable to obtain legal redress, left Venice. For he could not emerge from his house without being identified and quizzed.

The fulminations of the tribunals against the more fashionable types on account of their lavish and luxurious habits, their expenditure on dress and its adjuncts, and their prodigious outlay on furniture and the table, were scarcely more serviceable in reality than those directed against the members of ordinary society; and the most centralised and intrepid of governments found itself virtually powerless here. There were isolated cases where the Inquisition of State made a firm stand, as where in 1765 a scion of one of the noblest families formed the "monstrous resolution"

of actually marrying the ballet-dancer Carlina, and the proposed bride was expelled from the city with a peremptory order never to return. Matters, however, underwent only the change incidental to the reduced prosperity of the place; such characters were ever to be encountered, and are still so under Italian rule. From Rousseau we gain no nearer approach in his *Confessions* than his amour with the fair Zulietta, a Paduan brunette; but he might, no doubt, have added to our knowledge of her sisters not far away across the water, whom the French philosopher of the eighteenth century would have pronounced equally fresh, lively, and piquant.

The topic, which has been treated in such full detail by Lord Orford, is a somewhat delicate and unsavoury one to handle; but it is one which bore a degree of intimate relationship to the State, and possessed during the period of political decline a significance nowhere else perhaps in modern European history paralleled; it is probable that the most influential and dangerous members of the sisterhood were those whose names and addresses do not occur in the official scale. It was one of the symptoms of decadence, that the same woman would acknowledge two patrons, the poor patrician who lent to her house or quarters the sanction of his name, and the thriving trader who paid the rent and mainly supported the lady; and this arrangement extended to the too numerous instances, where the reduced nobles were unable *far casa*, and became virtual boarders at the table of a citizen. But the interposition of the higher class of courtesan in political business and official intrigue decreased, when fuller liberty was accorded to the female aristocracy, and they were able to appear in public, and assert their social pretensions, which may be set down as part of the gradual revolution in sentiment which was to arrive at a climax, not on this, but on another soil, in 1789.

Of native talent in this direction there was no lack then or since, and in the Venetian streets it is very possible yet to see faces not dissimilar in type from those which exercised upon our Elizabethan forerunners a transient witchery—faces of a Titianesque caste appertaining to figures which haunt the favourite lounges, and await a response to the significant glance. There is doubtless a superabundance of supply in this direction and even in another, on which it is even less expedient to dwell. But in the last century Lalande observes that the commoner women of the town were disgusting. Even when they had passed their prime,

some of these gay characters succeeded in winning attention, and retaining admirers, by an artful coquetry and a sedulous study of the toilette. Such was Teresa Depretis Venier, who excelled as a dancer, singer, musician, and speaker, when she was no longer young, and inspired with a strange passion two men, Pepoli and Widmann, who kept her purse full, and were not too old to have been her sons. Teresa had been a miracle of beauty and grace; she is mentioned by Pepoli in the preface to his plays, 1787.

The germ of this inevitable constituent of every human community, from the most ancient period, has been the difficulty of protecting women and girls of reputable character from violence and insult; and the Venetian law interposed so early as the 12th century with such an object in a manner consonant with the brutal severity of mediæval retribution, visiting an outrage on a married female with the loss of both eyes. The result here, however, as elsewhere, was the gradual establishment of a mechanism of the usual kind, comprising brothels, courtezans, and procuresses.

It was not long after the discovery of America by Columbus, that the *lues venerea* found its way to Venice, namely, in 1496, and the treatment of the malady was so imperfectly understood, that in 1522 a special hospital was established for its victims under the title of the *Hospital of Incurables*. The Government did its utmost to keep within limits the ravages of the disease, as well as the mischief and scandal arising from the whole system; and the same minute attention and descent to detail are manifest in the records of this department of the Executive, as in all the other branches of administration. We have even a list of the women, with their names and addresses, and the tariff which they accepted, and likewise reports of cases where they were cited for infractions of the law, and fined or otherwise punished. Nor did the police content itself with exercising a control over the members of this class; for we meet with prosecutions of persons of all ranks for offences perpetrated in connection with such women, as, in or about 1617, when Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, having been seen in a gondola, during the Carnival, with a young courtesan, was committed to prison, and only released on the intercession of the British resident, Sir Henry Wotton, who pleaded his lordship's ignorance of the law. The scale of fees payable to ladies of pleasure in the middle historical period appears to have ranged from thirty ducats to half

an one. The prices depended on circumstances; some of the "giovine cortese" were able to command high recompenses; they often possessed varied accomplishments, and took great pains in their toilette and costume. In two illustrations accompanying the *Legge e memorie Venete*, 1870-72, the maid is elaborately dressing her mistress's hair, and the latter is playing on a musical instrument.

Many of the particulars registered in Lord Orford's volume have reference to a darker crime more or less peculiar to mixed communities, with a strong Oriental element; we observe that individuals convicted of these felonious misdemeanours were handed over to the spiritual arm, or, in other words, were committed to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, when that had been introduced into Venice, in order that the punishment of their deadly sin might deter others, which of course it never did.

It may be incidentally noticed, as a curious parallel and revival, if the record is more than an invention, that during the first French Revolution (1789) a similar tariff was published of the ladies at general disposal in the Port Royal, who retaliated by issuing, or causing to be issued, a list of ladies of position with their terms. But this French series (for there are two or three *brochures* on the subject) enters into fuller details than its prototype, which was simply to answer official requirements. Some years prior to the Revolution (in 1784) Madame Gourdan, *dite* la Comtesse, kept an establishment at Paris, and drew up rules for the guidance of her inmates, with a table of fines for breach of them.

The mistress or kept woman was far more plentiful at Venice, where she was to a large extent the resource of the younger or more dissipated aristocracy; but when manners and etiquette were so far relaxed that ladies enjoyed greater freedom, this unhealthy institution, too, grew less fashionable, and Lalande terms it a mistaken idea that such persons were regarded here, even in his day (1790), with any respect. He tells us that this was a prejudice which personal observation soon corrected.

CHAPTER LIV

COMMERCE—Postal Regulations—Charges for Letters—Early relations with distant regions—Settlements at Limoges and in other parts of France—Trade with Lombardy, Dalmatia, Sicily—Annual Caravans and Fleets—Flanders voyage—Report of a Venetian representative at Malaga in 1400—Knowledge of Russia—Intercourse between England and Italy—First reference to direct communication between England and Venice (1201)—Growing intimacy of the two countries and periodical disagreements—A Venetian consulate in London before 1408—A special envoy to that capital in the year mentioned—A Venetian company in London (1412)—English volunteers in the war of Chioggia (1379) Distinguished English visitors at Venice—Account of the death and burial of the Duke of Norfolk there in 1399—Dependence of non-commercial States on the custom of the Republic.

THE commerce of the Republic is¹ susceptible of a distribution into three sections:—I. MARITIME. II. RIVER or INLAND. III. THE CARRYING TRADE. The origin of the latter, which is unquestionably to be viewed as the oldest, is lost in antiquity. From a passage in the Letter of Cassiodorus in 523 to the Venetian Tribunes (*Tribuni Maritimorum*), we collect that the Italian sea-borderers were expected to transmit certain quantities of wine, oil, and other produce from divers points on the Istrian coast to the royal palace at Ravenna; and this traffic, in which it is by no means a violent hypothesis that the insular Republic is intended, though the requisition was not specifically addressed to them, represents the mercantile transactions of Venice in their rudest aspect and their earliest stage of development. The carrying trade, like every other branch of Venetian commerce, eventually

¹ "L' Europa abbisognava di navigatori, che la providessero delle merci d' Oriente, il cui uso erasi del tutto perduto nel mezzo all' irruzioni de' Barbari. Li presentavano i Veneziani; ed in breve tutto il commercio dell' Occidente concentrossi nelle loro mani. Tutti i mari furono frequentati dai loro vascelli, e nel giro di pochi secoli la loro repubblica divenne la più forte potenza marittima nell' Europa. Furono sì rapidi i loro progressi, che gl' Imperatori d' Oriente si videro costretti ad implorarne l' assistenza fortificandosi colla loro alleanza. I Veneziani purgavano i mari dai Pirati, combattevano i nimici dell' Impero in ogni mare, e godevano in premio d' una illimita libertà di commercio in tutti i porti del Mediterraneo e del Mar Nero."—Formaleoni.

received enormous extension. The Venetians became the Carriers of the World. During the mediæval period, the postal service which was performed by captains of Venetian argosies or transports, formed the sole channel of communication between the Courts of Germany and Constantinople.

Between the plan which was pursued by the Venetians in the Middle Ages in regard to the transmission of letters, and that which prevails at the present day, some important points of discrepancy existed. The Foreign Post necessarily depended, in the absence of modern appliances, upon sailing vessels. The movements of the Letter-Carrier, who was obliged to make his circuit in a gondola, were regulated to a large extent by the state of the winds and the currents; and in tempestuous weather the correspondence between Grado and Cavarzero was subject to long and constant interruptions. In the tenth and eleventh centuries a merchant residing at Venice, who might be desirous of communicating with his agent or with another merchant at Constantinople, never expected to receive an answer in much less than fifty days. In the reign of Henry VII. Sir Richard Guilford occupied upward of five weeks in travelling from England to Venice; but he loitered, of course, more or less by the way.

A farther respect in which the old Venetian postal system differed from that in present use, was not less curious, though it was of a less essential character. Instead of levying the charge on a stamp, impressed with the head of the reigning sovereign, it was there the practice to levy it on the *seal*. To superintend the Sealing Department, certain officers denominated *Bullatori* (Sealers) existed at Venice at least as early as the reign of Pietro Ziani (1205-29); these functionaries were appointed by the Government, and were under its immediate control; and from a passage in the coronation oath of Ziani's successor, Giacomo Tiepolo, it appears that, so far as the circulation of letters in the Dogado itself was concerned, two tariffs were then in force, of which one was for foreigners, and the other for subjects of the Republic. The former was fixed at twelve *denari grandi* or three *soldi*; the latter did not exceed twelve *piccoli*.¹ It was not competent for the sealer to exact any higher rate, without special authorisation

¹ "De Sigillaturâ literarum non faciemus tolli nisi denarios xii. parvulos, et a forinseco soldos tres (sive denarios xii. grandes), salvo quod, si bullata fuerit litera aliqua alicujus magni negotii, nostri Consiliarii possint licentiarum bullatorem amplius tollendi, ut nobis et eis videbitur."—*Apud Romanin, Documenti.*

from the Doge in Council in cases where the communication was of special importance, and greater care was to be exercised. The price demanded for the postage of a letter to a distant station, such, for instance, as Constantinople or Saint Jean d'Acre, where the difficulty of transit was so great, and the intermediate passage occupied so long a space, was probably considerable.

The postal system subsequently became part of the functions of the *Corriere* or Courier, a factor in early relations of increasing importance in the ratio of the intercourse of the Republic with other States, and with its representatives at Courts and in the field. The Venetian courier, who has been described as being largely drawn from the Bergamasque territory, was long remarkable for his intelligence, devotion, and energy, and many were the feats which might be recorded of his extraordinary speed where the circumstances were unusually urgent. The corps of *Corrieri* was eventually formed into an Art or Gild, and so continued to the end of the old Government; but there had been about 1769 a project recommended by the then all-powerful procurator Andrea Tron or Trono for taking over on the part of the Executive the entire charge, and making it an official department. The Republican, as distinguished from the Oligarchical, party violently opposed the plan, in some measure owing to a jealousy and intolerance of the promoter; and Giorgio Pisani, the leading spirit on that side at the time, denounced the idea as impolitic and everything else that was exceptionable and mischievous; and he not unfairly represented that as the Couriers' Gild was a vested interest, it was entitled to a suitable indemnity. The motion was shelved only to be reintroduced; and then it was carried out with some restrictions, Trono becoming the first *Deputato alle Poste*, or Postmaster-General, in or before the year above named. The *corrieri*, so long as the Republic lived, were still employed, but the control passed from their own managing board to the new Minister, whose ambition was said by his enemies and satirists to aim at nothing short of establishing a Venetian monarchy in his own person.

Italian conservatism betrays itself in the survival of *postes* in the modern railway compartment, and *bolla* in the modern postage-stamp; but the former phraseology is so far warrantable, that it is a direct tradition from the system pursued in the eighteenth century by the Venetians and others for the carriage of passengers and mails with relays of horses. There was one

starting from Verona, of which the ultimate destination was the Austrian capital.

It can hardly be a source of surprise that the Maritime Commerce should have experienced an early and rapid expansion. Assuredly, if a State ever existed which, in a higher degree than any other, received a spur to industry and enterprise if one was to be named to which had been given, more distinctly than to any other, a Mission of Commerce, that State was Venice.

Even in the eighth century, the Venetian relations with many distant regions were established on a tolerably sound footing. At that period the Republic maintained more or less constant communication with France, Turkey, and Egypt; and with intermediate points it may be fairly assumed that she was at least equally familiar. In 827 an edict was published,¹ in which all transactions with Mohammedan countries were temporarily inhibited; and it was in direct violation of this law that the two Venetian traders, who transferred the remains of Saint Mark to Venice two years afterward, were bartering their goods on the quay of Alexandria. In 940, a contemporary writer tells us,² that the flower of the Greek imperial marine was composed of Venetian and Amalfitan sailors. Thirty-seven years later (977), a colony of Venetians established itself at Limoges, in the department of Haute-Vienne; and the street, where the new-comers were located, soon became known as the *Rue des Veniciens*.³ But it was not till the close of the following century, at least, that the Republic succeeded in planting similar settlements in the south of France, at Marseilles,⁴ at Aiguemortes, at Toulouse, and elsewhere; nor do we meet with absolutely distinct traces of Venetian footprints in the Low Countries before 1202, when the money (121 ounces of silver) payable by the Crusaders to the Republic for the passage to the Holy Land is said in the agreement to be forthcoming at the next fair at Ligne or Ligny in Hainault,⁵ which seems an arguable ground for supposing that that was a customary and familiar resort of Venetian traders at that time.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the feudal annexation of a large portion of the Dalmatian coast opened a new field to enterprise; the Islanders, who had already formed emporiums and

¹ Filiasi, *Memorie*, v. 25.

² Luitprand, *Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, A.D. 940, Muratori, ii. 416.

³ Allou, *Monumens des différens âges observés dans la Haute-Vienne*, p. 12.

⁴ Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 86, *et seq.*

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian Series) i.

agencies at Zara, Capo d'Istria, and other leading points, were not remiss in extending and enlarging their transactions with the newly acquired country; and the impulse thus given was considerably strengthened by the simultaneous establishment of a closer and more intelligible connection with the Mohammedans of Syria, Egypt, and Barbary, with the petty rulers of the Crimea, and even with Persia. The Chronicle of the Monastery of Cava relates how in 987 some large Venetian ships stayed at Salerno on their way to Syria, and how not unfrequently the merchantmen of the Republic foundered in that neighbourhood with rich cargoes. In Salerno the Venetians then already possessed a church, an oven, and several houses.¹

The precise character of external relations at this distant date constitutes, however, a point on which it is impossible to speak with certainty; and such a circumstance is the more perhaps to be regretted, since, had information been ampler in these respects, it might have been easier to judge how far the earlier Venetian explorers are entitled to the credit of having prepared the way for the more important and notable discoveries of the Zeni and Poli.

The River, or Inland Commerce, of which Cassiodorus the Gothic Prefect of 523 gives some account, became at a very early period extensive and valuable.² The Po, the Tagliamento, the Adige, the Brenta, and other streams, by which the peninsula was watered and fertilised, were soon covered with their cargoes. During the reign of Maurizio Galbaio (764-87), a fair was instituted at Pavia, of which the Venetians enjoyed all but the exclusive benefit. Thither the Lombards of all classes resorted in large numbers. There the courtiers of Charlemagne might often be seen buying mantles of the same hue and pattern which their great master delighted to wear; and there the ladies of Pavia were sure of meeting with gowns of the newest fashion and of the finest texture.³ The trade in dresses of silk and cloth-of-gold was almost a monopoly. It was restricted to three markets, Pavia, Olivolo, and Malamocco.⁴ At Malamocco, the chief centre of business in early days appears to have been the Strada of San Martino.

At a later epoch (998), the Government entered into treaties with various Powers, by virtue of which several ports in the

¹ Muratori, *R.I. Scr.* vi.

³ Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 23.

² *Opera*, i. 187, edit. 1729.

⁴ Sagorninus, *Chr.* 122-3.

Peninsula were opened to Venetian traders on highly advantageous terms to the exclusion of any other flag. Such became the character of the relations with Gruaro on the Livenza and with San Michele Del Quarto on the Silis. With Aquileia, Ferrara (1102), Treviso (998), Verona, (1193), and other places, the commercial intercourse of the Republic subsisted on a general footing of permanence and security. In fact, it would be difficult to name any quarter of the Peninsula, into which the Venetians had not penetrated before the end of the twelfth century, and where Venetian imports and manufactures were not admitted under more favourable conditions than those of contemporary mercantile communities.

The unsettled state of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the scanty respect which was paid to principles of Maritime Law, even where such principles had been introduced, necessitated the establishment by the Venetians, in common with other commercial Powers, of a system of Annual Trading Caravans. These periodical expeditions, which left Venice between January and September, were under the protection of armed escorts. Their route was laid down with the utmost precision and strictness; and no departure from the sailing instructions was permitted in the absence of an express authorisation from the Government. The number of caravans which were fitted out in the course of a year, depended, however, on circumstances. In times of war and pestilence, it was restricted; at seasons of abundance, when peace prevailed, it exceeded the average. The most celebrated were the Flanders Galleys, which traded between Bruges and the seaports of France, Spain, Portugal, and England, and supplied both England and Venice, among other necessities, with the paper of Flanders with its special watermark of a hand; the Romania Galleys; the Galleys of Armenia, which visited Aias on the Gulf of Alexandretta; the Galleys of Tana or Azoph, which confined themselves to the commerce of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoph, and the Crimea; and the Galleys of Cyprus and Egypt, whose general destination was Alexandria and Cairo.¹

The Venetians studied with affectionate care their system of trading fleets and their consular representation in nearly all parts of the then known world; but they never carried out the principle of establishing institutions analogous to the Dutch and English East India Companies, which arose out of new maritime conditions

¹ Marin, v. lib. ii. c. 3; Depping, *Commerce du Levant*, i. 156 et seq.

and commercial possibilities. They had organised their own Fairs as well as their arrangements for supplying and attending those of other countries, their periodical oversea voyages and overland routes, and their methods of protection and redress for their subjects, on a sound and intelligent basis for the time; and they perhaps erred in being too conservative in not taking full advantage of the new channels of commerce opened by geographical discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But the Republic had grown rich and indolent, had become a capitalist and fundholder, while its rivals for custom used the improved and enlarged opportunities for distant traffic with an ardour characteristic and worthy of the Venetians of bygone times, when the Stuart Kings were Shropshire yeomen, and the commercial capital of Holland was a feudal stronghold on the Amstel.

A decree of the Senate, January 2, 1397-8, ordered the equipment of four galleys for the Flanders Voyage, two bound for Sluys, and two for London; and this document seems to reveal the interesting fact that at that date the port of Rye or Camber-before-Rye (*Portus Camera*), had been recently recommended as a safer anchorage for the Venetian ships coming to the south coast than a point described under the name of *Caput Doble*,¹ thirty miles distant, which Mr. Rawdon Brown identifies with the Downs, but which was far more probably Dungeness. The captains both of Venetian traders and men-of-war were at first very imperfectly acquainted with the British Channel, and the early navigators confined themselves to the southern and eastern ports. In the chart of the British Isles by Andrea Bianco, 1436, places in Sussex and Hampshire only occur.

The Flanders Galleys, on their homeward route, came to London, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Sandwich, Southampton, Rye, and Lynn, and exchanged alum, glass, silk, drapery, sugar, wines, confectionery, and even wood, for tin, wool, iron, hides, and other staples.

It was long the practice to put into Southampton on the return from certain of the voyages for repairs and supplies, and, leaving the flag-galley and commodore behind, to proceed to Holland to exchange the goods, which the merchants had bought in the other markets, when Southampton became the final rendezvous preparatorily to departure homeward. The recollection of the English town, which the islanders frequented during so many

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xx. 224-5.

centuries, survived in a curious way in the performance at the puppet-show or marionette theatre at Venice of the *History of Sir Bevis*.

In 1509, when the organisation of the League of Cambrai threatened to absorb the resources of Venice, and to expose its merchant service to the attacks not only of hostile cruisers, but of privateers and pirates in the narrow seas or English Channel, the Flanders voyage was suspended; and the trading fleet, which happened at that juncture to be at Southampton, probably returned direct to the Adriatic. It is doubtful when the ordinary routine was resumed; but its discontinuance was mutually inconvenient and disadvantageous.

The Flanders voyage, however, was only one of at least six, which were annually undertaken, and which among them comprehended the entire range of European, African, and Asiatic markets, and although private owners were at liberty to trade on their own account in their own bottoms, the ships constituting a voyage were from season to season purchased from the Government by auction, and were returnable into dock in perfect order at the end of the expedition, or, under special circumstances, on demand. Each commercial enterprise of this class followed a route laid down for it with precision by the Government, which had thus the means of knowing, in an emergency, where vessels were available for maritime and warlike purposes. It was a characteristic feature in the regulations controlling the mercantile service, that the build and measurements of all vessels were bound to be of a fixed official standard, so that the component members of a voyage were calculated to preserve their union, and the stores kept at coasting stations by consuls and agents fitted any disabled craft brought into port.

The Flanders voyage is that, into which we are permitted to gain a fuller insight than into the others, because it brought to England the products which had been collected at an infinite number of points, and exchanged them for English staples: tin, wool, hides, and broadcloth. The five other fleets took, we observe, the Black Sea, Greece and the Morea, Syria and the Holy Land, Egypt and the north coast of Africa; and, moreover, the Republic had developed her early inland commerce by the Italian rivers, and supplied those states and cities which lay along the banks.

In 1613 the Venetians were importing cloth goods overland

into Persia, and receiving Persian silks in exchange or otherwise.¹ In 1609 "Venice Reds" were among the commodities declared to be vendible in India, and they recur in accounts of 1610 and 1612, and are said to be sold by the stammel.² In 1613 there was a vice-consulate at Bagdad, where a certain amount of trouble seems to have been occasioned at this time by the depredations of the Turks.³

With France, Spain, Portugal, Granada, Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, and even India, the intercourse was frequent and regular. The traffic which one mercantile firm, that of Albano and Marco Morosini, Brothers, maintained with Damascus, Beyrout, Famagusta, Aleppo, and other places, was enormous. In all those countries they had factors who transmitted to Venice the products and manufactures of the East, and to whom they consigned in exchange the staple commodities of Europe or the curiosities of Thibet and Siam. Marco Polo had familiarised his countrymen with the wonders of Cathay—he was the first European who is known to have visited Sumatra, where he was in 1291, and other points on the coasts of the East Indies,—and in 1585 the Japanese deputies, who came to Europe on a mission to the Holy See, paid a visit to Venice, and were treated with the greatest attention. But no practical fruits ensued; and in 1590 European intercourse with this region was almost entirely suspended. But on the other hand, in several even remote and then hitherto unexplored parts, including the Crimea, Venetian adventurers whose names have not been preserved, had already in the tenth century laid the foundations of commercial establishments or intercourse,⁴ and had to some extent therefore forestalled Polo himself.

In the hold of a Venetian galleon every land was represented by its fruits or its industry: and among the most precious articles of merchandise in those days were the iron of Staffordshire, the tin of the Cornwall and Devon stannaries, and the wool of Sussex. When the Republic was at the height of its national development it was officially estimated that the manufacture of raw wool into various articles of use employed 30,000 poor persons, and large quantities of it were kept in store. The trade was in a flourishing state in 1265, when the commodity

¹ *Letters to the English E.I.C.*, 1896, p. 307.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 76, 240.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-5.

⁴ *Infra*, i. 105.

may have been already an object of commerce or exchange between England and Venice.

A personal narrative by Bernardo Contarini, consul and ambassador at Malaga under this reign, contains a singular account of his first introduction to the Moorish King of Granada. Contarini wrote on the 6th October 1400, to the College, thus:—“Upon my arrival at Granada I was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who informed me that his Majesty was extremely anxious to see me. I excused myself at first on the plea that the distance to the royal residence was fatiguing after my long journey, and that my vestments were soiled and dusty from travelling. But the minister was importunate, representing that it was an extraordinary honour which his master conferred upon me, since other envoys were usually detained for some time, before an audience was granted to them. Hereupon I yielded, retired to my apartments, opened my valise, attired myself in a bright court-suit, and prepared to wait upon the monarch. My reception was peculiarly gracious and amiable, and I procured from the King, whom I found seated on a thronal dais surrounded by his councillors, a charter written in Arabic characters upon red papyrus, by virtue of which the subjects of the Republic are placed in the enjoyment of personal security and many special and valuable privileges throughout Granada.”

In the report of his mission to the court of Charles V. in 1548, Luigi Mocenigo takes occasion to refer to the intercourse between Venice and Nürnberg, which he considered the best-governed place in the empire and the Venice of Germany. Many years before that date a weekly mail had been established for passengers and goods between the two places, for in 1506 Albert Dürer mentions to his friend¹ Wilibald Pirkheimer his intention to avail himself of this medium for returning home after a more than twelvemonth's absence. Probably he had travelled by the same route into Italy.

The early intercourse of the Republic with Russia appears to have commenced about 1488, in which year an embassy from the Duke of Moscow reached Italy, and came to Venice. There was a second in 1493 and a third in 1499. Sanuto the Diarist seems to have seen the last, and describes the members, under date of December 1, as wearing long fur caps or bonnets, and as bringing credentials from their master, as well as presents for

¹ Gustav Gruyer, *Albert Dürer, Sa Vie et ses Ouvrages*, 8vo, 1878.

the Signory. The letter of introduction was addressed "To the honoured and illustrious Count Agostino Barbarigo Venetian." The acquaintance of Russia with Western Europe continued to be excessively limited and inaccurate even in the next century; for Ivan III., who was contemporary with Elizabeth of England, and was one of the aspirants to the hand of that conspicuous personality, was evidently not much less ignorant than his predecessors of the political conditions and independent rank of Venice, when he sent dispatches to that Power through the Holy See, directed to *the Governor of the Signoria*. Yet, immediately or otherwise, the commercial relations of the two countries must in the sixteenth century have become of some consequence and volume; and it is astonishing to find the Grand Duke, thinking it necessary to approach through his Holiness a Power, at that time immeasurably more important than either. The oldest relation drawn up by a Venetian envoy or delegate to Moscow belongs to 1557, and principally deals with an account of the country, its ruler, its traders, and its products; there does not seem to have been another effort to approach the Russians diplomatically till 1576.

Whatever might be the extent to which the two countries exchanged their imports or products indirectly, by means of fairs and caravans, the political relations continued to be intermittent and slight, until the Turkish question became one, in which the northern or eastern Powers perceived it to be their interest to meet and support the Republic. This appreciation of friendly concert came rather too late to be of great service to Venice. It was in 1694 only, that the Republic concluded a treaty with the Czar Peter; and in 1697 a Venetian Resident was established at Moscow.

So early as the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, is said to have employed Italian moneyers; and there is the well-known tradition that his daughter, ruined by her alleged extravagance, died a beggar in the streets of Pavia. Even before the close of the eleventh century, Otho degli Gherardini, a Florentine, settled in England, and became the proprietor of lands in no fewer than eight counties; and it was from this gentleman, that sprang the ancestors of the noble House of Fitzgerald.¹ In 1157, Frederic Barbarossa obtained from Henry II. a mercantile charter;² twenty

¹ *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, by the Marquis of Kildare, 1858, p. 2.

² Sir H. Nicolas, *Hist. of the Royal (Eng.) Navy*, i. 74.

years later an English representative attended the famous meeting between Frederic and the pontiff Alexander III. at Venice; and in 1200, King John declared that "all merchants, of what nation soever, should, with their merchandise, have safe-conduct to pass into England, and to repass thence, and to enjoy in that country the same peace and security as the merchants of England were allowed in the countries from which such merchants came."¹ In 1245, according to the testimony of Walsingham,² England began to swarm with Italian placemen, just as in a former age she had swarmed with Norman interlopers; and bitter and loud was the complaint that the foreigners were even absorbing all the richest benefices in the Church.

In 1224, one Raymond, late of England, supposed to be an Englishman, but more probably a Frenchman, procured a writ of attachment against the property of Agnes of Marseilles, whose daughter his son Giles had engaged to marry at Venice, her portion being 100 *livres parisis* and other effects. It was found on inquiry that the lady was dead, and the Signory settled on Raymond, in satisfaction of his claim or as a *solatium*, the property in its hands or some of it, partly made up of ginger, cardamums, mace, and pieces of damask. Scant justice seems in this case to have been meted out to Agnes; but possibly we are not in full possession of the facts.³ It is quite necessary to add that the report of the case occupies a small folio volume of 210 pages, embracing 705 entries.

The first direct and explicit allusion to Venice in the Public Records of England occurs in 1201,⁴ on the 18th of January in which year King John granted to Johannes, the son of Leonardus Sucubus of Venice, and to his heirs, certain commercial privileges of high importance. "Johannes de Venetiâ" and his successors, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, rose to great note and affluence in the island, and acquired, probably by lapse of mortgages, estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, a few of which they appear to have held of the Crown *in capite*, some by sergeantry, and the rest in the more usual method. Among these lands are named West Ham in Essex, Estwoldham in Hampshire, and Draycot in Wiltshire, for the last of which they paid annually seven pounds

¹ Sir H. Nicolas, *Hist. of the Royal (Eng.) Navy*, i. 157-8.

² *Ypodygma Neustriæ*, 1574, p. 60.

³ *Calendar of State Papers (Venice)*, 1864, i. 1.

⁴ *Rolls of Charters in the Tower of London*, vol. i. part 1.

and seven shillings to the King.¹ It seems not unlikely that an individual whose name is given in our histories as *Dolfin*, and under whom Cumberland, or part of it, was in the last years of the eleventh century an independent sovereignty or government, belonging to the ancient and noble Venetian house of Dolfino. During the reign of Edward III., other instances are known of Venetians becoming landed proprietors, or at least mortgagees, in England; and it is consequently matter of some surprise, that the earliest example found of naturalisation happened only in 1430, when Gabriel Corbet, a Venetian, and of Southampton, mariner, was admitted to the rights of a denizen of that place, on payment of a reasonable fine into Chancery.²

A treaty of commerce with Britain had been concluded between Edward I. and the Doge Gradenigo in 1304, by which the trade of London, Southampton, and other ports, was opened to the citizens of the Republic upon unquestionably advantageous terms; and the relations between the two Powers continued uninterrupted till the fulmination of the Bull against the Venetians in March 1309. But the intercourse between Venice and England was resumed in 1313, or perhaps earlier. In 1319, the mutual good understanding was temporarily disturbed by a singular mischance. A merchant of Venice, Tommaso Loredano, dispatched to London by a certain captain, Nicoletto Basadonna, 100,000 pounds of raw sugar and 10,000 of candied sugar; and Basadonna, having disposed of his cargo in a satisfactory manner, exchanged it for wool, with which, in conformity with his instructions, he sailed to Flanders. In the Flemish waters, however, the captain encountered some English cruisers; a collision ensued; the cruisers were victorious: and Basadonna fell in the defence of his trust.³ This outrage was not permitted to pass unnoticed. An ambassador was sent to London to demand satisfaction in the name of the Doge; and Royal Letters sealed with wax were granted for the security and redress of the sufferers and others. The syndic accredited to the Court of Edward was directed to propose the establishment of a Consulate in the British metropolis; and even if such an object was not immediately achieved, it is indisputable that such an institution was in existence at no distant period.

¹ *Rotulorum Orig. Abbrev.*, i. 192; ii. 2, 145, 198; *Rolls of the Hundreds*, i. 152; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III.; *Pipe Rolls of the Exch.*, 3 John; *Chancery Roll*, 3 John.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 386.

³ *Marin*, v. pp. 306 and 309.

A second disagreement arose in 1321.¹ Five Venetian merchantmen, trading off the Isle of Wight, entered into a contention on some point with the tenantry and servants of the chief local proprietor, who is named Sir John De Lisle. A fatal affray took place; several Englishmen were killed; the Venetian captains abruptly weighed anchor, and put out to sea; and the fear of consequences deterred them for some time from repeating their visits. In 1323, however (April 16), a royal pardon was published, in which grace was extended to the offenders; and this temporary estrangement was thus terminated. From the avarice and susceptibility of the Venetians on the one hand, seconded by the full sense of naval and commercial superiority, and from the stubborn and jealous character of the English on the other, it is natural to conclude that quarrels and even ruptures of a more serious kind were in these early times far from unfrequent; but, for the most part, the placability of the Italians and the necessities of their customers speedily reconciled disputes.

Relations long experienced no interruption after this incident; and the commercial intercourse of the Signory with London and other ports preserved in the interval so even a tenor, that during many years England ceased to occupy any place in the foreign correspondence of the Government. It was not till 1340 that diplomacy resumed its suspended functions. In that year, Edward III., desirous of prosecuting with vigour his war against France, announced to the Doge the challenge delivered to him by Philip of Valois and his (Edward's) offer to prove his divine right by facing ravenous lions or touching for the evil. He prayed his Serenity to lend him his co-operation by organising at his cost a squadron of forty galleys, which might harass the maritime frontier of the enemy. He granted the Venetians full leave to name their own terms; and he pledged himself to discharge the debt within the twelvemonth in "gold, silver, and merchandise." He desired that, if they were disinclined on any account to enter into the scheme, they would at least endeavour to prevail on Genoa to embrace his propositions. In the meantime, he guaranteed to Venice important additions to the commercial privileges which she already enjoyed in the ports of his dominions; and in conclusion, he begged his Serenity to send two or at any rate one of his sons to London, where they might be assured of a suitable reception and of a cordial welcome.

¹ Rymer, iii. 1008-9, 1011-12.

The reply to this dispatch was somewhat categorical and slightly evasive. After lamenting the breach between England and France, the Doge proceeded to represent that his country had no motive whatever for launching into hostilities against the latter Power; that the growing necessity of checking Turkish preponderance and aggrandisement was occupying the closest attention of his Government, and threatened at no distant period to engross its resources, and that the Signory was consequently precluded, to its regret, from affording his Highness the assistance which he sought. The Doge continued, that he did not feel himself at liberty to communicate, as an alternative, with the Genoese; that the exemptions which his Highness was pleased to accord were assuredly most acceptable; and finally, that by the courteous expressions which the king had employed touching his sons, he was indeed singularly flattered. With what degree of grace and composure the choleric Plantagenet endured this rebuff, is matter of conjecture only; but it is probable that he decided on the whole upon allowing the charter, dated the 27th April 1340, by which he had hoped to secure the active cohesion of the Republic, to remain as a tacit pledge of Venetian neutrality.¹

A little later on, there was some discussion in consequence of Edward annexing certain conditions to the request of the Venetians for a renewal of their immunities. The king laid down perpetual goodwill and amity between the two Powers. The Doge, by his representative, replied that his country had always specially loved England and the English. The king stipulated that Venice should not lend help or countenance to his enemies. The Doge returned: "It is not the custom of the Venetians to interfere between disputants or belligerents, except for the sake and purpose of making peace." The King requires that the Doge shall apprise him betimes of anything detrimental to his government, which may come within his Serenity's knowledge. His Serenity very sensibly points out the great distance between Venice and England, the slight reliance to be put on political intelligence, and the commonness of false rumours, which often, as Englishmen must be aware, give rise to erroneous and misleading impressions. This episode belongs to a time when Venice was more to England than England to Venice, when a Venetian fleet ascending the Thames, could have readily taken London, if London had been worth

¹ Romanin, iii. 142-3.

taking; and when the Venetians looked upon their fellow-islanders as a people whose products and manufactures rendered their friendship highly valuable, but scarcely so valuable as the friendship of Bruges or the friendship of Marseilles.

In 1371, Edward III., at the prayer of the Doge, accorded a safe-conduct to all Venetian subjects in the English and Flemish seas, and three years later his Government and that of Portugal were required to render satisfaction for injuries sustained by Venetian merchantmen. In 1400, some merchants of Venice were charged with an attempt to pass their money at a higher rate than was legal; the King, who was from London, minuted to the Privy Council, "that the merchants should be treated considerably, but that the law must be enforced."

In 1389 (13 Richard II.) an Act appeared, by which "it was ordained and assented, that no plain cloth, tacked nor folded, shall be set to sale within the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol, and Gloucester, but that they be opened, upon pain to forfeit them, so that the buyers may see them, and know them, as it is used in the County of Essex; and that the workers, weavers, and fullers shall put their seals to every cloth that they shall work, upon a certain pain, to be limited by the justices of peace." This legislation by no means extinguished the grievance; declaratory statutes were made from time to time, but without effect; and at length, the Venetians declined to give any bonus, or take the bad cloth of England, in payment for their own genuine import.¹

In 1408, three Venetian galleys, having neglected² to discharge arrears of fiscal duties, were, after a certain term of grace, forfeited

¹ The passion of the Duke of Clarence for malmsey is well known. It is mentioned in two passages in *Richard III.* :—

"*First Murd.*—Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword; and then throw him into the malmsey butt in the next room.

"*Second Murd.*—O excellent device! and make a sop of him."—(Act i. sc. 4.)

"*First Murd.*—Take that and that. If all this will not do,
I'll drown you in the malmsey butt within."—

In the second part of *Hen. IV.*, Act ii. sc. 1, the *Hostess* calls *Bardolph* a "malmsey-nose knave;" and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2, malmsey is mentioned as a table-wine.

² *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 77-8; *Issues of the Exchequer for 1409* (Lond. 1837, 4to). "To Hugh Helwys, a notary public. In money paid to his own hands by consideration of the Treasurer and the Chamberlain for making and writing out an instrument made between our Lord the King (Henry IV.) and three owners and other good merchants belonging to three Venetian galleys, which arrived at the Port of London in the tenth year (1409)" etc. A nearly similar case occurred 8 Hen. VI., *Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 122.

to the king; and the owners were compelled to redeem their property with a fine of 2000 marks. Of this proceeding the defaulters addressed a complaint to their Government; and the latter sent Fra Hieronimo, and subsequently Antonio Bembo, Esquire, to London, to investigate the matter, and, if the circumstances warranted such a course, to require satisfaction. The commission of Bembo was dated the 30th April 1409.¹ The instructions of the Envoy were, upon his arrival in London, to call upon the Vice-Consul there (*de inde*), and to assemble at his house the Committee of Merchants, to whom he was to explain the motive of his journey, and to take counsel as to the ways and means to be pursued in seeking an audience of his Majesty. In case our Lord the King happened to be from London, the Committee had power to determine the number of horses and servants which should be accorded to his Excellence; "but," says the Doge, in so many words, "you shall not take with you more than ten horses. For our purpose is, that all the outlay to which you may be put, in excess of your salary and a certain limited expenditure, shall be placed to the account of the merchandise which is taken to Bruges and London, and from London and Bruges to Venice." His Excellence was also reminded that it might possibly occur that the points, which he had it in charge to bring under the royal notice, would be referred to the General Parliament, "which Parliament," it is said, "meets about the middle of September;" and in such an event he was enjoined to consult the Committee upon his stay in the capital. "That you may be in a better position to attain your object in the Parliament or otherwise," continued the Doge, "you ought to employ some one good and efficient lawyer, to whom you must pay such fees as are just and reasonable. After the delivery of your credentials, you will call to the mind of his Majesty, how in the year just passed (1408), on the occasion of an innovation (*novitatis*) put into practice against our galleys, and merchants, and merchandise in the port of London, we sent to his Palace the most reverend Fra Hieronimo, professor of divinity, as our ambassador for the redress of our complaints and the restitution of our property,

¹ *Commissione d' Ambasciata di Antonio Bembo a Londra*, Aprilis die ult. 1409 (presso Romanin, *Documenti*, iii. No. 8). "We, Michele Steno, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice, etc., commit to you, the noble Antonio Bembo Esquire, our well-beloved fellow-citizen, the task of going as our solemn Orator and Vice-Captain of our Galleys, to London, to the presence of the Most Serene Lord the King of England."

from whose report we feel assured that the King's Majesty is, as he ever was, benignly disposed toward us, our merchants, and subjects. We charge you to make terms with Richard Stile, the customer (custom-house officer), because we are informed that, if the difference with him were settled, it would facilitate the adjustment of the difficulty. You will demand reparation for the noble Giovanni Zane, in such manner as shall appear to you most expedient. You will try to procure an understanding that, if any of our citizens, subjects, or lieges, receive from any subjects of the king in London or (other parts of) England, goods for which he may omit to pay, our citizens shall not on this account be molested, seeing that it is unjust that one should suffer for another.¹ We have confided to your care some donations for the most Serene King, and certain other English noblemen, which you will be so good as to present forthwith upon your arrival in London. Your allowance for this your embassy and vice-captaincy will be 400 ducats, of which the Masters of Gallies will contribute 100, and our Commune 100, and of which the remainder will be defrayed out of the London Trade Account; and you will be our Vice-Captain, in the same manner and under the same conditions as our other *Vice-Captains at London*, and it shall be lawful for you neither to engage in mercantile transactions at London, nor to employ any one to do so on your behalf, unless it shall happen that the business on which you are sent is thoroughly dispatched, in which case you may tarry eight days farther on your own affairs, and no more."

It is to be recollected that Fra Hieronimo had already contrived to put the matter in good train, when his successor reached the Thames about the first week in June 1409. It was reserved for Bembo to complete a negotiation which was evidently proceeding with a halting pace, to impart stability to the relations between the two Powers, and to obtain guarantees for the future; and it is highly probable that, even in the absence of any other motives, the vital interest which the English, and the town of Southampton especially, had in the uninterrupted maintenance of the Venetian trade with their ports, was instrumental in securing a compliance with the wishes of the Republic. Bembo's private business in London at this time had probably something to do with a monetary affair, to which there will be a farther allusion.

In 1412, the Venetian Company of London lent the King

¹ It was contrary to 27 Edw. III. c. 17.

£200 toward the outlay attendant upon his expedition for the recovery of Guienne; and 200 marks were given in the same year for a similar purpose.¹ In 1415, when Henry V. was preparing to invade France, he had recourse, among other expedients, to pecuniary loans on the part of towns and private individuals; and among the royal creditors were Nicolo Molini and his Venetian fraternity, who, under the pressure of a threat that, if they were contumacious, his Majesty would commit them to the Fleet, till "he heard a different account,"² advanced Henry £1000. On the same occasion, the Genoese contributed £1200, and those of Lucca, £200.³ In 1481 we find a Venetian trader, one of the ducal house of Contarini, described as residing in St. Botolph's Lane, London.

It was shortly after 1415 that Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and uncle of Henry V., accompanied by the Prior of St. Mary's, a numerous retinue, and sixty horses, took Venice on his way both to and from the Holy Land, and met with a hearty reception, the Doge meeting him in the Bucentaur. He was much honoured, we are informed; and in September 1418 he set out on his return to England. He had originally reached the city on Palm Sunday.

In 1472 an Act of Parliament (12 Edward IV.), which was most probably a simple reproduction of a much older measure, compelled the Venetian merchants to bring with each butt of wine, containing from 126 to 140 gallons, four good bowstaves gratuitously, under penalty of 6s. 8d. for all butts sought to be imported without such staves; and this trade indeed was so profitable to the Republic that her subjects consented at an early date to accept as payment one-third in cash and two-thirds in cloth. But the foreigners soon discovered that, while they were giving their customers 135 or 140 gallons to the butt, instead of 126,⁴ the English were cheating them outrageously, and were palming on them "cloths of the which a great part be broken, bruised, and not agreeing in the colour, neither be according to breadth, nor in no manner to the part of the same cloths shewed outwards, but be falsely wrought with divers wools⁵ to the great deceit, loss, and damage of the people, in so much that the merchants

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ii. 32.

² *Ibid.* ii. 214.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 265-6.

⁴ *Instructions for the Flanders Gallies, 1337-8; Misti Senato* (quoted at length by Romanin, iii. 376-84).

⁵ Romanin, ii. 373, note 4.

that buy the same cloths, and carry them out of the realm to sell to strangers, be many times in danger to be slain."

During the War of Chioggia, William Gold, William Cook, John Berkit, Colin Campbell, an individual, whose baptismal name we find distorted into *Cantaletto*, and two knights, Sir Walter and Sir Benedict, were among those who entered the service of the Signory.¹ With the exception of Gold, they distinguished themselves by their blustering and litigious disposition, no less than by their great courage; and, on one occasion, the Doge was obliged to summon them to the deck of his galley, and to harangue them.² Gold's share of spoil after the recovery of Chioggia which the countrymen of *Cantaletto*, retaliating upon the Republic, corrupted into *Chose*,³ amounted to 500 ducats.⁴ Gold is described as constable-general, otherwise provost-marshal, of the troops; and he performed valuable service in preserving discipline. He was admitted by letters-patent to the freedom of the city on 27th April 1380, and on the 4th July ensuing received a pension of 500 ducats of gold conditionally on reserving himself for disposal at any time when he might be required. His son, Bertram Gold, became a Venetian citizen in 1398.

The elder Gold had been in the Mantuan service, and there is a singular correspondence between him and the Marquis Gonzaga relative to a French woman, of whom Gold was enamoured, and for whose recovery, when she eloped with another man, he solicited the offices of his former employer. From the evident desire of Gonzaga to befriend him, the constable-general must have been a personage of no mean pretensions and merit; and the Republic equally appreciated him.

In 1392⁵ Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, passed through Venice on his way to Jerusalem, and was honourably entertained by the doge Antonio Veniero, who went some distance by water to meet the earl; a galley was lent to him for his journey, and the Republic, anxious to oblige so distinguished a personage, more especially as he was introduced by the Duke of Austria, spent 300 ducats in presents to him, and 100 more on his return, when he restored the vessel. Henry had to go by Parenzo, Zara, Lesina, Ragusa, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jaffa, staying probably at each place; yet his visit did not last very

¹ Romanin, iii. 288-92.

² Ibid.

³ *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Gwylyforde*, A.D. 1506, p. 6.

⁴ Romanin, iii. 292.

⁵ Capgrave, *Lives of the Illustrious Henries*, Latin orig. p. 100.

long. When he ascended the throne as Henry IV. in 1399, he hastened to notify the event to the Doge, whose acquaintance he had already made, in a letter, dated 4th October, and to offer sundry preferential exemptions to Venetian traders.¹

We hear² how the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford in the last year of Richard II. (1399) were expelled from the realm, and how Mowbray, the "banish'd Norfolk" of Shakespear—

retired himself
To Italy, and there, at Venice, gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth.³

He, in fact, brought a letter of introduction from Richard II., and was similarly entertained. The King, in presenting him to the Doge, calls him Duke of Guilford; but in other papers relative to his visit he resumes his true name.

While he remained at Venice, on his way to the Holy Land, Mowbray borrowed 750 ducats of Antonio Bembo, whose name has already occurred, for his travelling expenses; and two letters to Henry IV., one from Bembo himself, the other from the Doge, both dated 1403, are extant, praying for the return of the loan out of the deceased Duke's property, which had escheated to the Crown.⁴ But the claim was possibly never satisfied.

The history of the Duke's burial at Venice, and the ultimate consignment of the sepulchral slab (*sigillo sepolcrale*) to England and the Howards, is related by Mr. Rawdon Brown, who was immediately instrumental in rescuing the monument originally sculptured and deposited over the body in 1400. During the reign of Henry VIII. the Duke of Norfolk had made an effort to recover the remains; but the place of interment could not be found: the slab, imbedded in the wall fronting the sea in the external gallery of the ducal palace, was accidentally discovered in 1682; it bore the banner of England, the white hart of Richard II., the white swan of Bolingbroke, and the Mowbray cap of maintenance. Nothing farther came of this till 1810, when the French authorities ordered the carvings to be defaced. The poor mason, however, Domenigo Spiera, employed to execute this order, preserved the stone intact by laying it down somewhere in a reversed position; and thus it rested till 1839, when Mr. Brown secured it and transmitted it to Corby Castle. It is engraved in the twenty-ninth volume of *Archæologia*.

¹ Romanin, iii. 334.

² Rastell's *Chronicle*, 1529, reprint, p. 237.

³ *Rich. II.* act iv. sc. 1.

⁴ Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd Series, i. 46-52.

The Act 17 Edward I. (1289), which provided for the transport of merchandise out of Ireland into England and Wales by foreign shippers, may seem to point to the Venetians; and there is a passage in *Arnold's Chronicle* which, without particularising Venice, illustrates the history of mediæval maritime warfare, and establishes the early origin of the connection between the British Isles and Lombardy, including the Republic:—

“Of Merchants Aliens:

“All merchants, but if they were openly afore forbidden, shall have safe and sure conduct to go from England, and to come into England, and dwell, and go in England as well by land as by water to buy and to sell without all evil tolls, and by old and right usages; save that in time of war, and if (they) be of land of war against us, and such be found in our land in the beginning of war, they shall be attached without harm of body or goods, till it be known of us, or of our chief justices, how the merchants be entreated the which be found in the land, and against us in the land of war; and if our folk be safe there, safe be other in our land.”

At the same time, although Shakespear, through the mouth of the Duke of York,¹ speaks—

Of fashions of proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation—

England had no particular reason to gaze with envy on the prosperity of the Republic. The household books and rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clearly shew that the position of the wealthier classes in that country was then remarkably opulent.² An old poem by Richard of Maidstone, who died in 1396, commemorates the profuse expenditure, sumptuous habits, and rich costume of the Londoners of that period.³ An Italian of rank, who visited London, as well as Oxford and other towns both in England and Scotland, about 1500, has left an account of the condition of the metropolis itself in the days of

¹ *Rich. II.*, Act ii. Sc. 1.

² *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, 1289-90* (Camden Soc., 1854); *Liber Quotidianus Edwardi Primi, 1769*; *Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Roxb. Club, 1841); *Privy Purse Expenses of Edward IV. and Elizabeth of York, 1830*; *Camden Miscellany*, vol. iii.

³ *Ricardi Maydiston Concordia inter Reg. Ricard. II. et Civitatem London* (Camd. Soc., 1838).

Henry VII., which, without gainsaying its curiosity, we must conclude to be somewhat florid and superficial.¹ In the Strand alone, he desires us to believe that there were fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that "in all the shops of Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, there were not so many."² "There is no small innkeeper," he continues, "*however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups, and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of £100 sterling, which is equivalent to 500 gold crowns among us.*"³

A side to the commercial relationship of Venice with other States, which did not enjoy similar sources of wealth and sustenance, is not usually contemplated or realised, and it is the extent to which the countries dependent on agriculture and natural products owed their vitality to the visits of Venetian trading vessels. For we have an absolutely piteous lamentation on the part of one of the Angevin kings of Naples, when there had been some temporary suspension of intercourse, to the effect that his subjects' goods were left on their hands, that the customs receipts had ceased, and that he had not money even for the purchase of common necessities. His Majesty would not forget that lesson when his valuable friends came back. The Neapolitans not only stood in perpetual need of foreign markets, but of the means of shipping their goods to distant and protected ports.

This was a leverage employed by the Republic as far back as the ninth century, even at a temporary sacrifice of profits; but it was necessarily one which could be carried successfully out only so long as the Venetians commanded the sea, and other countries less advantageously situated, and destitute of the elaborate machinery for international trade, offered a feeble competition.

Already in the sixteenth century the *Savii alla Mercanzia* endeavoured to convince the Government, that the system of protection and heavy duties was an economical fallacy, and pointed to cases, where the scale of excise had been lowered, and an immediate benefit and expansion had been the result. This was in 1598; and the prejudices were too strong in an

¹ *Relation of the Island of England* (Camd. Soc., 37).

² Pages 42-3. He speaks of the riches of England as greater than those of any other country in Europe; and as arising, to a large extent from her enormous trade in tin and wool.

³ Pages 28-9.

opposite direction. In 1610 we find a senator taking up the habitual rôle of Marino Sanuto, and doubtless with better warrant. In addressing his colleagues, he declared that trade wanted capital, and that the nobility invested their money in other ways, that foreign merchants no longer frequented the city, that industries, population, the revenue, everything was declining, and that the rigorous system of excise and customs was absolutely fatal, having diverted commerce into other channels—having given it to the Florentines and Genoese, the Dutch and the English. The speaker, Leonardo Donato, the member of a distinguished house, was reiterating the warnings given in 1598. He contrasted the prevailing deficiency of business and money with the luxury and waste on the part of such few as could still afford to spend, or spent their capital. He urged that Venice should be made a free port, and then he promised a return of prosperity, favoured by their geographical position. Otherwise, said he, you will soon be unable to obtain any more ships, any more men; you will soon have no merchants, scarcely any capital, scarcely any inhabitants.

In the same sense Luigi Contarini wrote from London in 1628, stating that the English preferred the port of Leghorn, where the dues were lighter, and the goods could be warehoused or bonded without additional charge, and that they could deal through that channel indirectly with Genoa, Marseilles, and Spain, and save themselves the long and not very safe voyage up the Gulf and back.

This picture was certainly pessimistic, yet those who aimed at bringing the Government into their plans for inaugurating a better state of things, and not only keeping pace with the age, but taking the lead, as the country had been accustomed to do in times passed, doubtless perceived the necessity of putting the points with telling emphasis. Thirty-four years later (1662), and still before any movement of the same nature had been made elsewhere, the Senate actually passed a law of free trade agreeable to the notions of that day, and then vitally modified it by abolishing the import duties, and retaining the export. But, no beneficial results having been found to accrue from this concession, it was after a fair trial revoked in 1684, nor was it until the ports of Trieste and Ancona had been in succession thrown open by Austria and the Holy See respectively, and the important fair of Sinigaglia had been instituted by Clement XII., that Venice at

last in 1736 gave way, when the reform was almost too late to be of any signal utility. Even then the modifications in the tariffs were only such as sufficed to place the port on an equal footing with the two others.

The doge Foscarini, a man of advanced views, recommended in 1745-6 the construction of a viaduct to connect the city with the mainland, as in his opinion such a step would have vastly facilitated intercourse, and at that period have no longer offered the strategical objection, which might have existed to it before the introduction of artillery. But it was precisely a century after his day before the improvement was made, not in the shape of a viaduct, but in that of a railway starting from Malghera, where the Doge so often met distinguished visitors in the Bucentaur, and with a terminus in the very city; and now the establishment of an East India Company, the erection of a break-water, and the revival on a large scale under influential patronage of the shipbuilding industry, have contributed to the return of trade, the increase of the population, and the recovery of a certain measure of prosperity.

Even in 1773 the Inquisitors of State were addressing themselves to the task of accomplishing a commercial recovery, and drew up a list of interrogatories to be answered by the various gilda. The replies pointed to the universal mischief, which could only be remedied by the Government itself, arising from protection and monopoly. At that time it was supposed that there were still 30,000 operatives in Venice, but with a diminishing tendency, and, once more, in 1791 onward there was an increasing disposition to relax the impediments to free trade, and to afford official encouragement to manufactures and inventions.¹

The old Republic indeed exerted its best efforts to neutralise the injurious consequences of the discovery, which brought the Indies and America within easier reach, or within the knowledge, of European traders. But Venice was the product of conditions, which were even then beginning to grow out of harmony and touch with the views and wants of the world: of a more sparsely populated globe, of imperfect geographical knowledge, of narrower political and commercial doctrines, of protected markets. The abnormal growth of its prosperity and power was due to its precocious appreciation and energetic seizure of the unique

¹ Romanin, viii. 379-80.

opportunity afforded by the indifference of neighbours and contemporaries to the hardships and risks attendant on trade with remote countries; how firm its grasp of the advantages thus won, and how vast its prestige, we recognise in the resistance, which we have seen the Republic offer to uncontrollable circumstances; and we shall perhaps conclude, that no other government could have so long survived the justification for its independent existence, which stretched from the fall of the Roman Empire to the establishment of the North American Union.

CHAPTER LV

Municipal Trading Gilds—Their antiquity superior to extant evidences—List of some of their bodies—Many unincorporated—The Painters and Tapisers—Gold-cloth-workers—The Tapisers—The Carpenters—The Masons—The Stationers—Glass-Furnaces—Antiquity of the manufacture—Export abroad—Imitations of the Venetian fabric—Sparing resort to window-glass—Chefs d'œuvre in Glass in 1585—Spectacles.

THE early chronicler Marco, to whom we owe so much, and whose surname has been lost, enumerates many trades or occupations as existing in the Middle Ages, such as corsers or horse-breeders, saddlers, trainers of hunting dogs and hawks, furriers, carters, shepherds, and many others; and all of these were loans, in the first instance, from the mainland, and followed the ancient traditions of Venetia Maritima, obeying by degrees the peculiar wants and limitations of their insular settlement.

The municipal corporations here, of which the forty enumerated below may not represent the full complement, were instituted for purposes of common protection and welfare, as well as with a view to knit together on terms of fellowship members of the same calling. All these bodies possessed their executive government and their capitulary or *mariegola*, which strictly prescribed their relationship to the State, their obligations to each other, and the nature and limit of their privileges. Many of them acquired great prosperity, and were enabled on public occasions to defray the cost of elaborate and imposing spectacles. Of some the mention recurs more frequently, because perhaps the character of their industry lent itself to display. All, however, united in constituting a valuable element in social no less than in commercial existence, and in diversifying the monotony of careers. Of five of the trades or arts the headquarters were long indicated by the names which they conferred on them, the *Ruga dei Orefici*, the *Calle dei Fabbri*, the *Casseleria*, the *Rio dei Sartori*, abutting on which water-way the Tailors'

Gild still owned in the last century seventeen houses, and the *Rio delli Verrieri*.

The repugnance of the poorest Venetian of the older days to mendicity had been met by the funds appropriated to the relief of aged or distressed members, and when the Gilds declined and eventually disappeared, the Government thought fit to take their place in this respect, and provide some easy employment for the superannuated operative. In their prime their eleemosynary functions were, as in other countries, a conspicuous feature in their constitution and justification.

The companies which incidentally come under notice are :—

Apothecaries.	Furriers.	Printers and Booksellers.
Bakers.	Glass-blowers.	Sawyers (<i>Segatori</i>).
Barber-Surgeons.	Gold-cloth-workers.	<i>Sensali</i> .
Brewers.	Goldsmiths and Jewellers.	Skinnera.
Butchers.	Hatters or Casseleri.	Smitha.
Carpenters.	Hosiers.	Squeraroli.
Cordwainers.	Ironfounders or Iron-	Swordsmiths.
Corrieri (Couriers and	masters.	Tailors.
Posts).	Joiners.	Tanners.
Cotton-spinners.	Masons.	Tapissers or Carpet-
Cutlers.	Mercera ¹	makers.
Drapers.	Painters.	Trunk-makers
Fishermen.	Potters (<i>Boccaleri</i>) and	Velvet-dressers.
Fishmongers.	Dish and Plate-makers	Victuallers.
Fruiterers.	(<i>Scudaleri</i>).	Weavers.

We miss several callings such as confectioners, dyers, coopers, locksmiths, plumbers; but it is possible that they may be comprised in others, while the stationer in the sense of a vendor of literary property was presumably represented here by the Printers and Booksellers' Gild. But this enumeration is of interest, since it proves, which might be otherwise concluded, that there were facilities on the spot for procuring all the necessaries and luxuries of existence. Among the commoners called up in 1380 to the Great Council after the War of Chioggia occur a wine-merchant and a barley-factor. Some estimate may be formed of the immense volume of trade and corresponding demand, when we find as many as seventy-one depôts of a single species of costly apparel.

The Gold-Cloth-Workers enjoyed the monopoly of the trade in vestments of cloth-of-gold and purple dyes in the form of

¹ At Padua in 1406 the silk-merchants formed one of the four estates of the commune.

mantles or *palli* for both sexes; and the profit arising from this industry alone must have continued during centuries very large, as, besides the local demand, large quantities were exported abroad. From the early growth of a passion derived from Indo-Byzantine sources for sensuous opulence of ornament, a large business in gold leaf or foil for architectural and decorative purposes seems to have existed even in the earlier half of the fourteenth century, for Ruskin cites, on the authority of Cadorin, an entry in the procuratorial accounts under date of 4th November 1344, of a payment of thirty-five ducats for making foil to gild the lion over the door of the palace stairs on the site of the present Porta della Carta. This tissue may have come from the goldsmiths or gold-cloth-workers—more probably the latter.

The oldest vestige of a school of painting, which ostensibly combined domestic embellishment and mosaic, is a passage in the *Cronaca Altinate*, where mention is made of Marturius, a master of what is termed *pictura*. The painters (*Tintores*) were then known as *Damarzi*; and probably were of Greek origin. It was not, as we are going to find, till a relatively advanced date, that the clear line of distinction was drawn between the mechanical artisan and the professional producer of landscape and portrait.

In a MS. in the Correr Museum appears the Master of the Gild of Carpet-makers or Tapisers, presenting the Statutes to the Doge Foscari, probably about 1440, for approval. A specimen of the manufacture of the fraternity forms part of the illustration; it is a bordered mat with a floral design. The Doge is unattended, and is seated in a high-back chair in a small apartment with a tessellated floor; but the details are evidently arbitrary. The art of making carpets of various kinds seems to have originated in the tapestry-weavers; Chaucer mentions the Tapisser in his *Canterbury Tales*; and there is no doubt that at Venice, down to comparatively modern days, such a class of domestic appurtenance was almost unknown except for the purpose of suspension on walls or for bed and chamber hangings, collaterally with the gilded leather arras.

The Painters and Tapisers seem to have united to execute articles of ornamental furniture in stamped and gilded leather, formerly so common in ancient houses in all parts of Europe; and the former body charged itself with embroidery and playing-card designs.

This fraternity presented in its inception a certain inconvenient anomaly, inasmuch as it embraced all handlers of the pencil and the brush, and all were on a footing of fraternity. Twice a year the corporation met in chapter to discuss matters of business, and the members naturally sat together at the same board, from Titian to the man who laid the paint on the portal of his door or the varnish on the framework of his windows. There was a strong spirit of *bonhomie* in many respects among the different classes, and even the Doge is found condescending at special seasons to mix familiarly with his humbler compatriots; but the artists at last revolted against this form of municipal brotherhood, and erected themselves into an independent *Collegio*.

The Painters, apart from the Artists, who thus seceded, consisted of several sections (*colonnelli*): painters, gilders, miniaturists, pattern-designers, borderers or embroiderers; makers of gilt leather, playing-cards and masks; decorators of shields and other weapons of defence. But they also included in their undertakings and accomplishments the art of embellishing the interiors of houses, presenting a fusion of the operative with the professional designer: and the walls of the *salons* and boudoirs of Venice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were enriched by the brush of a Tiepolo with lines and tints, and airy fancies, worthy of a fitter place and of a more enduring fame.

The art of card-making thus seems at Venice to have devolved on the Painters; but its exact origin is obscure, and the date, at which the industry was introduced, can only be surmised from a municipal decree of 1441, prohibiting the import of foreign goods of this description, which were said to have reduced the local trade to decay. Some of the most ancient specimens of Italian playing-cards are engraved by Chatto in his well-known work (1848), and one of them, in the suit of Bells, bears the Lion of Saint Mark—an almost indubitable evidence of its origin. Under a notice of Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, who died in 1447, occasion was taken to refer to his passion for cards and to the employment of persons about the court in painting them.

There is an engaging passage in the story before us about a Doge of the seventeenth century, the rich Antonio Priuli, who flourished from 1618 to 1623, that, in return for the customary oblation made on behalf of the Fruiterers' Guild to the Crown on each accession, his Serenity gave the delegates muscadel wine, loaves, pastry, hams and other salted meats. Going back nearly

a hundred years, mention occurs in 1521 of the nature of the offering, and of the number of contributors. The Doge then received from the 130 fruiterers in Venice a lemon a-piece; but his quasi-feudal equivalent does not transpire. A collation of the two records establishes an interesting exchange of amenities between the head of the State and a body, of which excessively little is otherwise known.

Under the head of Glass-Blowers are concentrated an employment and an art of the widest range. But the national manufacture, lace, hardly comes within any of the foregoing categories.

What may be treated as a farther illustration of the gracious flexibility of the Venetian character was the annual election by the Free Commune of Fishermen at San Nicolo dei Mendicoli of its own Doge, Executive Board, and Chancellor, at which representatives of the central government were appointed to attend, and the ceremonial visit of the Doge of the *Pescatori* to his brother-sovereign at Saint Mark's, accompanied by the secretary of the Grand Chancery. It was a day of *fête* and gaiety, and friendly union; and it constituted one of the innumerable ways in which the people were taught to stand shoulder to shoulder, patrician and plebeian, at the advent of a crisis, forgetful of all but their country.

We seem to be reminded of the saying of Goethe, that the Doge was the grandpapa of all the race, and of the remark of the Russian prince, *Ce peuple est une famille*. It was so in a measure; but these observers were acquainted only with the Doge and the Venice of their own day.

The Printers and Booksellers had been originally incorporated in 1548-49, and there is a manuscript copy of their bye-laws or *mariegola*,¹ approved by the Council of Ten in that year, but apparently not officially published till 1567, and the Minutes of 1571. Both these documents exhibit the constitution of the body, its range of authority, its system of mutual protection, and its amenability to the State. Membership was not obligatory, and it became a not very unimportant part of the functions of the governing committee, over which the Prior presided, to watch the interests of the Gild, and resist encroachment and other irregularities on the part of outsiders.

The *Squeraroli* or Shipwrights, in a reply to an official inquiry

¹ H. F. Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, pp. 83-6, where the rules are printed from the Cicogna MS. in the Marciano. This is a 4to volume of 463 pages, and is described as a Study.

in 1773, stated that they had been constituted in 1610, that they received apprentices up to fourteen years of age, that these might become master-builders in six years, and ordinary workmen in two, and that, in order to qualify, each had to construct a craft: if he was going to "fabbricar di grosso," a galley or other vessel, if "lavorar di sottile," a gondola.

To the Casseleri or Hatters fell the manufacture of all classes of head-gear for both sexes from feudal times, and they had their quarter, the *Casseleria*, near Santa Maria Formosa, and the right of taking within the Venetian woods material for their trade free of charge. It was this craft-gild, which made the hats long annually brought to meet the Doge, when he came to honour with his presence the Andata instituted to commemorate the rescue of the Brides of Venice (*festa delle Marie*).

The Sawyers peep out, as it were, from one of the archivolts of the Basilica, where they form part of a group of trades typical of the Republic.

In the account of the visit of Henry III. of France to Venice in 1574 the *Sensali* of Rialto are noticed as contributories to the pageantry, and as occupying their own brigantine, covered with crimson satin. This body appears to have comprised within its range the functions of providing official couriers, and of keeping a staff of officers, who attended to the security and requirements of strangers, exercised control over hotels, and certified mercantile agreements. Their bureau was known as the *Messetaria*, and their jurisdiction was perhaps restricted to the capital. But in the melodramatic episode of Bianca Cappello in 1563 a *Sensale di casa* and his wife were implicated; and this individual ostensibly discharged a different class of duties not readily identifiable with a domestic post.

In a mercantile city, of which the houses were constructed for the most part exclusively of timber, the Carpenters (*Marangoni*) necessarily formed one of the most numerous and important classes of mechanics; in point of fact, they enjoyed a pre-eminence in both these respects. Of the followers of this calling, there existed within the Dogado two separate and distinct bodies; the one was composed of those who confined their attention to the ordinary duties of the trade; the other consisted of such as were employed in the Public Arsenal and Dockyard, in the capacity of shipwrights. The latter occupied, of course, the higher and more eligible position.

Until the period arrived when wood fell into disuse for purposes of building, and a demand arose for some material less inflammable and fitter for making history, bricklayers and stonemasons were in little request; and indeed, till the commencement of the twelfth century they were rarely employed except in the construction of cathedral churches or edifices of great pretension. In 827, when one of the Byzantine Emperors restored in stone, at his own expense, the Church of San Zaccaria which had been accidentally destroyed by fire, he sent from Constantinople an architect and a body of operatives, most probably from a desire to adopt in the new structure a style of architecture with which the Greeks were more familiar than the Venetians.

Throughout an almost immeasurable time the carpenter was an operative of the first consequence, for all buildings, public and private, were long formed wholly or mainly of timber and thatch, and demanded perpetual replacement; construction in stonework must have remained rare down to the great fire of 1106; but external walls may very well have been formed of something more substantial than wood, before the latter by very slow degrees made way for masonry. The current patronymic *Tagliapietra*, which occurs in 1380, is a sort of clue to the existence of the industry in some shape at a much earlier date; and stonework for churches became more or less familiar under the beneficent rule of the Badoers from 809 to 830. The Masons appear to have been of two classes, the *Muratori* or wall-builders, and the *Scarpellini* or stone-cutters.

An industry, not specifically indicated, is that of the plumber, who, where such vast quantities of lead were necessarily used in the roofing of churches and public edifices, necessarily possessed considerable importance.

In 1585, when the Japanese deputation called at Venice on its way from Rome, among the trades which contributed to the show prepared in honour of the visitors were the Apothecaries, a calling of great antiquity. An apothecary named Cicogna was one of the commoners called up to the Great Council after the Chioggian War in 1380, and almost precisely two centuries later his descendant became Doge in the person of Pasquale Cicogna, who reigned from 1585 to 1595. In 1574, when Henry III. of France was at Venice, the Apothecaries were among the bodies who contributed to the pageantry a Turkish rowing barge of twelve banks of oars, splendidly appointed, and having at the

prow the sign of the Gild, the *Testa d' Oro*, and the symbol of a pelican with the legend, *Respice, domine*. The Apothecaries at this time had their headquarters at San Bartolommeo.

Several callings seem, as we have shown, to have remained unincorporated; and among these were the Stationers or occupiers of *Stazioni* in the public thoroughfares, where it was officially judged convenient. They were dealers in innumerable varieties of common requisites supplied by the different trades, and had even valuable commodities for disposal. They held a position at Venice almost exactly parallel to the original *Stationarii* of the City of London.¹

It is believed that the *Veneti Primi* carried with them into the Lagoon a knowledge of the manufacture of glass, with which both the Greeks and Romans were perfectly conversant, which has been found in the excavations of Ilium and among the ruined cities of the Mississippi, but of which the origin and development are due to Egypt, by which it was communicated to the Phœnicians. The first ancient and the first modern people who attained excellence in this valuable art were dwellers in a sandy region. It seems to be supposed that the crucifix painted on glass, and bearing the date 1177, in the Church of the Domini-cans at Treviso, is of Venetian manufacture.

It is easy to understand that, at the outset, Venice did not concern itself with the question of location. Each man set up his furnace where he listed. Building had not made great progress. Space was everywhere abundant. Sanitary regulations, if they existed at all, were diffidently framed, and often contemptuously disregarded.

But the day arrived, when the metropolis at last began to awake to the necessity of providing for the health and comfort, and indeed security, of a swelling population; for the nature of the industry demanded the incessant maintenance of the fires, while conflagrations in the neighbourhood were traced to this source; and on the 8th November 1241, a decree was published, banishing all the furnaces from the city and its environs. The glass-workers established themselves at Murano, within the tribunitial district of Torcello, and were constituted an independent municipality, with their own gastaldo. The Government had indulgently signified that such manufacturers as happened to have stock in a certain stage of progress were to be allowed to

¹ Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 625.

complete it; but although a heavy penalty was attached to disobedience, and the Signori di Notte were enjoined to enforce it, the official order was so imperfectly respected, that in 1297 a second appeared to a similar purport. Yet the authorities remained so languid and unliteral in carrying out the law, that in 1321 the celebrated Minorite, Fra Paolino, still possessed a property of that kind in Rialto; and it was not till the second half of the fourteenth century that the entire collection of scattered furnaces was transferred to Murano, and that the latter became the exclusive headquarters of this industry. From the wording of a decree which passed the Legislature on the 17th October 1276, the twofold inference is to be drawn, that the manufacture was then in a flourishing condition, and that the Republic had become anxious to convert it, as far as might be practicable, into a monopoly; and among the companies which joined in the procession of the Trades in 1268, the Glass-blowers occupied a distinguished place, and brought samples of their interesting specialities for inspection.

Evelyn has under 1646 a passage in his Diary, which assists in explaining the peculiar merit and success of the product: "It is the white flints," he tells us, "they have from Pavia, which they pound and sift exceedingly small, and mix with ashes made of a sea-weed brought out of Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excel." He invested in a supply, and had it sent to England "by long sea."

The richer classes at home became munificent patrons; so large was the demand for the article in the metropolis alone, that in all the better neighbourhoods every street had at last its own glass warehouse, which mainly depended for patronage on the tenants of the few mansions spread along on each side of it. At Murano itself we hear in 1567 of the Rio delli Verrieri.

The Furnaces were in the old days in unremitting activity day and night; there were relays of hands; and the workman alternated six hours of labour and six hours of sleep, snatching his meals as best he could. Saturday was a whole holiday; and there were numerous festive oases. The *gastaldo* and a bench superintended all the arrangements, and took care that the regulations, laid down in the *mariegola* or capitulary, were strictly observed. But this board of control, again, was responsible to a department of the Executive.

It bespeaks the usual pioneering and paternal policy of

Venice in nearly all that she devised, on the one hand—for the protection of the State and the observance of order, and on the other for the well-being of her subjects, that in such processes as demanded a resort to mercury or lead, child-labour was interdicted in the statutes of the Gild approved by the Government.

Objects in glass and alabaster occur in the inventory of the effects of the Doge Marino Faliero taken in 1355; but whether the former was of local origin, or antique, is not stated.

Glass and earthenware were exported from Venice to England in the fourteenth century; and one of the last acts of Richard II. was a grant of safe-conduct for these goods dated thirteen days before his abdication. But about 1550 Venetian operatives were brought over to England, and the manufacture of glass on the Italian model was pursued till late in the following century; and the same may be said of the Low Countries and Germany, where a vast quantity of articles must have had their origin, and where the Venetian manufacture sometimes received the finishing touches to suit the local taste or requirements, and if there are any survivors, be distinguishable with difficulty from the true prototype. At the same time, the latter remained in great request.

When the Japanese envoys visited Venice in 1585, one of the shows planned for their entertainment was under the charge of the School of San Giovanni dei Vetrai of Murano, and consisted of a castle and an organ made entirely of glass; but unfortunately the exhibition could not be completed in time to join the procession. Its ponderous character must have also created difficulties, as the other features were susceptible of treatment in more portable material.

The Glass-makers were formed into a Gild only in 1436, when they commenced their *Libro d'Oro*, and had their governing body and their distinctive cognisance—a cock with a worm in its beak. The *mariegola* or capitulary, periodically reviewed by the proveditors of the Arts, was their constitution; and in the Capitulary of the Council of Ten, 1578, the twenty-fifth clause wholly concerns this body, but merely lays down the rule and law, that they shall not leave Venice, or communicate their secret methods to strangers. It was the motive for encouraging operatives to settle in the city with their families, that the State thereby acquired a permanent security for good faith. The coronation

oath of 1229, which does not forget the rights and immunities of the Gilds (successors of the old Roman *Collegia*), but refers to both as matters of ancient usage, shews that the Glass-makers had been preceded in the enjoyment of corporate privileges by several of the other trades. By degrees, extraordinary perfection was reached, and the furnaces of Murano diffused over the world an infinite variety of objects for ornament and use, exhibiting the most ingenious combinations in colour and form. Readers of the *Bravo of Venice* recollect the poisoned glass poniard which the bandit chief gave to Abellino; on the other hand, it has been alleged that the drinking goblet could be made so sensitive, that it would immediately betray by fracture the presence of poison; and if in this manufactory they did not, like one of the early Egyptian kings, extend their efforts to the production of coins in glass, they soon comprised among their staple commodities measures and weights, and all descriptions of fanciful and decorative knick-knacks.

We see from a letter of Sir H. Wotton, English envoy at Venice, to a noble friend in London, that he was on good terms with the artificers at Murano, and that he proposed to send his correspondent by the first ship a chest of Venetian glasses of his own choosing.

The output here became sufficiently large to supply the majority of European markets, and large consignments of claret, sack, beer, and other glasses, with or without covers, some choicely enamelled, speckled, and clouded, and of mirrors, necklaces, toys, were made to London, whence they found their way, in the time of Charles II., after the incorporation of the Glass-Sellers' Guild in 1664, all over the country, and formed one of the attractions at the great fairs. The correspondence of a firm in the Poultry, London, between 1667 and 1672, admits us to an acquaintance with the class of goods, which their source of supply at Murano was periodically shipping to them. The letters of instructions are very precise as to quality, kind, and measurement; and there are occasionally complaints of the arrival of cases in bad order, as if they had been left, after being packed, in the rain. We hear of various sorts of looking-glasses, some for coaches; and the English house represents that Venice mirrors were to be had in London cheaper than Signor Alessio of Murano invoiced them to it. Signor Alessio is begged to be very particular how he describes the goods, in order to lighten the heavy customs' tariff,

to manage to smuggle into the packages a few extra pieces, and to remember to forward the bill of lading in duplicate. This is a rather late glimpse of so ancient and so long-established an industry; but it seemed to offer a few points of interest and curiosity, inasmuch as certain items specified in the orders sent out must have been equally in local use, although the lists comprise articles to be made to English measure and, again, such things as brandy tumblers. The directions to the Venetian in regard to packing of the wares with layers of dry weeds, and the hooping, nailing, marking, and numbering of the chests are most minute, and he is to see, in the first place, that the receptacles are strong and sea-worthy.

Imitations of the Venetian fabric existed, we perceive, prior to the establishment of the English Glass-sellers' Guild in 1664, which put forward in fact as a plea for its foundation the irregularities then committed in the trade. These *contrefaçons* continue to be placed on the market in many quarters; but the Casa Salviati on the original ground has of late years contributed to renovate the demand for the genuine products.¹

The mention of the absence of glass in the windows at the Casa Foscari in 1457, and the intention to put it, preparatorily to the abdicating doge taking possession, of premises which he had owned ten years, seems to import a practice of moveable window-frames, which might be stored, when not required, leaving only the ordinary *schiarine* or blinds.

An indifference, which at present seems strange, was clearly long manifested in regard to the protection of premises from the weather by means of glazed casements; and in England in the Elizabethan time the Hall of a leading City Guild² is said to have no glass, and to be exposed to the rain.

But, as still continues to be the case, the Venetians of the humbler classes, as well as those who occupied premises devoted to commercial purposes, resorted very sparingly to the glazier. Every population naturally has recourse not only to the material which is most accessible, but to the forms which seem most convenient, in its architectural economy.³ In a city where narrow and dark courts abounded, either open

¹ As to the revival of the glass-manufacture by Signor Salviati, see Howells' *Venetian Life*, ed. 1883, ii. 47.

² Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 275.

³ Of this the singular sliding shutters of a kind of mother-of-pearl at Manila supply an illustration; and the same principle manifests itself in the material used

longitudinal bars or Venetian blinds, as we call them, were apt to prove more airy and more secure than the window; and even the casements of some of the old prisons under the colonnade of the palace were known as *schiavine*, and were made on a similar principle, so as to serve the double office of a window and a grating. Glass was, in general, reserved for ecclesiastical and palatial edifices; but even in churches they had, in early times, substantial Venetian shutters (*Scuri*), revolving on massive stone hinges, and opening outward on the street.¹

Artificial aids to sight were already in use in the fourteenth century in England. Eye-glasses occur in the inventory of a London haberdasher's stock in 1378; and the biographer of Carlo Zeno, who died at the age of eighty-four in 1418, expressly states that he never wore spectacles—an indirect proof that such appliances were available at Venice about the same period. Allusions to such matters are not unnaturally rare; and we do not know whether the optician was a salesman, or merely manufactured for a retailer.

for hedging at Penrhyn in North Wales, at the Cape of Good Hope, and among the African ivory-gatherers.

¹ In Mr. Wallace Dunlop's *Glass in the Old World*, published about 1882, there is an interesting and useful account of the Venetian manufacture (pp. 142-4).

CHAPTER LVI

Organ-building—Bell-founding—The bell as a Time-keeper—Iron foundries—Corporation of Ironfounders—Earthenware and Porcelain—Majolica—Lace—Alien Corporations—Armenian Company—Florentine Association—*Fondaco dei Tedeschi*—Other foreign settlers—Itinerant traders—Cries of Venice—*Compagnia della Calza*.

THE introduction of ORGAN-BUILDING, which implies a familiarity with the art of working in metal, is traditionally assigned to a certain priest Gregorio, who is said to have brought a knowledge of the mode of construction in the eighth century from Constantinople, where the science was even then in high repute. The art, which the Venetians had thus apparently acquired from the Greeks, they were not remiss in turning to a lucrative account. For Eginhard, the secretary and biographer of Charlemagne, relates that in 826 there came with Baldrico a certain priest of Venice, named George (perhaps the aforesaid Gregorio), who said that he knew how to construct an organ, and the Emperor (Louis le Debonnaire) sent him to Aachen, and desired that all the necessary materials should be given to him. From this date the manufacture of instruments so essential to religious services alike in the church and in private oratories doubtless increased in extent and in excellence, although these matters have from the absence of specific records to be judged by inference and from accidental allusions. The organ employed by Matthias Corvinus was made in Venice, and was afterward in the possession of Caterino Zeno, who might have acquired it in the course of his travels.

But at Florence, and arguably here also, chamber-organs were in vogue in the first half of the fifteenth century; and at the social gatherings, in which the great Cosmo de' Medici so much delighted, one of his daughters was in the habit of playing on such an instrument. This was the *Regale* or regal, which is

noticed in the procession of the Schools at Venice in 1585 in honour of the Japanese ambassadors, and of which Bacon speaks. But a far more remarkable example might have been the organ, entirely constructed of glass, which was to have been sent from Murano, and which was excluded from the spectacle just mentioned, because it was not ready for delivery.

Under 880-1 Dandolo writes: "About the same time the Doge Orso Badoer was made a Protospatarios by the Greek emperor; and, in recognition of the honour which he had just received, he sent to Constantinople, as a gift to Basilios, twelve large bells, and from this time forth the Greeks used bells." We are thus to understand that, if Venice owed her acquaintance with organs to the East, she requited the obligation by imparting to Constantinople a discovery, or rather a revival, at least equally valuable and practically still more important. But it is surmisable, on the contrary, that Dandolo was under a misapprehension in supposing that the Greeks owed this service to his countrymen; and the present of bells in 881, beyond its commercial value, which must have been considerable, could only have furnished the Byzantine prince with evidence of the progress of the Republic in an art almost unquestionably derived from the East, and in all likelihood from his own Italian subjects. For in the contemporary, or nearly contemporary, account of the visit of the exarch Longinus to Venice in 567-8, it is distinctly stated that on his arrival he was received to the sound of bells and musical instruments, which almost deafened him; and these, while they were not necessarily, or even probably, of national manufacture, were then obviously familiar objects, procured perhaps from the Greeks of the *terra firma* partly to meet growing ecclesiastical wants. Nor is it very hazardous to conclude that there was a fairly prompt transition from the stage of importation to that of local fabric.

The passage from Dandolo, coupled with the other evidences which we have placed side by side with it, satisfactorily establishes not merely the existence of a foundry at Venice, but the arrival at a fair state of working efficiency, toward the end of the ninth century, however; and the historian Sagorninus, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh, and who was an iron-master, conclusively shews that the members of his art were bound to work a fixed quantity of metal annually as their assessed quota of direct taxation.

Nor, indeed, viewed in connection with the extensive and increasing demand for iron itself in its wrought and manufactured state, which the Venetians had, so far back as the epoch of the Badoer dynasty, from many foreign countries, more especially from the Saracens and other warlike nations, as well as with the manifold uses to which the article might be made applicable at home, will the antiquity thus claimed for the Venetian foundries appear unreasonable. We casually gain tidings of braziers or pans for holding charcoal in 742. In later times, the Corporation of Ironfounders acquired social influence and note by its importance and number. It had its peculiar franchises and its own Prefect or Gastaldo.

Comparatively speaking, the Iron Trade opened to the Republic during the Middle Ages the same source of profit as it at present affords to the English nation. But, apart from any relative increase in the demand for the article and the supply, a wide discrepancy existed between the position of the two countries in this respect. At Venice, iron was simply a manufacture, not a product; and the Venetians did not possess facilities for converting the trade into a monopoly. The probability is, that when the present of twelve bells was made to the Byzantine Court in 880-1, the art was in a somewhat advanced stage of improvement; it was only a few years later that the general structure of the celebrated Campanile was brought to completion (888-900), and that the Tower was made ready to receive the Great Bell. The latter, the metal of which was expressly cast for the purpose, was of stupendous bulk and diameter in the estimation of that age; and there can be no doubt that it long continued to be accounted one of the wonders of the city. It was viewed by the saunterers on the Piazza in the days of Pietro Tribuno (888-912) with intelligible feelings of pride and admiration.

The mediæval employment of bells for civil and ecclesiastical purposes has been referred by some writers to a period considerably anterior to that here indicated; but this point is more or less doubtful, and, certainly, even among the priesthood, their use was at first curtailed by the cost and difficulty of purchase, and the old fashion of striking a board to announce the hours of devotion or repast was long generally retained from necessity, if not from a conservative or indolent option.¹

¹ The most ancient bell which we can recollect to have seen depicted is one

Prior to the general introduction of clocks, the bell played a much more important part in our daily life than we can at first sight believe to have been possible. It was the universal time-keeper and summoner, and it is a point deserving of careful investigation whether its employment as a factor in the early social system did not precede its adoption by the Church, first for the mere purpose of announcing the hour of prayer or devotion, and subsequently as a moral and religious agency.

In the absence of household clocks, the division of the night into bells was ingenious and indispensable. For the two or three clocks erected in the metropolis itself were valueless after dusk, and all social arrangements depended on this primitive notation of time. Indeed, in an age destitute of culture and education, and among a nautical people, the progress of the hours was long ascertained in chief measure by the courses of the sun and moon and the rise and fall of the sea, as certain islanders in the Pacific still regulate the calendar by the ripening of the yam. We are too prone to see in our method of calculating the hours the sole possible one. The world grew into middle age, and made some excellent history, clockless.

As chancicleer was the sole clock of the primitive villager, the bell was long the only machinery for marking the divisions of the monastic day. Elsewhere its function at the auction mart has been recorded. It is of those things, which already half belong to the past, perhaps in all its purposes, certainly in its ecclesiastical; for while horology was in its nonage, and places of worship were filled by more scattered congregations, unprovided with timepieces, the bell became and remained a valuable auxiliary, whereas at present it seems to be somewhat of an anachronism.

The traditions are familiar enough, which carry back the invention of water-clocks or *clepsydræ* to the third century of the Christian era, and of instruments with metallic works, and an index or hand acting on a striking-bell, to the eleventh if not to the ninth. Horology, which properly ranked among the discoveries of the admirable Archimedes, was speedily regained in the renaissance of civilisation; but it was brought to perfection by the moderns very slowly and gradually. The clocks which existed in England, France, Germany, and Italy in the first

which occurs at p. 213 of *Les arts du moyen âge*, by Lacroix, 1869. It is a hand-bell or *tintinnabulum*, ascribed to the ninth century, and copied from a MS.

moiety of the fourteenth century, were sufficiently primitive in their mechanism. They seem to have been uniformly diurnal, to have had one hand only, and to have sounded the hours through the medium of the bell, but neither the halves nor the quarters. That at Glastonbury, which was manufactured in 1325, had stone weights.

The timepiece, which was to be seen at Padua in 1344, was probably not importantly dissimilar from those which the same monastic hands are said to have made for Glastonbury, Wimborne, and Exeter in or about 1325, of which the first-named yet exists in good preservation, or from the pieces of rude, cumbrous machinery which were to be seen in the former half of the fourteenth century at Dover Castle, Westminster Hall, and Peterborough Cathedral in England, which were set up at Bologna in 1356, at Paris in 1364, and at Verona in 1368. They were all automatus; but they demanded unceasing attention, were perpetually out of repair, and entailed incredible expense. Charles V. of France instituted, after 1364, a special office for the superintendence of the *Horologe*; and the holder was styled "the Governor of our Palace-Clock at Paris."

The absence of any specific testimony of the existence of timepieces anterior to 1310 cannot be accepted for a moment as a proof of an ignorance of them. On the contrary, taken in connection with the advanced state of Venetian civilisation in other respects, it indicates that the invention was too familiar and of too ancient date to become subject of particular record. On the institution of the Decemviral Council in 1310, one of the earliest decrees promulgated by that tribunal was directed against the practice of traversing the streets by night, which the recent Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy had rendered suspicious; and it was ordered, "That no person whosoever shall be suffered, without special licence, to walk abroad after the third bell of the night." This edict undoubtedly alluded to the bell which formed, in the infancy of horology, a substitute for the striking pendulum, and which in the medieval clocks of larger size, adapted for churches and other public buildings, was of corresponding dimensions and compass.

It is documentarily established that, prior to 1393, a magistracy resembling that at Paris existed here, and that large sums were expended on the construction and repair of chronometrical instruments. In the year mentioned, a report was

addressed to the Government on the state of the *old* clock of San Giacomo di Rialto. It appeared¹ that this timepiece, weighing *six hundred* pounds, was clumsy, ponderous and un-serviceable; that its bell, from some flaw in the action of the hand, emitted a sound which was barely audible, and that it was, at the same time, a great charge upon the Treasury. Under these circumstances, a proposal laid before the Procuratorial department by a mechanical engineer of the day to replace the instrument by a new one, which should be of lighter materials and on an improved model, and, as regards the tone of the bell, of three times the compass, was sanctioned.

In or about 1496 the Clock Tower on the left of the Basilica was first erected on its present site opposite the Campanile. Its original form probably differed from that with which we have grown familiar, and the entire mechanism of the timepiece was undoubtedly primitive and imperfect. The Tower is not distinguishable in the painting attributed by collateral testimony to 1498, where the procession of the Fête Dieu occupies the foreground.

Abundant evidence exists to shew that at Venice, down at least to the fifteenth century, the principle of dividing the day into two terms of twelve hours each was not generally recognised, and that the clocks registered continuously from 1 to 24. When a Doge took office in 1457, the contemporary official memorandum says: "*feliciter eadem die hora XXII. regimen ducatus intravit*," or, in other words, he assumed his authority at ten o'clock at night, having been elected, according to the same record, at fifteen and a half o'clock, or half-past three in the afternoon.

When we note in the Travels of Marco Polo from 1270 or thereabout till 1295, that he witnessed in the Chinese province of Fo-Kien, at the city of Ting-chau or Tingui, the processes by which the inhabitants already made utensils of porcelain, and saw cups and dishes of that ware on sale, it is difficult to believe that it was not till the fifteenth century that the material and manufacture were introduced into Venice. The truth appears to be, that objects in porcelain were long regarded in Europe as luxuries or ornaments; and the more richly and artistically decorated examples, produced by the Chinese themselves, do not date back beyond the sixteenth century, that and the seventeenth

¹ Romanin, iii. 349.

being accounted the finest period of fabric and design; and it may therefore be the case that the Italians did not recognise in the ruder work an appreciable advance on their own domestic appliances in wood, earthenware, or metal. Articles of porcelain, not Oriental but of local origin, are mentioned, however, in a letter of 1470, as then brought to perfection, and also as being modelled on the Oriental style, to which the writer considered it as superior. Ordinary pottery had probably been in use much earlier, first as an import from the East, and finally as a home product; but majolica is not supposed to have been an article of Venetian manufacture prior to the fifteenth century, when a certain Magister Agustino of Venice seems to have executed this description of work. A plate is said to be still in existence with the inscription: "1530 · fato p. M. Agustin in Venetia." This was probably the Agostino Sendeler, who died in 1538. The earlier records of the porcelain and majolica works in Venice are apparently very obscure and incomplete, notwithstanding the Campori, Piccolpasso, and Drake papers, of which Chaffers had the use. As early as 1520 Titian figures as negotiating a supply of majolica and Murano glass for the Duke of Ferrara; but the pavements of certain ecclesiastical buildings are mentioned as formed of majolica at an anterior date; in the second half of the eighteenth century a revival of the industry took place at Murano under official protection; but it did not succeed.

Immense quantities of earthenware for domestic use were doubtless made here from the fifteenth century downward, and the trade was largely in the hands of the Bocaleri and Scudaleri Guild, which enjoyed the usual privileges and exemptions. But, alike in regard to pottery and porcelain, if not also majolica, Venice is shown to have been an extensive medium for the distribution in Europe of Eastern wares, before the Republic started as a maker or imitator.

The regular manufacture of true porcelain is ascribed to the Vezzi family, who commenced their operations about 1720 at Lido; and the business was soon converted into a company, to which Carlo Ruzzini, Doge from 1732 to 1735, belonged, and which rented the premises of the family. The main difficulty arose from the need of obtaining the kaolin from a distance, but the industry continued with more or less success down to 1812; and both sorts of paste were made. The marks were numerous,

including the creeper or fish-hook, which differed from the Chelsea anchor, although the latter may have been suggested by the Venetian symbol found on the Chelsea work of the second period attributed to Venetian hands. Chaffers draws attention to the resemblance borne by the English china to its Italian prototype not merely in gilding and painting, but in the method of preparation. He engraves the mark on a Venetian cup and saucer, "Ven^a. A.G. 1726," which is taken to be the most ancient example with a date. The marks on the majolica are of course infinitely more varied, and usually comprise the name of the artist and that of the salesman, with his address, whence comes the information that majolica was made in Castello and Murano, as well as in Venice itself; and a dish bears the inscription: "Fatto in Venezia in Chastello. 1546." Both majolica and porcelain were made at many places in the Venetian territories outside the Dogado, particularly at Bassano, Verona, and Treviso.

A customary wedding gift in the eighteenth century was a service of china in a leathern case or box bearing the arms of the family or families. One with the coat of the Semiticolis is mentioned as having been in the Cavendish-Bentinck collection.¹

LACE does not appear to have entered into any of the programmes of the Gilds. But it was an object of extensive manufacture in nunneries and private dwellings, and ladies of the highest rank dedicated a portion of their time to this accomplishment. Two Dogaresse of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dandolo-Malipiero and Morosina Morosini-Grimani, and the noble Viena Vendramin-Nani, zealously encouraged it. The production in private houses continued down to the latter part at least of the seventeenth century, for De la Haye notices that, when the ladies are at home, they commonly entertain themselves in making their *Punti in aria*, which are the *Points de Venise* so much valued in France. In 1537 Zoppino published his *Book of Patterns*, ancient and modern, and the varieties became very numerous and the application of the art more and more extended, the Church sharing with the house and the person the benefits of this charming invention. Both sexes made lace part of their ceremonial attire, and even at a date prior to any distinct records of the export of the material to foreign countries, the fame of the Venetian fabric must have been well diffused, for it is thought that the lace worn at the coronation of Richard III. of England

¹ Litchfield, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 1900, p. 304.

was obtained from this source. In 1414 the horses in a state procession at Venice are said to have housings of the material. But it was probably not in ordinary use for female costume till the seventeenth century. Both gold and silver lace was largely employed in the vestments of ecclesiastics, and in the robes of ceremony and state worn by both sexes. In a contemporary account of the rich costume of the dogaressa Mocenigo in 1763 the petticoat partly shown beneath the outer mantle of cloth of gold is described as covered with flowers in gold lace.

The manufactory of Burano claims the distinction of having invented the *coupe* and the point in relief. It is difficult to decide what credence is due to the tradition that the germ of this beautiful fabric is to be sought in the art of the netmaker. It was the same principle differently applied and more delicately handled.

The cosmopolitan tendency and attributes of the Republic involved, almost as a necessity and beyond mere tolerance, the admission into the city of traders of all the most prominent nationalities of Europe and Asia; the Greeks, the Turks, the Jews, the Armenians, the Germans, the Swiss were not only welcomed, but were accommodated in a suitable and convenient manner, subject to strict conformity with the laws as well as with special regulations framed in the interest of general tranquillity. All these strangers were originally at liberty to reside where they pleased; but it was discovered to be inconvenient on different grounds to allow persons of heterodox faith the free range of the capital and its suburbs, and separate and special quarters were successively assigned to the Jews and the Turks, the former occupying the *Ghetto*, and the latter being restricted to the precincts of the *Fondaco de' Turchi* on the Grand Canal, where the Government caused all the approaches to be closely guarded and watched after sunset, and interdicted visits from women and young boys. Of the most ancient foreign fraternity we perhaps hear the least. The Armenian merchants were already in 1178 established here; and by his will the Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who had in earlier life resided in their country, and probably accumulated part of his wealth there, left to the company one of his houses in the street of San Giuliano.¹

An element in the system of foreign domestication at Venice, which differed from the others in one respect, was the colony of

¹ Filiasi, *Ricerche storiche*, p. 137.

Silk-Weavers from Lucca, which in the first moiety of the fourteenth century was driven from its home by tyranny, and sought an asylum in the lagoon, where it formed itself into a sort of fraternity, and built for its use the Church of Volto Santo, of which some remains were recently visible near the ruins of that of the Servites. In the often-quoted oration before the Pregadi in 1423 the Doge Mocenigo lays heavy stress on the benefits which accrued to the Venetians from the Lucchese settlement.

The Florentine Association dates even farther back than that of Lucca, for it appears in the light of an important and wealthy body in 1313 during the course of the negotiations for a settlement of the Ferrarese difficulty, and the Government is found putting some pressure on its members in order to facilitate an exchange of Venetian for Tuscan money. In 1425 one of the provisions of a treaty, to which Florence was a subsidiary party, placed this body on an equality with the German Gild, as a means of indemnifying the Tuscans for disappointment in other directions. At this point of time Giovanni de' Medici was a member, and acted in a diplomatic capacity on behalf of his country during its unequal struggle with Milan.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when religious bigotry was at its height, an approach was made by certain members of the Swiss canton of Graubünden or Les Grisons to the Signory with a view to the formation of a commercial settlement at Venice; and the strangers were made abundantly welcome, with the assurance that, both in the city itself and anywhere else within the Dominion, compliance with the laws was the sole demand and necessity, and they might carry on their vocations without hinderance from the Inquisition or any other authority.

Every country in the world, having diplomatic or commercial relations with Europe, and more especially Northern Italy, was adequately represented at Venice. Ambassadors, consuls, agents or factors, bankers, abounded through the whole of the flourishing and strong period. The Italians of the *terra firma*, the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, the English, had their delegates, and the utmost facilities for trade and personal protection. It was the obvious interest of the Republic to encourage by every legitimate method all those who conduced to promote its mercantile welfare and to maintain its dignity and rank as one of the family of European States. Of all the establishments erected for the benefit of foreigners the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, previously in succession the

Casa Pesaro and the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, is probably the most familiar to the eye of the modern traveller, since it has survived every revolution, and is to be seen at the present day on the Grand Canal—a splendid shell,—for it has long ceased to answer the purpose for which it first rose from the lagoon; and indeed its palmiest days preceded the advent to the front rank for a season of the Hollanders. Within those precincts even the princely house of Fugger of Augsburg once thought it desirable to have a branch of their bank to meet the convenience of German traders and financiers, till that Power gave way before the wave of Dutch ascendancy.

In the eighteenth century, on the decline of the chartered trading associations, arose a considerable number of licensed itinerant hawkers. Gaetano Zompini has left evidence of sixty callings, represented in this way, in his illustrated *Cries of Venice*; ¹ and possibly there were others. Part of the value of the book lies in the fair presumption, that the condition of affairs depicted by Zompini might be equally applicable to the earlier years of the century, if not the preceding one; for the Venetians were inimical to change. The author has etched for our benefit the Cooper, the Cobbler, the Tinker, the Knife-grinder, and the peripatetic Glazier who carries in his arms a whole window-frame, the Coal-Higgler (who is made to say that there are only two authorised by superiors, although five or six are discernible in the picture), the Slop-seller, the Wood-dealer from Friuli, and the Chair-mender from Cadore, which yielded, after all, something more than Titian. Two vocations, which modern judgment has separated, appear to have been possessed by the same individual, who was at once your gardener and your dustman; he would even attend to your vineyard. A pretty industry, followed by a later Autolycus, was the street traffic in small wares, needles, pins, laces, and ribbons. We perceive that the Grisons were specially licensed to vend buns, that the man with the performing monkey was a Piedmontese, that there were dancing-dogs of unrecorded origin, and that the seller of singing-birds for casements found his business briskest in March. In one plate there is a puppet-show, and in another some sort of kaleidoscope, where a boy, mounted on a stool, has paid a *soldo* for a peep. The dealers in comestibles are numerous and persuasive. There are for the fortunate persons at hand, with money in their pockets, black puddings, hot puddings

¹ *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia*, folio, 1785. A posthumous work.

battered and seasoned with cheese, plum-fritters, and snails; but the last, properly dressed, are particularly recommended for children and invalids. The merchant who supplies Easter eggs is not forgotten; and we are reminded in the text that there was the Egg-game, where the victory was to whoever played longest with an egg without breaking it.

The collection, of which we have made use, does not seem to approach exhaustion. For in a similar one for Rome of 1646, which is evidently a reprint of an earlier issue, an examination readily detects numerous industries, which must have been common to other places,—sulphur matches, pure ink, locks and bolts, melting ladles, straw hats, hornbooks, rat pills, and spindles; and there is a third publication of correspondent type, purporting to illustrate the trades of Bologna, as they were in the time of Annibale Carracci.¹

An occupation, which probably engrossed the services of a sufficiently large body of respectable and trustworthy hands, was the constant duty of guiding parties at night to the theatre, the masquerade, and the dinner or evening party; and this phase of humble industry is reflected in the pages of the volume before us, where the lantern-bearer precedes two masked and cloaked figures, bent on some errand of pleasure. But one of the prints deals with a practice, which is more difficult to explain, and indicates that keys to the Opera-House were publicly sold. A vendor is seen in the foreground holding a bunch in his hand.

Allied to the Gilds, merely in a ceremonial and festive sense, was the peculiar organisation of the *Compagnia della Calza*, already more than once noticed, with its numerous branches. It was a rich and brilliant fellowship of gallant and debonnair young aristocrats, devoted to the pursuit of pleasure in all its healthier forms. In every fashionable wedding, in every gala, regatta, tournament, masquerade, its members took a distinguished part, and generously contributed to the attendant expense. The association was wholly non-political, and did not interfere with the government, nor the government with it. The preparation of its sumptuous programmes in connection with periodical entertainments, their successful issue, and the agreeable survey in retrospect, went far to engross the time and thoughts of these superb triflers, to make topics for gossip and opportunities for harmless intrigue,

¹ *Le Arti di Bologna*, disegnatte da Annibale Carracci, ed intagliate da Simone Giulini: Roma, 1646 and 1776, folio. There is an edition of 1608.

and to save the Signory the trouble of curbing a bevy of hot and restless spirits.

The uniform of the society¹ consisted of a striped parti-coloured stocking (*calza*) on the left leg, reaching to the hip, drawn over tight breeches, and embroidered with quaint figures of quadrupeds and birds, a doublet of velvet or cloth-of-gold, with open sleeves and facings, displaying the shirt-frill, a flowing mantle of silk or other costly texture, thrown back on the shoulder in such a manner as to shew the emblematic stocking richly worked on the lining, a black or red bonnet with a jewelled apex, and long pointed shoes studded with precious stones. Many of the female members of the Aristocracy were honorary associates; and on festive occasions the latter wore a dress bearing on the sleeve the mystical device of the CALZA. The Company had its own statutes and bye-laws. At a subsequent date its numbers increased, and it was divided into several branches, of which the *Immortals*, the *Royals*, the *Ethereals*, and the *Peacocks* were the most noted.²

There were also foreign honorary associates. In 1476 the Marquis of Mantua, captain-general of the Signory, was admitted to the fellowship as a distinguished stranger.

¹ Romanin, iv. 6-7.

² Morelli, *Solennità e pompe nuziali presso li Veneziani*, 1793, 14-16; Mutinelli, *Del costume veneziano*, 1831.

CHAPTER LVII

The COINAGE—Obscurity attendant on the most ancient currency of the Republic—Lengthened poverty of the system—Fifty or sixty varieties of a mediæval silver *denaro* recovered—Payments calculated by weight—Foreign money recognised—Bills of exchange—The silver *grosso*—Sterling coinage—The first gold ducat (1284)—The Legends—Earliest pieces with the likeness of the Doge—The practice promptly abolished—The *Scudo di oro* (1528-30)—The silver ducat (1559-67)—The *Giustina* (1571)—The *Scudo di croce*—*Doppia di oro*—Colonial currencies—Money of necessity—Convention Money—*Ozelle* or ceremonial pieces—The 100-ducat piece of Luigi Manin.

THERE is, on the whole, no portion of an historical task, on which so much labour attends, as an attempt to trace the earliest commencement of a nation's coinage. The right to strike money by its own authority, and on its own soil, is one which every country has been anxious to claim and to cherish; and even this jealous solicitude has increased in great measure the embarrassment of the historian. For the legitimate interest and curiosity which have always been manifested, since the revival of literary tastes, in this subject, have led to an immense fabrication of false pieces; and they have formed the material on which credulous and inconsiderate persons have built false theories and opinions. From this form of danger and mischief Venice has not enjoyed an exemption. At Padua in 1818 an ingenious attempt was made to present a complete view of the currency in circulation under the consuls; and this so far differed from ordinary impositions, that it was entirely unsophisticated by authenticity.

It is certainly remarkable, however, that, in the continual process of dredging the lagoons under government inspection in the days of the old Republic, numismatic relics should not have been exhumed even in abundance; and it is extremely likely that excavations undertaken on the spot would bring to light some valuable and authentic examples of the primitive coinage.

When we look at the coins struck in the darkest ages by

nations infinitely less advanced than the Republic, they almost compel a belief that Venice must have had some sort of money several generations before the probable or approximate date of any now known. In the first quarter of the sixth century, the Prefect Cassiodorus, writing *Tribunis maritimorum*, in which term it may be allowable to suppose that the Venetians were embraced, though the hypothesis is not vital, describes those whom he addresses in the name of his royal employer as striking *moneta victualis quodammodo*; or, in other words, a traveller at that time, who had commercial relations with Venice and her neighbours, was expected and bound to accept in payment any symbol which he knew or believed to be officially recognised. Perhaps, at the very first outset, strips of leather as among the Russians, or tablets of salt such as Lord Valentia mentions circulating in Hindustan, and to which the Frankish Veneti themselves are also alleged to have resorted, were received here on the authority of certain accredited marks or characters as equivalents for smaller parcels of goods and in ordinary day-by-day dealings.

It seems beyond belief and possibility that any State having, like Venice, a free existence from the middle of the fifth century, should have neglected for a very great length of time to organise some more or less distinct monetary system; but the hypothesis that one which was from the outset so emphatically commercial should or could do so, is simply inadmissible. In the eighth century, at all events, the Republic was making war and concluding treaties on her own account. At the commencement of the ninth (810), the emperors of the East and West joined at Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle in pronouncing her independent of either. A community, increasing yearly in wealth, power and estimation, possessing its own sovereign, governed by its own laws, was not likely, when it wanted nothing else essential to its political life, to be without a currency of its own, however imperfect and rude, or without some more or less efficient substitute for it. In the earlier half of the ninth century, *Monetario* or Moneyer had found its way into the Venetian nomenclature. It is perhaps not too rash to infer that, before it became the name of a family, it was that of an established vocation. Unfortunately, as to the date of settlement in the lagoons of the Monetarii we are at fault. Nor do we seem to hear of them any more—they were by possibility foreigners.

According to a passage in the chronicle of Dandolo, Rodolph, King of Italy, in the year 926, "declared¹ that the Doge of Venice had the power of coining money, because it appeared to him that the ancient Doges had continually done this." Now, it is excessively important to remember that this is not a licence to strike money, but a declaration that the Doges (according to the information afforded to Rodolph, rather than possessed by that prince) had long done so, and had the right; for the mere sanction of a weakly established German potentate such as his majesty might not have been of much real utility, when an extended recognition of a currency was even more important to the Republic than the leave to issue one on her own account. The question arises, What was this money which the ancient Doges issued? The answer must be, We do not certainly know.

The Venetians, from the sixth to the ninth century, entitled to the privilege of a separate mint, had a comparative abundance of models before them. They might have copied and improved the Lombardic types, as Charlemagne did. It was open to them to imitate the Byzantine coins, like the Merovingian moneyers; or, with regard to the old Greek and Roman pieces in all metals, there was no difficulty in reproducing them with a few necessary changes of detail; and it was almost impossible that such reproductions should have been worse than the efforts of the Gauls and the Britons in the same direction. But what course was actually pursued remains at present a profound mystery, and a series of coins of the Frankish type in about fifty-five varieties from the time of Louis le Debonnaire to that of Henry IV. or V.—a period extending over nearly two centuries and a half—appears to be the whole salvage of tons upon tons of metal impressed with recognised characters within the verge of the Ducal Palace for a duration of time more than equal to the period between the fall of the Heptarchy and the rise of the Tudors. For it would be imprudent, we apprehend, to carry up the commencement of the consecutive system of autonomous coinage beyond the reign of Domenico Morosini (1148-56).

These coins are carefully figured and described by Count Papadopoli in his valuable monograph: *Sull' origini della Veneta Zecca*, 1882; and they exhibit a slowly progressive development

¹ "Declaravit Ducem Venetiarum potestatem habere fabricandi monetam, quia ei constitit antiquos Duces hoc continuatis temporibus perfecisse."

toward monetary autonomy, and the present opportunity may be taken of noting and explaining that the appearance of this distinguished and enthusiastic numismatist's noble work on the *Coins of Venice*, 1893-1900, is so exhaustive, that it renders more than a general view superfluous here.

Under a democratic government it is especially probable that, the pattern once approved, the coin was reproduced year after year without material alteration; and the extant specimens may represent what was issued during the ninth and following centuries by hundreds of thousands. The *denaro* occupied the same position in the primitive monetary system of Venice as the *denier* among the Franks and the silver penny in England. It was the only circulating medium in Venice till the twelfth century, in France till the Carolingian era, and in England till the reign of Edward III. But in all these countries, though in the Republic to the largest extent, a great amount of Byzantine and other foreign money was freely taken in payment; and we have, besides, to consider that the mediæval system of taxation and trade had a tendency to retard, rather than to stimulate, the development of a metallic currency.

The translation of the remains of St. Mark to Venice took place in the year 829. From that date and that circumstance an inference has been drawn, which we shall content ourselves with describing as a rather bold one. Taken in connection with the absence of any mention of the new patron saint on the *denaro*, the arrival of the holy relics is presumed to have been posterior to the issue of the coin, or in other words the *denaro* has been pronounced older than 829. In this superior antiquity there is nothing improbable; the type and character themselves are not sufficiently pronounced or distinctive to fix its origin within a century; but the argument is of no validity. We should prefer to describe the piece of money as apparently the earliest Venetian coinage yet discovered, and as the only traceable currency in the Republic of local mintage from the sixth to the ninth century.

The public and private collections of England and the Continent are seldom without specimens of this sort of *denaro*, unmistakeably emanating from a Frankish or German mint, with the name of the reigning prince on one side and *Venezia* in one or two lines on the other. These pieces are generally accepted as having been intended for the Province, rather than the

City, of Venice, are presumed to have been *denari* specially struck for currency in the peninsula by the kings of Italy; and during the continuance of the Carolingian rule there they must have passed habitually through the hands of Venetian traders and travellers. In general appearance they are not dissimilar from some of the Anglo-Saxon pennies; but they more immediately resemble in fabric much of the earlier imperial money, on which they were doubtless modelled, as well as the autonomous coinages of Trieste, Aquileia, Mantua, and Genoa. But they may be seen in all their modifications and varieties in the Papadopoli monograph.

The game of problems, however, is not quite terminated. We do not yet come to firm ground. Schweitzer¹ and Padovan² have included in their series two billon coins, one of eight, the other of ten grains,³ with the name of one of the emperors named Henry on one side, and of the ordinary imperial type, but, which is surely very remarkable and speculative, having on the reverse S. MARCVS VENE and the effigy of the Saint. Both writers seem to concur in thinking that the Henry meant is Henry IV., who was crowned only in 1084. Henry III. became emperor in 1039. Whichever it may have been, the date might be the same within about fifty years; it was a piece struck in the eleventh century; and with every desire to keep within cautious limits, we shall go so far as to add a belief that this other *denaro* was issued at Venice for circulation in the Italian territories of the third or fourth Henry, with the Imperial name as a mark of complimentary distinction and the name of the tutelary saint as a proof of local origin, somewhat on the same principle as the continental convention-money from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. There is a somewhat analogous case in a coin of the same epoch struck for West Friesland. There the name of the Emperor—Henry III.—is associated with that of Count Bruno III.; Venice, being a republican government, might have preferred the introduction of the tutelary saint. Delepierre speaks of a Count of Flanders in the seventh century; but, at any rate, the provinces of the Netherlands severed them-

¹ *Serie delle monete d'Aquileja e di Venezia*, 1848-52.

² *Sommario della numografia*, 1866.

³ The weight slightly varies in specimens equally unworn, the preparation of the flans of metal having been imperfect. Of course, friction and use are other powerful agencies in the decline from the Mint standard.

pretty clearly bullion, like the three hundred pounds which King Tarquin gave for the Sibylline Books, and the silver which the patriarch Abraham paid for his field. The silver byzant was known as the *byzantium albus*, just as the Venetians subsequently had their *quattrino bianco* and the French their *blanche*. In the phraseology of mediæval codices and deeds *alba firma* usually stands for silver or bullion currency. In the same manner as the *denaro*, the *perpero* was treated also as money of account, and value was occasionally calculated by *lire di perperi*.

With reference to the right of circulation accorded on Saturdays to the byzant of one or both metals, it is perhaps a notion apt to occur to the student that so far from this being the original form of the privilege or licence, it was probably a limitation of a wider acceptance or recognition, a transition from a general to a special reception of the coin of another Government.

In addition to the *lira* or *libra*, regarded as a measure of weight, and the other artificial expedients of the same sort already mentioned, there were two species of money of account in use, the *libra grossorum* or *lira di grossi*, and the *libra parvulorum* or *lira di piccoli*. In a work giving an account of a sale of galleys by auction in 1332, the realised values are uniformly computed by the *lira di grossi*.

All these devices for obviating the inconvenience arising from a scanty currency might, however, have failed to provide any adequate remedy for the evil, if trade had not been largely conducted on a basis of exchange, and payments in kind had not long remained in universal vogue. We must acquit the Venetians of an ignorance of bills and other substitutes for cash, when such facilities were elsewhere enjoyed in the twelfth or thirteenth century; and while the first explicit reference to such matters is as late as 1405, the passage where it occurs speaks of it rather as a familiar principle than as a novelty in practice, and so much so that we have an actual document of 1326 immediately belonging to Milan, but the counterpart and sample beyond doubt of thousands or hundreds of thousands, which once existed up and down commercial Europe. It is in the subjoined terms, and points to a practice of giving six months' credit, or, as it is now expressed, of drawing at six months:—

“Pagate per questa prima letera a di ix Ottobre a Luca de Poro, Lib. xlv. Sono per la valuta qui da Masca Reno al tempo

si pagate e ponete a mio conto, e che Christo vi guarde!
Bonromo de Bonromei de Milano, ix. de' Marzo, 1325."¹

Prior to 1156, the old denaro, first without, and then with, the name of the patron saint, had been reinforced by a second coin representing the moiety of it, the *denaro minore* or *piccolo*. This new piece, which some have confounded with the *maruccio* to be presently noticed, was of billon, and weighed from eight to ten grains. On the obverse appears a cross, with the pellets in a double indented circle, and the legend D. MAVR. DVX (Domenigo Morosini); the reverse exhibited the bust of St. Mark, with the glory or *nimbus* and S. MARCVS VEN. The circulation of *denari* was, for some unknown reason, suspended from 1205 to 1268, or at least no examples are known of the reigns comprised within those years.

Where the purchasing power of money is extraordinarily great, the fractional divisions of the coinage seem to be almost infinitesimal. In the reign of Sebastiano Ziani (1173-78), the idea was conceived of striking the *quartuaro* or *denarino*, the fourth part of a *denaro piccolo* and the eighth of the *grande*. This minute piece of base metal weighed five or six grains, and had on the obverse a crosslet in a double circle, with the legend ∞KB. DVX, and on the reverse a second crosslet in a circle, with ∞. MARCV ∞. There were two types differing in the points and letters; and Orio Malipiero, Ziani's successor, issued other varieties (1178-92). These pieces led to endless trouble from the difficulty of giving change in small transactions or the tendency to evade it; and numerous cases present themselves in the official registers of penalties inflicted on tradesmen for imposing on customers by withholding the difference or part of it. This was constantly occurring down to the fourteenth century or later; and all the particulars are preserved.² The punishment was not unfrequently remitted, where the culprit was poor or was thought to have acted inadvertently.

But the first clear step of an important character was the conception of the *grosso* during the administration of Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205). It was of fine silver, weight 44 grains in proof condition, and of Byzantine pattern. It was the prototype of the French *gros* and the English groat, and was originally

¹ We have been obliged mainly to rely on a transcript in *Notes and Queries*, more than possibly an inaccurate one.

² Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 63.

= 26 *piccoli*, was subsequently raised to 28 and 32 *piccoli*, and eventually merged in the *grossetto*. Its value in English computation was about 5d. On the obverse were represented the erect figures of the Doge and St. Mark, face to face, the latter with the *nimbus*, and tendering the standard, for which a flag-pole does duty; the legend DVX H. DANDOL S. M. VENETI. On the reverse the Saviour is seated on a decorated throne with the glory, His right hand extended in the act of benediction, His left holding the Gospels, with IC . XC. This handsome coin was also known as a *matapan*, from the cape of that name between Zante and Cerigo; and the origin of the denomination is uncertain, unless the exigencies attendant on the unexpectedly protracted expedition to Constantinople in 1202 led to the local fabrication of a special issue for immediate use. There is a farther difficulty as to the precise date at which the *grosso* first appeared; for while the historian Andrea Dandolo assigns it to 1194, and Marino Sanuto to 1192, Martino da Canale, who lived nearer to the time, distinctly speaks of it as introduced to pay the operatives engaged in the preparations for the voyage to the East. But Da Canale, according to the text of his *Chronicle* handed down to us, also makes Eurico Dandolo contemporary with the *ducat*, not coined till nearly a century later, and aggravates the mistake by describing it as of silver,¹ in which metal no such money existed before 1559. The *grosso*, which had a run of at least two centuries (we have specimens struck by the Doge Foscari 1423-57), with its divisions in its own metal, has the appearance of having been the earliest distinct aim, on the part of the Mint, at the establishment of a standard. It fluctuated indeed in weight three or four grains under successive Doges; but it was far from being so irregular and capricious as the groats of the English Edwards. There was not the same inducement.

The word *sterling*, in relation to the coinage and currency, is found in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and must be understood to import standard metal in contradistinction to mixed or billon, of which much of the mediæval money was composed. The *grosso* or *matapan* of or about 1192 was the first piece which can be said to have been struck of a fixed weight and fineness, and it was followed by the *ducat* of gold. From 1356 to 1368 there was no coinage of *grossi*; and when it was resumed under Andrea Contarini (1368-82), the pattern was altered.

¹ Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 81.

An exceptional and almost insuperable difficulty arises at this time and stage of the inquiry in regard to the identity of the *soldo* specified as equivalent to eight *denari grandi* in the coronation oath of 1229; and the question directly concerns the *grosso* immediately under notice, because it is open to conjecture or hypothesis, that the *soldo* is the same as that more usually known under the other name, and that the *soldino*, presently to be introduced, was the moiety of it or of the *grosso*, otherwise the *little soldo*. The point is, that no silver coin actually recognized as a *soldo* is found in the numismatic records of Venice, and yet it is perfectly possible that at first, and down to 1229, the denomination more generally known as a *grosso* may have been accepted and officially described under the other term. It seems to be a new feature in the argument, lending weight and likelihood to such a view, that the piece made current in or about 1332 was christened by a diminutive importing a division of what was familiar as a *soldo*. In the pages of a work, which does not assume to be a numismatic monograph, it is scarcely necessary to enter into further details; but the *soldo* of 1229 and the ordinary *grosso* are doubtless one and the same. It strikes us as singular that, while the Republic possessed the *grosso* and the quarter of it, it did not strike the half till so many years later; for Count Papadopoli¹ apprises us that the denomination was first ordered in or about 1332; but the same authority states that the public records are imperfect for the immediately prior years.

Besides the *grosso*, Dandolo deserves the honour of laying the foundation of a copper currency. Somewhere about the close of the twelfth century the Mint coined the *quattrino* or fourth of the *grosso*; the legends E. DADVL DVX, and cruciformly within a circle the four letters V N C S for *Venecias*. The Government of Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311) ordered a double quattrino of copper or half-grosso; but we hear no more of it. Of course, unsuccessful trials were made here as elsewhere, and were not repeated.

The successor of Dandolo, Pietro Ziani, continued during his reign of twenty-four years (1205-29) to strike all the pieces now in circulation; but he added to the wealth of the coinage nothing but a small copper piece called the *marcuccio*, or little mark, of five or six grains, with a cross having triangles in lieu of pellets in the angles, and the legend P. ZIANI DVX. On the other side occur St. Mark with the glory in a double circlet and the legend

¹ Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 158.

of Dombes in France added himself to the roll of culprits and incurred the reproof of the Doge. All these imitations surely regarded the general acceptance of the Venetian original rather than its artistic merit. They led the Government in 1447 to make a regulation that the engravers at the Mint should be restricted to Venetian citizens by way, at least, of modifying the abuse. There were even Indian *contrefaçons*.

The Gauls and Britons had struck gold coins at a remote epoch, some in grotesque imitation of the Greek staters, others in the later Roman taste. Specimens exist not only of pieces in the same metal issued by the order of the Merovingian dynasty in France, but of a similar type struck in Holland, Germany, and many other parts of Europe. In Sicily, the Norman Duke of Apulia, Roger II., introduced about 1150 A.D. a gold coinage, suggested by that of the Arabs; and in the same or following century the German princes Henry VI. and Frederic II. struck the *augustale* and its half on the model of the Roman imperial *solidi*. We have also the gold money of Louis IX. (1226-70) and the so-called gold penny of Henry III. of England (1216-72), but both are probably posterior to the Florentine piece. It may well be doubted, again, if either of these had much width of circulation, or were in general use; the English one is ordinarily treated as an unpublished essay; while the Venetian ducat of 1284, which a great commercial people would have at once the means of applying to practical purposes, and which had been long a want, may be entitled to rank—after the *florino d'oro* of Florence, which claims a priority of about thirty years (1252), and which was equally designed as a practical trading medium—as the oldest gold currency established in mediæval Europe. In 1313, when the Republic paid the Holy See a sum by way of indemnity, the pontifical Government stipulated that it should be delivered in Tuscan currency. But in 1422 the Florentines unsuccessfully attempted to procure the acceptance in Egypt of their own gold florin on the same footing as that of Venice, pleading that of the two pieces it was slightly the heavier and finer. Twenty years later they practically retracted this declaration by issuing ducats of Venetian weight for their Oriental trade. The Tuscan coin, however, was not usually received on the same footing, and did not obtain the same universal recognition as the ducat, which strikes one as more analogous to its distant prototype in one sense, the Lydian heavy stater of Phœnician weight.

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An influential motive in preserving the standard was the need of successful competition with the Oriental currencies in the same metal, which were generally of great purity.

With the exception of a double quattrino of copper, or mezzo-grosso, with the name of the Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311), the Mint paused a little after its introduction of the zecchino; nor was it till the administration of Francesco Dandolo (1328-39), that the Venetian moneyers reproduced the old forms in a new combination in the *soldino* of silver, also the moiety of the grosso, and the piece, to which allusion has already been made. On the obverse the Doge with the bonnet on his head, and the standard in hand, encircled by the legend FRA. DAN DVLO DVX. On the reverse, St. Mark as usual. A second and distinct type, which was popularly called the *cenoghelo*, represents the Doge kneeling, and on the other side, in lieu of the saint, the lion rampant holds the flag-pole in his claw: the legend, S. MARCVS VENETI. The numismatists allege that these pieces fluctuated between 22 and $10\frac{1}{2}$ grains; but the truth is that this wide discrepancy has resulted from testing specimens in different states; and the old Venetian money has descended, for the most part, in a far from satisfactory condition. The soldino is almost undoubtedly the moiety of the piece which we sometimes find described as the *soldo*; and as mention of the latter occurs in a State paper of 1229 and in other documents, it may be reasonably surmised that, as in a few other cases, the original issues have perished, more especially as the very Doge (Arrigo Dandolo, 1192-1205), who published the grosso, also published the quattrino or fourth of it. It is perhaps fair to question whether the soldino was ever struck otherwise than in silver, although Schweitzer seems to draw a distinction between the original piece and a later one, which he specifies as the *soldino di argento*. The only difference may have been in the smaller proportion of alloy.

Possessing already the double quattrino and the soldino, the Government under Andrea Dandolo (1342-54) thought proper to create a third equivalent for the mezzo-grosso in a silver coin called the *mezzanino*, weighing 14 grains and a fraction. On the obverse we have the Doge, St. Mark, and the flag-pole; but the reverse shews a slight stroke of originality in the figure of Christ rising from the tomb, with the legend XPS. RES VRESIT. The mint-mark in one example is a sword. But the same Doge sanctioned several varieties of the mezzanino after its original

issue in 1346, with distinguishing mint-marks, and in 1354 the coin of the Doge Francesco Dandolo was reproduced with technical alterations under the name of the *soldino nuovo*.

The copper grosso had been a failure, and did not remain in circulation; its place was successively supplied by the double quattrino, the soldino or soldo, and the mezzanino; the first in copper, the two latter in the same metal as the grosso itself. But Andrea Dandolo seems to have approved of a second trial piece in the shape of a ducat in copper of 30 grains. The experiment was perhaps not carried out, and the specimen which exists is presumed to have been one of the patterns submitted to the Government.

Assuming that the Mint at Venice was a permanent and distinct branch of the administration from the twelfth century, it had been at work at the time, which our narrative has reached, about three hundred years. It seems that dissatisfaction was now beginning to make itself felt at certain irregularities in the processes of coining and in the adjustment of the weight of pieces; and the Government treated it as a public scandal that the currency should be suffered to deteriorate in character or decline from the original standard. It is interesting to mark such a solicitude, but on the part of a mercantile community which had lifted itself to the height of power and renown nothing could be more natural or more sagacious. On the 11th November 1457 a decree was promulgated against this evil, shewing that the blame rested not with the moneyers, but with the workmen and overseers at the Mint, who neglected the instructions delivered to them for the verification of the weight and alloy.

The business of the Mint at the end of the fourteenth century began to grow heavy and responsible. Even when no new dies were in preparation, the ordinary issues of coins in standard use from year to year were sufficient to keep a large staff in employment, more particularly at a period when the various processes were not very expeditious. It is said that in 1423 the yearly coinage, independently of a million gold ducats, extended to 800,000 pieces—a total of nearly two millions. When, therefore, we have to traverse six reigns (1354-83) without meeting with anything fresh to report, one is not to conclude that the moneyers were idle. The Doge Celsi, who sat on the throne from 1361 to 1365, although he apparently added nothing to the numismatic series, often gave a morning to the Mint, where he, no doubt, invariably found a scene of interesting activity.

A billon piece, called the grossetto, and resembling the grosso (which it seems to have supplanted) in character and design, but having on the reverse the legend *TIBI LAVS & GLORIA*, made its first appearance under the Doge Veniero (1383-1400); and at a later period we find the half-grossetto (1523-38). The grossetto weighed nine carata. A triple grossetto, which is said to exist, is supposed to be an essay; but such an inference seems to have no better foundation than its alleged uniqueness. The *piccolo* or *denaro* had been continued under the majority of reigns since the twelfth century. In 1442 we first find the *bagattino* in billon for some of the provinces.

The inconvenience of possessing no currency intermediate between the grosso, worth a few pence, and the ducat must, at the same time, have soon been felt; and Francesco Foscari (1423-57) struck two types of a silver coin equal to eight *soldi* or *soldini*, styled a *grossone*. On the obverse the Doge stands with the national banner in his hand: the legend, *FRANCISCVS FOSCARI DVX*. The reverse has a full-faced bust of the Evangelist, and *SANCTVS MARCVS VENETI*. In the second variety the Doge kneels.

Two pieces of money which possess a rather special interest are the *gazzetta* and *gazzettino*. The latter, which it may appear justifiable to treat as the later introduction, is said to have originated during the dogeship of Leonardo Loredano (1501-21); but Romanin states that the *gazzetta* itself was not struck prior to 1528. At first of billon or a low standard of silver, it degenerated into a roughly struck copper coin of two values, the *gazzetta* and *double gazzetta*, and the name is so far remarkable that it lent itself to the synonymous periodical news-sheet which spread over Europe, representing, no doubt, the price of issue. But whatever may have been the true date of birth of the *gazzettino*, it is eminently probable that the *gazzetta* preceded it.

The numismatic annals of Venice resemble a stream which, in its earlier course sluggish and narrow, expands into a swift and broad torrent. We are arriving at a time when an extraordinary development took place in the currency of the Republic, and the Venetian coinage was, within a short period, to manifest a variety and profusion strangely contrasting with the indigence of former days and with the advised simplicity of modern monetary economy. But in the absence of paper, and with the constant demand for heavy amounts in specie to pay troops and

meet the unceasing expenses of the Arsenal, the parallel employment of several coins of large and nearly identical denominations becomes tolerably intelligible, and where the value was expressed on the face of the piece, as in a few exceptional cases, not particularly inconvenient at the time. For us, however, the Venetian coinage, as we gradually advance beyond the Middle Ages and approach the sixteenth century, becomes rather complicated and perplexing. It will, on the whole, be better to content ourselves with a general survey of the subject, and to refer to Count Papadopoli, Schweitzer, and the other monographers those who desire to follow all the technical minutiae; for Venetian numismatic science at present constitutes a not very small library in itself.

As regards the form given to the legends on the money, we observe that at first there was no indication on the face of coins that they were destined for the city of Venice, and not for the province of Venetia. The earliest movement in the direction of localising the currency and denoting its actual source was the insertion of the name of the patron saint in addition to that of the Emperor for the time being. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a few pieces of small module occur with the Christian name of the reigning Doge abbreviated in lieu of the imperial title, as *V. Miche. Dux*, *Seb. Dux*, *Auro. Dux*, or *Enric. Dux*, for Vitali Michieli II., Sebastiano Ziani, Orio Malipiero, and Enrico Dandolo; but although such an expression is commonly employed in public documents, the coinage never exhibited the *Dei Gratia* introduced into nearly all the monetary systems of Europe from the ninth century.

The activity of the Mint may be said to have had its real commencement in the middle of the fifteenth century. The copper *bagattino* and *doppio bagattino* of copper and the silver *lira*, which were ushered into the world with a well-executed likeness in profile of Nicolo Trono (1471-73), were the earliest attempt to transfer to the coinage a realistic and professed resemblance of the reigning Doge. The *lira* was an important step in the direction of making the silver coinage more comprehensive; it represented, approximately at least, the moiety of the grossone. But the usage of giving a portrait of the Doge in office on the money was soon superseded by another less obnoxious to the oligarchical taste. After the death of Trono, the only reign in which the experiment had been permitted, a decree of the Great Council forbade its farther continuance. Yet not only is

the likeness of the reigning Doge said to be discernible in the small kneeling figure on the *sequins* and other pieces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in the *grosso* of the second type of Francesco Foscari (1423-57); and in an *osella* of Francesco Morosini *the Peloponesan* (1688-94) the seated object at the top of the column certainly seems to be intended for a portrait. The repugnance of the aristocratic Government, however, was probably awakened by the presentation of the features of the chief magistrate in the same prominent manner as those of the heads of professed monarchies. It did not interfere with a few cases, where the *Serenissimo* transferred his lineaments to a medal, which might, in common perhaps with the *osella*, have been viewed as outside strict political lines.

The *mezza-lira* coined during the government of Nicolo Marcello (1473-74) was christened the *marcello*; and again, on its reissue by Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76), the lira, which had passed under the name of the *lira Tron*, became popularly known as the *mocenigo*. The *marcello* presented on the obverse the Doge on his knees accepting the standard, and on the reverse Christ on a throne of a more richly decorated character than before. The legend was also changed. Schweitzer quotes four types; it appears to have been known under the same name as late as 1509. A somewhat later Doge, Marco Barbarigo (1485-86) issued a copper *sesino* of 25 grains, but without a portrait, and we soon meet (1486-1501) with a half-marcello struck for the colonies. It is a curious circumstance that at this date the accumulation of very small coins of correspondingly trifling values had led to a practice, obviously prone to abuse, of carrying specified amounts of such money in purses or *cartocci*, whereon the sum inside was recorded in writing, and offering the collection as it stood in payment without inquiry by the recipient, as we accept a bag of gold or silver from our bankers. Such a plan seems in 1458 to have been tried sufficiently long to prove to the authorities the expediency of its disallowance.

Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501) added the *bezzo* or *quattrino bianco* of silver, the moiety of the soldino (one of the most popular pieces current in Venice) and the fourth of the old *grosso* or *matapan*. Its obverse offered nothing beyond the hackneyed flag-pole with the kneeling Doge and the upright Saint, and on the reverse side Christ erect, with the new legend *LAVS TIBI SOLI*. The most curious feature in connection with this piece, however, is

the coinage of multiples of it in silver, distinguished as *Da Quattro*, *Da Otto*, *Da Dodici*, and *Da Sedici*, which must have assisted in making the currency still more intricate than before. In the time of Leonardo Loredano (1501-21) the idea seems to have occurred of issuing the half of the gold sequin of 1284. The quarter did not come into use till 1577-78, and is a piece of the rarest character, although specimens belonging to the latest era of the Republic survive both of that and the half sequin. The legend on the reverse is altered to *Ego Sum Rex Mundi*. The half and quarter sequin represented in modern English money about 4s. 9d. and the moiety. Under Andrea Gritti the Mint produced a remarkable novelty in a *scudo* or crown of gold and its half, in addition to the sequin and half sequin already in existence. The new pieces were possibly suggested by the French *écu* and *demi-écu*; they were worth 6 lire, 10 soldi, and the moiety respectively. These newcomers were not designed for commercial purposes, but for the pay of troops and other general matters, as they fell below the standard of the ducat; the *scudo* and its half did not extend, however, over more than two or three reigns, and examples are of peculiar rarity; yet after a long interval the *doppia* of gold, equal to two of these *scudi*, made its appearance (1618-23). The *doppia* was in fact a double crown, and was estimated at about 12 lire. It was the highest denomination ever in regular use. In the return of the expenses of the Venetian diplomatic representative in France in the second half of the seventeenth century some of the amounts are set down in *doppie*.

Since the launch of the *grossone*, a piece of eight *soldini*, in 1429, the Republic had hitherto made little progress in the silver currency. A coin representing about three shillings in modern English money was still the largest piece known in this metal. But during the government of Hieronimo Priuli (1559-67) came into existence the ducat of silver, worth 124 soldi, or 6 lire, 4 soldi, the half of it, and the quarter. The need of affording ampler facilities for commercial and other monetary transactions was at last finding a response. The Mint did not rest here, for a few years later (1571) it brought out the *giustina* of silver, valued at eight lire or 160 soldi, and its divisions, and ere long (1585-95) succeeded the *giustina minore*, corresponding in value with the silver ducat, the half and the quarter. The Doge Marino Grimani (1595-1606) added to these mediums the *scudo di croce* of 140 soldi, and his two immediate successors (1606-12)

completed this extensive series by a new variety of silver zecchino current for ten lire, with its divisions (1606-15). The sixteenth century may thus be regarded as the epoch at which, above all others, Venice provided herself with a metallic currency eclipsing in richness and capability anything of the kind achieved before or since. The only supplementary feature in the numismatic chronicle was the substitution (1606-12) of a gold ducat diverging in design and circumference from the original sequin of 1284. It was a broader and thinner piece of analogous type and identical weight; the size is precisely that of an English sovereign. The ground for the change is not obvious; but the Venetian Zecca was evidently partial to new experiments, and besides the productions which were admitted into circulation, Schweitzer and others record numerous trial-pieces or patterns, which found their way into private cabinets, but were not adopted by the Executive. Of these *essays* France has, in the same way, the honour of possessing a singularly large assemblage, submitted by her own Mint for approbation, and ultimately abandoned.

The silver ducat of 1559-67 exhibited Saint Mark on the obverse, seated, and tendering the standard to the Doge, while on the reverse occurs the winged lion passant with the Gospel in his fore-claw. The silver *giustina* (1578-85) presented the patron saint and the Doge on the obverse, but on the other side, for the first time in the annals of the coinage, we meet with a complete novelty in the standing figure of St. Giustina and the lion reposing at her feet, with the legend MEMOR. ERO. TUI. IVSTINA. VIRGO, in grateful reference to the Battle of Lepanto, fought on Saint Justina's Day (October 7), 1571. There was a certain unusual originality again in the treatment of the two other heavy silver pieces¹ which have just been mentioned as belonging to the same period; the *giustina minore*, which was reckoned, like the silver ducat, at 124 soldi, and which bore on one side the erect figure of the saint from whom it derived its name, and the *scudo di croce*, which passed for 140 soldi. The latter, which balances in the scales about 5s. 6d. in modern English currency, bears on one side an elaborate cross with the name of the Doge in the legend, and on the opposite one the winged lion with the glory enclosed in a shield, and encircled by the title of the patron saint. The silver ducat, the two *giustine*, and the *scudo* of silver, with their fractions, seem to stand alone in expressing the value

¹ *Monnaies du moyen âge*, ii. No. 4484, Copenhagen, 1874.

in soldi at the foot of the reverse; but a ducat of a later type, while it expresses the denomination, omits the value. In the lower left-hand corner occurs a small view of Saint Mark's, for which space has been made by removing the Book of the Gospel from the lion's claw.

Thomsen¹ cites a bracteate of base metal or of copper of the mediæval time with the winged lion as part of the type; he ascribes it to the Abbey of Reichenau in Suabia. Whence Venice borrowed the notion is slightly uncertain, except that the lion might be taken to have some affinity with St. Mark; but the symbol is absent from the earlier numismatic productions of the Republic, and the winged bull of Egyptian mythology and sculpture differed in its significance from the lion of the ancient Greek moneyers.

Subsequently to the commencement of the seventeenth century the Mint or Zecca of Venice shared the languor and narrowness of her later political life. The currency responded with speed here, as in Poland and everywhere else, to the declension of the State. No new monetary issues of any consequence marked the interval between the date to which we have carried the history of the coinage and the Fall. The administration of Marc Antonio Memo (1612-15) made farther subdivisions of the silver currency by the issue of the *soldone*, and that of Antonio Priuli (1618-23) added the double and the half. These pieces were equal to twenty-four, twelve, and six soldi respectively, and were of base metal washed with silver. Of the soldo itself, which with the lira formed the more modern Venetian money of account, we have failed to trace the original appearance, unless it was the old soldino with some modification of form and value. Numismatists afford no assistance here. But where the multiple existed, the unit must surely have existed also.

The number of coins of all metals in contemporary circulation at Venice after a hundred years of unexampled activity at the Zecca exceeded the number concurrently in circulation in any other country in the world at that or any other time. Many of the types which answered the wants of the Republic in earlier years had silently vanished, including all the pieces of imperial or foreign origin and of dubious autonomy. Although at the severely critical juncture, which arose from the European coalition

¹ *Monnaies du moyen âge*, ii. No. 4484.

of 1509 against the Republic, a scarcity of specie seems to have necessitated during some time—even so late forward as 1517—the admission of certain foreign money at a stipulated tariff,¹ her rulers had no longer, as a rule, a motive for utilising the specie of their neighbours and allies, or for issuing money under the countenance of emperors. But what is apt to strike the student of Venetian numismatic art is the poverty of invention, and the servile and monotonous republication of the same design with the slightest possible pretence to variation or novelty. The first school of moneyers had their cross with its pelleted angles; the second, the tutelary Evangelist and the Doge in different positions, with the flag-pole. The *grosso* or *matapan* of the twelfth, and the *ducat* or *zecchino* of the thirteenth, century were creditable performances for the time; but with one or two reservations the genius of the Mint appears to have been capable of nothing more. Except the *lira* and the copper *bagattino* and double *bagattino*, with the portrait of the Doge, the two *giustine*, and a few other productions spread over centuries, all the coins were unfruitful seedlings of the same germ.

Of the engravers, who were employed first at the Ducal Palace itself, and subsequently at the Zecca, we possess through the studious preservation of archives exceptionally considerable and consecutive knowledge,² and the names of a long series of moneyers have come down to us with the terms on which they worked; for instance, Francesco Marchiori, who appears to have presided over the Mint in the time of Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205), and to have coined the first *grosso*. We cannot be quite sure whether the differential token, which after a certain date is observable on the pieces, is a mint-mark or a moneyer's symbol. Our conversance with the ruder artificers who worked in some of the mediæval European mints arises from the occasional registration of their names on the money, —a practice, however, unknown to Venice, beyond the employment of initials.

A view of the Venetian coinage is, perhaps, chiefly striking by comparison; and by comparison it is very striking indeed. The Republic was, of course, a commercial country, and for purposes of trade the early introduction of as ample and complete

¹ Count Papadopoli, *Una tariffa stampata a Venezia nel 1517*, 8vo, Venezia, 1899. Facsimiles.

² Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, Appendice ii.

a medium as possible was imperative, as soon as the world emancipated itself from the primitive system of barter and exchange; and a survey of the numismatic economy of other peoples, even at a later period, will leave an advantage on the side of Venice. The English, prior to the reign of Edward III., had merely the silver penny. Till the time of Louis IX. (1226-70), who added the *gros tournois* and certain gold pieces, France possessed nothing but the Carolingian denier and its half. A similar or greater dearth of coin existed in Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, and Italy itself.

A volume¹ has been devoted by an enthusiastic inquirer to the provincial and colonial coinage of Venice alone. It appears that no separate currency for the territories of the Republic outside the original Dogado had been attempted prior to the commencement of the fourteenth century. In 1282 considerable dissatisfaction was felt at the systematic imitation of Venetian types, more especially the *grosso*, by the Ban of Rascia, which led Dante in his *Paradiso* to couple him with Philip le Bel of France (*Le Faux Monnoyeur*) as sufferers in another world; and the inconvenience was aggravated by the wide circulation of these coins throughout the Venetian dominions, and their acceptance on an equal footing with the legitimate currency. The consequence was that on the 3rd May 1282, the Great Council decreed that all holders of these pieces, and all officials into whose hands they should fall, were to surrender them, that they might be broken up; and the same regulation was made applicable to the provinces.²

A noteworthy feature in the Great Council minute regarding the false *grossi* is the direction to all holders of stalls or counters (*stationes*) in Rialto and their assistants, being over twelve years of age, to discover any which they might find, on pain of losing ten per cent, if they were detected with such in their hands, and of this, half was to go to the informer, half to the Government. No penal cognisance was taken of young children.

This imitation of models was by no means uncommon. Two of the kings of Servia, Stephen V. and VI., 1275-1336, also copied the *grosso*; one of the latter ruler is, with the exception of the legend, a counterpart of the Venetian coin; the two figures originally designed for St. Mark and the Doge answer

¹ *Le monete dei possedimenti Veneziani*, da V. Lazari, 8vo, 1851.

² Lazari, p. 45.

equally well for St. Stephen and the King. We find the *florino di oro* of Florence adopted in the same flattering and servile manner by half the States of Europe. On the other hand, as late as the eighteenth century, on the Austrian side the Venetian copper money (*marchetto* and half *marchetto*) are represented as having unfairly encroached on the German currency, and we find an order proceeding from Vienna in 1748 to put into circulation more regularly the *soldi* and half *soldi* struck at various mints in the provinces since 1733.

Elsewhere another kind of anomaly had arisen by reason of the extension of the rule of Venice over portions of the Levant after the fourth crusade. For the Prince of Achaia and others, who owed their possessions to the operation of the same causes, coined *torresi*, which not only served as currency within their regular limits, but were as much the ordinary circulating medium of the Venetian dependencies as the money struck by the Republic. In 1305 the Government of the Doge at length tried to find a remedy for this state of affairs by the proposal to issue at Koron and Modon a new type of money for local use to be determined by the Executive; but of this currency no examples seem to be recognisable. Possibly the idea was relinquished.¹ But although it was the provincial neighbours of Venice who had set the example of intrusion and encroachment by pirating her numismatic models, another century elapsed before a special coinage for the trans-Adriatic districts was undertaken. Between 1410 and 1414 the Venetian Government, partly under the advice of the notary Bonisio, who enjoyed the advantage of local knowledge, struck money for Dalmatia (including Zara) in the form of billon *soldi* with a shield on one side supposed to be that of the Surian family.

The arrangements for Friuli, Ravenna, and the Lombard provinces appear to have varied; the coins were usually struck at home. In the case of Treviso, which had belonged to Venice since 1339, there was a sort of attempt to reconcile foreign control with financial autonomy, if we may judge from a *bagattino* of 1492 evidently struck for the Trevisano, with S[TATUS] LIBERATUS TARVIXI, and on the other S. MARCVS VENETI. This judicious concession to local sentiment was in harmony with the attitude which the Venetians thought it wise to maintain, as a rule, toward their dependencies. And had not they themselves

¹ Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 141.

known very well a time when *S. Marcus Veneti* on a chip of metal was welcomed with pride? At a later date, the same pieces and others, such as the *gazzetta* (worth two soldi), originally introduced in 1528, were issued for Dalmatia and Albania; and in course of time a similar principle was applied to the Morea, Candia, and Cyprus. Under the Doges Antonio Priuli and Gio. Cornaro (1618-23, 1625-31) pieces in copper for 15, 30, and 60 *torresi* were struck for Candia, and some of the coins in the same metal of the *gazzetta* type bear CANDIA on the face. Of Cyprus there seems to have been no regular independent currency during its occupation by the Republic or by Venetian rulers. But there is money of necessity for both possessions: one piece of 1570 during the siege of Famagusta, and one of 1650 struck during the defence of Canea by the Venetian commander. Both of these are in copper, and in fine preservation are highly desirable. Thus the Signory, in its money, as well as in its principles of government and in its laws, aimed at spreading, wherever the sword or diplomacy had opened the way, its name and its influence.

The employment of Occasional Money by the Republic in early days was extremely rare; and it was limited to three objects: siege-pieces, largesse distributed at the investiture or coronation of a Doge, and convention-money with certain Swiss cantons. In 1123 the want of some medium for paying the troops engaged in the Syrian war obliged, it is said, the Doge Domenico Michieli, who commanded there in person, to authorise the mintage of leathern money, impressed on one side with the figure of St. Mark, on the other with his own family arms. The incident of the loan to his allies, which had produced the drain on the Venetian finances, and the publication of this leathern siege-money, may be corroborated by the circumstance that the Michieli subsequently carried on their escutcheons, as a memorial of such a circumstance, a ducat of gold.¹ But the story belongs to a class which the judicious student treats with distrust.²

The fairly intimate commercial relations with Switzerland led at two different intervals to the issue of a special currency: in 1603 under a concordat with Graubünden, and in 1706 under one with Zürich and Berne. But both measures seem to have

¹ Dandolo, ix. 270.

² Compare Calogiera, *Spiegazione della moneta del Doge Domenico Michieli in Soria* with Lazari, *Le Monete dei possedimenti Veneziani*, 1851, p. 3.

been little more than experiments or essays, although of the piece of 1603 two varieties occur. Examples are rare, particularly those of 1706.

The money struck at Venice on ceremonial occasions, though principally at the investiture of a Doge or Dogressa, forms the subject of an interesting monograph by Giovanelli. That writer¹ commences his series with a Doge who reigned in the first moiety of the sixteenth century; but Antonio Grimani is so far from having been the earliest who distributed these tokens, denominated *Osele* or *Uccelle*, that in the revision of the coronation oath before his accession it is stipulated that, by reason of the difficulty experienced in having a proper supply to present to all the public officials at Christmas, a new piece of money equal to a quarter of a ducat shall be henceforth struck instead. This new regulation, however, did not interfere with the issue of oselle in all metals and double oselle by the Doge and (in two or three instances) by the Dogressa on their accession, or in memory of some notable incident in their reign. Thenceforward the custom was followed at intervals down to the very fall of the Republic. The Venetians had perhaps borrowed the idea from the ancients, who commonly struck money in commemoration of particular events, and allowed it to be current; and the practice soon grew familiar throughout the continent of Europe. To this category we ought, perhaps, to refer the 100-ducat piece in gold struck by the last of the Doges; it was what the French designate a *pièce de plaisir*.

But centuries prior to the *Osele* engraved by Giovanelli, a case is known in which a Doge resorted to this practice.² In 1173, before his coronation, it is averred that Sebastiano Ziani circulated among the people certain money stamped with his own name, and struck by his order for the express purpose on the preceding day. It is perhaps singular that, among the many resuscitations of mediæval curiosities, this largesse has not descended in the form of a unique specimen snatched from the ooze of the lagoons; but the circumstance itself is not unlikely.

With the fewest possible exceptions the money of the Republic bears no superficial evidence of the period of issue; but a certain chronological code, intelligible to the contemporary

¹ *Illustrazione delle medaglie denominate Osele*, folio, 1884. There is a later work on the same subject by Count Leonardo Manin, second edition, 1847.

² Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani*, p. 49.

authorities, is discerned in initials placed in the exergues of the coins of the later period.

The peculiar rarity of the earlier currency, especially in all its varied types, arising from its flimsy character or from the practice of constantly calling in light and defaced pieces, renders it something like an impossibility to form a consecutive series; and the assemblage of carefully engraved facsimiles published by Count Papadopoli is scarcely capable of being overrated.

In the estimation of not a few, one of the most useful features in the *Monete di Venezia*, by that writer, 1893-1900, is his Table of Commercial Values for all the coins in every metal from the earliest period. None of the prices rises to any very serious figure except here and there—perhaps a dozen instances, where from 200 to 400 *lire* are computed as the purchasing equivalent. The rarity of the gold ducats is immensely unequal, and that of Marino Faliero takes the lead at 400 *lire* or £16, while many are set down as procurable for 15 *lire*. The next to the Faliero ducat in appreciation is the *grosso* of Michele Morosini, reckoned as worth 200 *lire*. But in the excellent author's calculation state or condition does not apparently form an element, scarcity of occurrence holding the place of honour.

A piece of criticism, which applies to the entire series of currencies, is their liability, in chief measure at political and financial crises, to debasement of standard or artificial inflation of value, by order of the Executive. The pages of Count Papadopoli vividly reflect this normal feature of monetary economy; and again we meet here, as everywhere, with moments or intervals of severe tension, where foreign specie was temporarily suffered to pass at a stipulated tariff.

Another point worthy of commemoration is the fairly early resort at Venice to the practice of receiving back at the Mint at a valuation coins worn and defaced by use.

CHAPTER LVIII

Chamber of Loans—Loan of 1160—The *Monte-Vecchio* and *Monte-Nuovo*—The Funds—Division of opinion on the movement—Competition of investors abroad for places on the roll—Private banks—Profitable business in loans to foreigners—Bankrupt estates—Prohibition of fictitious partnerships—Bank of Venice—Principle of honouring drafts by owners of current accounts—Rent Rolls, 1365-1425—Value of house property and land—Large prices paid for mansions—Costly internal embellishments—Resources of Venice after the commencement of its decline.

ON the 4th June 1160 the Government borrowed of half a dozen merchants the sum of 150,000 silver marks.¹ From this transaction dated their origin the National Debt and the *Monte-Vecchio*, the latter the germ and foundation of the Bank of Venice. It was not till twelve or thirteen years later that a Chamber of Loans, with its staff of functionaries, was called into existence, and that the Funding System was made a branch of the political economy of the State. The confidence which was almost universally felt in the stability and good faith of Venice, encouraged an extensive resort to the *Monte-Vecchio* and afterward to the *Monte-Nuovo*. Foreign princes and capitalists of all nationalities deposited their money in the Funds as the securest investment which could be made; the right to hold Venetian scrip was a privilege which could not be obtained without legislative sanction; and the sums registered in 1428 represented an aggregate of 9,000,000 ducats of gold,² the interest upon which, paid half-yearly at Lady-day and Michaelmas, was 130,000 ducats. The subjoined table shews the fluctuations in the interest paid upon the debt during twelve years from 1386 to 1398:—

Year.	Amount.
1386	146,690 ducats.
1387	239,830 „
1388	228,180 „

¹ Romanin, iv. 94.

² Galliccioli, lib. i. c. 13. In twenty years from that time it had risen to thirteen millions.

Year.	Amount.
1389	220,870 ducata.
1390	211,480 "
1391	236,230 "
1392	218,000 "
1393	241,190 "
1394	193,589 "
1395	217,860 "
1396	197,310 "
1397	188,950 "
1398	195,500 ¹ "

Venice, even in the thirteenth century, was the favourite depository of any sums of money, of which the payment was awaiting the result of some negotiation or contingency. The marketable value of the Funds was liable to rapid variations. At one time (1440) they were as low as 18½. So far as can be ascertained they were never higher than 59, at which figure they stood during a few months in 1409; but before the end of the year they had sunk to 45. In 1425 they were again at 58. It can scarcely be matter of surprise that the fluctuations were so frequent and so violent, when each ship which entered the Lagoons brought tidings of the prospect of a new war with Milan or Hungary, or a report of a fresh revolution at Genoa or Bologna. Our astonishment must be rather that, at such an epoch and such a cycle of the world, any State should have succeeded even imperfectly in establishing a Funding system, and in imparting to it a moderate degree of equilibrium.

The loan of 1160² was under a bond, and was redeemable in eleven years; the security was a mortgage of the dues of the Rialto; and among the subscribers were the Doge himself and many of the leading mercantile houses. The rate of interest is not apparently specified; it seems to have been the first debt of the kind which was contracted. But twelve or thirteen years later new financial difficulties, arising from the lax and imperfect method of collecting the taxes, obliged a second resort to extraordinary expedients; and a bureau was established, entitled *Camera degl' Imprestidi*, under the superintendence of three *Camerlenghi del Commune*. This institution charged itself with the duty of raising a forced loan, amounting to 1 per cent on the estimated aggregate property of every individual liable to such a call. The Chamber kept a register of names and addresses and books of

¹ Galliccioli, *ubi supra*.

² The text of the document is printed *in extenso* in Sanudo, 497-9.

accounts, and engaged to pay 4 per cent half-yearly on the amount realised, till redemption became feasible.

The ancients had had their different modes of meeting public requirements and emergencies; but among the moderns these steps taken by Venice were perhaps the earliest recourse to that great and vital system of Funding, which became, at a later period, a recognised branch and feature of the political economy of nations. The circumstances which attended the transaction of 1160 present that system in its most rudimentary and experimental aspect. The whole question of Banking was then in its infancy and on its trial.

Many politicians looked askance at the principle. They were alike ignorant of its value, of its working, and of its peculiar function; and nothing, perhaps, was more remote from their intention than the imposition of a burden upon their posterity by the creation of a National Debt. The earliest subscribers to the Monte-Vecchio were not unwilling to receive their half-yearly dividends; but they were far more anxious, in all probability, to recover their advances. The latter was guaranteed to them on substantial security within a limited term; and the Fund was then doomed to extinction, until another emergency arose, and another public credit was taken by the Government. In an age when specie was not abundant, and in a country where the number of capitalists was comparatively small, it was barely likely that this new class of investment would meet with much favour, or so long as it remained optional would be largely embraced. Nor was it reasonable to anticipate that a merchant would deposit in the Treasury, at 4 per cent, money which was possibly yielding in the course of business quintuple returns. Hence it may have been that in 1173 resort was had to compulsory assessment. Yet we are to witness throughout the present history a constant, if not a relatively increasing, tendency to lean on private and voluntary subsidies in the presence of critical circumstances; and it may have been the inadequacy of the resources of the Doge and his fellow-patricians in 976, when a complication of burdens arose, which led to the levy of what seems to be regarded as the earliest tenth or tithe¹ as a special measure.

It gradually acquired the attribute of a concession for any foreigner to be admitted as a stockholder. It was a political

¹ Romanin, i. 253.

question, on which the Executive reserved the right of decision, even where the object was philanthropic. In 1376 the Bishop of Cremona, and in 1383 the Cardinal of Ravenna, solicited and obtained permission to hold 6000 and 12,000 ducats for the endowment of poor girls and the part-maintenance of the Studio of Padua respectively. A third instance occurs in 1386-7, when the Duchess of Milan invested by leave 100,000 ducats in the Funds; and in 1389-90 Don Manfredo di Saluzzo was allowed to invest 3000 ducats for purposes of poor relief. In the next century we find the great and unfortunate general Carmagnola placing the bulk of his fortune in Venetian securities.

Besides the official Chamber of Loans there were numerous Banks belonging to private individuals, including Jews, where money could be deposited or borrowed at interest. The rate was fixed by the Government, as well as the amount which might be advanced. In the case of two foreign Jews in 1389, the firm was required to put 4000 ducats into the business, and to limit its loans to 30; and persons of the Hebrew nationality were only admitted by special licence, and, as it were, till farther notice. The house just mentioned, that of De Vult, however, was one of modest pretensions and of small capital; and private banks of all classes had ever to contend against the public *Camera degl' Imprestidi*, which did business with persons all over the world to any amount, proper security being forthcoming. In 1397 15,000 ducats were lent to Henri and Jacques de Bourbon, great lords of France, on their undertaking not to quit Venice, till the sum was repaid. In 1398 the Commune of Perugia borrowed 5000 ducats. In 1399 the Duke of Norfolk effected with a Venetian merchant or banker a loan of 750 ducats, while he stayed in the city on his way to the Holy Land; but the Duke died at Venice; and probably his creditor never saw his money again, although a strong representation was addressed to the English Government on the subject.

Bankruptcy was, of course, a more or less frequent incidence of Venetian commercial life, and the arrangement of insolvent estates devolved on the *Consoli de' Mercatanti*. In 1355, October 15, it was resolved by the Pregadi that Ser Marino Baffo of Santa Maddalena, and Ser Marco Trevisano, bankers, having absconded with 20,000 ducats, be cried, and that whoever shall lead to their conviction, and deliver them into custody, shall have 550 *lire*. In 1390 the private bank of Ser Antonio Contarini failed, and was thus wound

up by order of the Council of Pregadi. It was among the domestic troubles and embarrassments of the Doge Foscari that the bank of Andrea Priuli, his father-in-law, suspended payment about 1440. In 1502 the general inconvenience produced by insolvencies led to the institution of the *Proveditori sopra Banchi*.

There is a highly curious provision in 1535,¹ by which no person engaged in business was at liberty to pose as forming one of a company or firm, or as having a partner, unless he could satisfy the authorities that there was absolute *bona fides*; and the names of the parties were to be registered in the proveditorial books, and to be communicated to all likely to be affected by the transactions of the said house. This piece of legislation was professedly aimed at a long-standing abuse.

The Bank of Venice underwent several developments and changes of nomenclature. It was successively known as the *Monte*, *Monte-Nuovo* (1580), *Monte-Novissimo* (1610), and *Banco del Giro* (1712). At the last-named date its statutes were revised, and additional facilities were afforded, agreeably to the more modern principles then beginning to gain acceptance, for keeping and paying private and other accounts side by side with adequate arrangements for the accommodation of customers in need of temporary advances, and for the investment of surplus capital at remunerative interest. The rate customarily paid for the use of money had been in the fourteenth century and later 20 per cent; but when the Bank was reconstituted in 1712, on a new and broader footing, it had probably fallen to half that amount.

The practice of framing Rent Rolls is named in a public document of 1207 as an established institution. In 1365 the Old Rent Roll or *Catastero Vecchio* had been rendered by the expansion of the national wealth obsolete and unserviceable, and in 1367 a fresh survey was authorised.

The *Catastero Nuovo* exhibited the results which follow:—

Ward.	No. of Parishes.	Total Rental in Gold Ducats.
San Marco . . .	16 . . .	799,180
Castello . . .	12 . . .	456,960
Canareggio . . .	12 . . .	485,230
San Polo . . .	8 . . .	490,270
Santa Croce . . .	9 . . .	281,280
Dorsoduro . . .	11 . . .	368,800

¹ *Statuta Veneta*, 1729, p. 142.

In this tabular statement a few trifling inaccuracies exist, which it is no longer possible to rectify. The correct total for the six Wards is 2,880,818 ducats of gold.¹

Another, perhaps the next, survey was made in 1425; and the roll of 1367 became in its turn the *Old Roll*. It is said² that the new survey exhibited a total of 3,253,042 ducats of gold, being in excess of the former by 372,224 ducats, and in 1469 the figures are given as 4,558,490 ducats.³

These statistics furnished the Government with the basis for an estimation of the rateable property of the city and State; but, unless many intervening records are lost, material changes necessarily occurred, almost from year to year, in the financial position of individuals; and, again, at Venice that peculiarly oligarchical spirit, which with the direction of affairs accepted many of the burdens of government rendered a descent to the lower scale of incomes or fortunes less imperative than it was, or was made to be, elsewhere. The reluctance to exact even the legitimate quota of taxation in the absence of necessity, or to press payment of dues to the State, formed part of the diplomatic tenderness toward the community at large which distinguished Venice, and conciliated the lower classes. But it had not always been so; for the old chronicler Marco tells us that the tax-gatherer in his time (thirteenth century) was nicknamed an *orso*, because he cuffed and struck those who would or could not pay. *Orso* might be either a bear or a paring tool.

Two circumstances, which supplied an indication of the growing prosperity of Venice at the close of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth century, were the increase in the population and the rising value of house property. It is supposed that, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the population of the whole Dogado, inclusively of persons in holy orders, did not exceed 70,000; but the difficulties which necessarily waited upon the verification of a census in a city, where the absentees were constantly numerous, warn us against the reception of this class of statistics in too exact or literal a sense. In 1336 the official returns shewed 40,100 males between twenty and sixty, representing by comparison with other tables an aggregate of nearly 150,000. In the last decade of that century the numbers fell little short of 200,000; and by a

¹ Romanin, iii. *Documenti*, No. 5, *Estima delle Case di Venezia nel 1367*, from the *Cronaca Magno*.

² Romanin, iv. 500.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 551.

census, taken in 1367, it is established that the heads of noble Houses in that year were no fewer than 204.

Occasional documentary glimpses are obtainable of earlier valuations at all events of land, and they offer the same powerful contrast to more modern figures as was almost universally the case, where fundamental changes have occurred in the demand for space. In 1031 the Veniero family sold a plot of ground in Chioggia for four denari. Probably it was a small one, for in 1088 they and certain coparceners obtained for another property five *libræ* of gold. But there was an antecedent time, when areas were allotted to settlers on a feudal basis for a more or less nominal service, and even in 1310 the Rosso family held of the Procurators of St. Mark a house in one of the most central thoroughfares—the Merceria—at a rent of fifteen ducats; but this was professedly a nominal rate under very special circumstances.

The mansions, which studded the Grand Canal and other leading thoroughfares, ultimately fetched enormous sums. The possessor of a more or less moderate fortune, the Doge Francesco Foscari was not, relatively speaking, a rich man; yet the house at San Pantaleone, in which the Doge lived before his accession to power, and also for a few days in October 1457, after his retirement, cost him 20,000 ducats. A large number of residences on or near the Rialto were estimated at 10,000 and 15,000 ducats, and 5000 or 6000 ducats was quite an ordinary figure. The house, which was purchased by the Commune so far back as 1348 for Jacopo da Carrara, grandfather of Francesco Novello, cost 5000 ducats. In 1413, among the rewards of Pandolfo Malatesta, Captain-General of Venice in the Hungarian War, was a dwelling, for which the Procurators of St. Mark paid 6000 ducats; and in 1429 the Palazzo Giustiniani at San Pantaleone was bought for the Lord of Mantua, ex-Captain-General of the Signory, for the sum of 6500 ducats. In the same year, the Government, desirous of doing honour to the Waiwode of Albania, a Venetian citizen, procured for him the house of the patrician Nicolo Morosini at an outlay of only D. 3000. The prices demanded for shops in the choicer and more fashionable localities at the same time were exorbitant. The smallest counter on the Rialto itself did not let for less than 100 ducats a year, and for the *Bell* Hotel at the Pescheria, with a frontage of little shops, the Sanudo family received annually 800 ducats. Tenements which, at the beginning of the

fourteenth century used to let for fifteen or twenty ducats, had become in the fifteenth worth, according to their situation and their proximity to the Ducal Residence, six, eight, ten, or even twelve times as much. In the more sumptuous of the private edifices in and about the Foscari period (1423-57), there were not unfrequently single apartments upon the decoration of which 800, 1000, or even 2000 ducats had been expended by the proprietor, principally in gilding, mosaic or other carving, marble, and glass.

In the presence of several political and national crises of the most acute and exhaustive character, where Venice was thrown during months on her own internal resources, and was left without an ally, it becomes highly necessary to inquire what enabled a city so situated to live, and, again, which is in a sense still more important and remarkable, to feed her people, and uphold her independence, during all that prolonged period, when her Eastern trade had shrunk to the slenderest proportions, and her grasp of the *terra firma* was immensely relaxed. Even when the Republic was no longer either what she shewed herself at the epoch of the fifth crusade, a maritime and commercial Power capable of contracting for the equipment of the expedition to the East and of governing its movements, or what she attained in two centuries forward—a first-rate European State with a ruling voice, which was audible far beyond the Italian frontier, the Venetian economic system rendered it possible to support a considerable population and a luxurious minority during centuries of political decadence.

Venice was almost to the last severely protectionist, and the city from its happy topographical site was a sort of reservoir, on the one hand, for an enormous amount of goods imported from various directions, and, on the other, the seat of numerous profitable manufactures. Imports and exports alike paid duty; a stringent excise guarded all points of ingress or egress; and even the members of the Craft-Gilds contributed a certain *quota* of their gains in addition to an entrance fee. Mention occurs elsewhere of the thousands of persons who derived a livelihood from the woollen trade, mainly through the large and continual demand by the staff of the Arsenal and by seafarers; and the Salt Office was at all times a source of revenue, which the State jealously guarded, and on which it could implicitly rely. In 1454 it was estimated that a tenth of the public income came

from this industry, on which the prætorian prefect Cassiodorus in the fifth century is already found felicitating the islanders as more precious than mines of gold and silver. The principle of taxing every object of ornament or use, and every article of consumption, was in harmony with the commercial ideas of the passed centuries; it recommended itself to the later Venetians by the peculiar nature of many of their home products which yielded a wide margin of emolument, and of which they were long enabled to keep the monopoly; and no effort or encouragement was spared to prevent industrial specialities from leaving the lagoons. The glass-trade in all its branches was alone a rich field for employment and gain. Altogether the internal resources of Venice, nearly down to the close, were, if deficient in the old amplitude and elasticity, by no means contemptible; and it was not the blame of the constitution, but of the natural course of external events, that the volume of trade decreased, and that with it the voice of the country dropped to a lower key. For, as in the naval department, all ships were for the common use, subject to certain necessary restrictions, of the Executive and of individuals, of war and commerce, so, while the days of monopoly lasted, and until the opening of the Cape of Good Hope route reduced the Mediterranean to secondary importance and value, the Venetian patricians shared with the Cittadinanza the advantages of practical business as merchants and bankers, while they were precluded by rigorous self-imposed checks and counter-checks from irregularly or mischievously interfering in a government, of which they were constitutionally hereditary members. Thus the more modern Venice, as it came under the notice of observers in the eighteenth century, had parted with the spirit and genius, which favouring conditions enabled it to rise to a height of power and glory almost without a parallel in history; but it still remained a self-supporting community on the old-fashioned commercial lines, and even in its declining strength and opulence occasionally, on a great emergency, or under some Mocenigo or Morosini, astonished the world by a momentary revival of its pristine vigour and heroism.

The elaborate measures which the Government concerted for the official supervision of the *Arts* or *Gilds* were akin to the entire system of paternal control. Those bodies were (as we have noted) under the jurisdiction of a department of the Executive, which kept registers (*mariegole*) of all names and

duplicate copies of the statutes. The ruling aims were to preserve the efficiency of the craft, and to prevent its *arcana* or secret methods of production from being divulged. The administrative committee of each Gild was qualified to make provision for the sick and aged, for widows and orphans, and for the admittance of new members; but all these steps were subject to the approval of the State. The latter exacted a *taglione* or poll-tax and an *ad valorem* commission on working profits.

This was therefore an appreciable element in the fiscal budget, when we consider the costly nature of many of the articles of luxury made by the Gilds; and it was, besides, an incidence of revenue to the end, helping to prop up the constitution, when certain other contributions began to fail. Taking the latter half of the sixteenth century, where we enter on the period of decline, the annual sale of silks alone represented half a million ducats, while in 1582 it was reckoned that there were not more than 187 beggars in Venice.

It was so in a far less important degree, as time progressed, with the income arising from Government loans to States and individuals, and with the amounts deposited by foreigners in the Funds. For both these sources of revenue were unfavourably affected by the competition of other markets, and by the political decline of Venice itself. The former inducement to invest here was the sense of security and the rate of interest.

The Republic, in short, when her wonderful fortune deserted her, fell back on her realised capital, her local industries, and her position as a general *entrepôt*.

We have to recollect, moreover, that the normal expenditure of the State itself, as distinguished from that incurred by private munificence, was comparatively moderate; the Civil List was kept within fairly frugal limits, and was carefully audited; there was no standing Army; and the Navy was so handled, as we see, that its cost to the country was minimised. Again, there was ever that prominent factor in all perilous junctures and moments of financial pressure, the devotion of the private citizen, who never failed, so long as the means existed, to bring his money or material of war to the Government as a free patriotic oblation; and if we must admit that outrageous sums were habitually spent on luxury and ostentation to the very end of the scene, we must also allow that such things tended to occupy and distract general attention, and to conciliate certain classes.

CHAPTER LIX

The Arts and Sciences—Geographical knowledge and discovery—Early Venetian and other travellers—Preparation of charts and maps—Map of Marino Sanudo Torsello (1306)—Planisphere of Andrea Bianco (1486)—Marco Polo and his relatives—Marco's checkered career—His return home about 1295—Graphic narrative of Ramusio—His misfortunes—Second return in 1301—Some account of Marino Sanudo—His important and interesting correspondence—His interview with the Pope—Apparent want of friendly relations between Sanudo and Polo—The Zeni—John and Sebastian Cabot—The collection of ancient charts in the Marciano—The Needle—Mathematics and mechanical sciences—The Lever—Medicine.

At Venice the arts and sciences were assiduously and affectionately cultivated. Those to which the Republic directed its attention with the greatest earnestness, perhaps, were astronomy and astrology, mathematics, trigonometry, chemistry, alchemy, physics and metaphysics. Some of these studies were of essential service in the mastery of geography and navigation.

Venice was one of a group of States which, in the divided condition of the Peninsula during many ages, contributed amid all kinds of political distractions and anxieties to foster the liberal arts, while it created its own schools of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and was one of the earliest possessors of an important public library. The union of Italy under one government is a modern necessity and benefit. But the days of noble and rich performance were those of many centres regally emulous of each other: societies where the fiercest passions and the darkest crimes went hand in hand with the most intense appreciation of beauty and the most perfect homage to Nature, where the god and the devil were so often blended in an individual, till local independence and local fame were at length thought worth bartering for general freedom and tranquillity.

The standard of geographical knowledge was not higher in any part of the world than here. The discoveries of the three Poli in Tartary, China, and the East Indies; of Marino Sanudo

detto Torsello, their contemporary, in Armenia, Palestine, and Egypt;¹ of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in Iceland, Norway, Greenland, and (as it is said) toward Labrador and Newfoundland;² of Cà da Mosto, on the African Continent; and of many others whose names and narratives have alike perished, were continually swelling the stock of information. The charts which were published at intervals helped importantly the same object; and the practical experiences of observant and more or less educated travellers tended to create two broad divisions or schools: the one which gave to the world the fruit of hearsay and guesswork, and the other, to which we owe the prototypes of our modern system of cartography. Some of the primitive *mappæ mundi*, executed in the cloister or in the study, or on the wall of a building, such as the map alleged to have been painted for Henry III. in Westminster Hall, seem to have no claims to authority; and when we have under our eyes a work performed by some scribe under the immediate dictation of a personage who had newly come from the regions, which he sought to describe and delineate, and who had brought in his hand sketches, even of a rough kind, made on the spot, to fortify his memory, we easily perceive the vital difference.

It is scarcely susceptible of doubt that, on his return from his travels in 1295, Marco Polo brought with him a plan more or less perfect and accurate of the latitudes which he had visited. In 1321,³ the scarcely less illustrious Sanudo presented to the reigning Pontiff his celebrated book *On the Faithful of the Cross*, with four maps.⁴

In 1351 a traveller, supposed from internal evidence to have been a Genoese, designed a chart of the Black Sea.⁵ The production is jejune and meagre enough, but it is valuable and interesting as the most ancient delineation of that region and littoral. The Doge Marino Faliero possessed among many other valuable curiosities, some of which had belonged to Marco Polo himself, a brazen *sphæra mundi*, which formerly belonged to Antonio, an astrologer; in 1357, a map of the world, per-

¹ See also Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 137; Placido Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani*, 1818, 2 vols., 4to.; Foscarini, p. 497, edit. 1854; and Morelli, *Operette*, ii.

² Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia, col scoprimento del Isola Frislande, etc., da due fratelli Zeni, col disegno*, 1558.

³ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii., Han., 1611.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Serristori, *Illustrazione di una Carta del Mar Nero*, A.D. 1351, Firenze, 1856, 8vo.

haps based on that of Sanudo, was made by Francesco and Domenigo Pizzagano of Venice;¹ and other contributions to nautical science appeared in 1368, 1380, 1426, 1436, and 1448.² The map of 1436, which proceeded from the pencil of Andrea Bianco of Venice, was the most perfect which had hitherto been seen. But not even the degrees of latitude were marked upon it. About the same time Bianco produced a Planisphere,³ which preceded by some years that which the celebrated Fra Mauro prepared by commission for Affonso IV. of Portugal, and which was transmitted to Lisbon in 1459.⁴ Some of the details are sufficiently grotesque, and the designs of men and places are primitively quaint. But on the whole it is executed with an elaborate skill and with a delicacy of manipulation which entitle Bianco to the warmest eulogy. It is easy to conceive that it procured the draughtsman no common applause.

The labours of modern geographical experts and specialists have somewhat contributed to overlay the state of the question as it remained down to comparatively recent times. The spirit of commercial enterprise among the Italian republics, especially Venice, indirectly fostered that of religious enthusiasm, when the reports were brought to Western Europe of the profanation of the holy places by the enemies of Christianity. These accounts, not a little exaggerated, found the feudal system and the principles of chivalry beginning to develop themselves in France and England; and an eager desire to redeem the Sepulchre and Palestine generally from the Mohammedan invaders not only actuated the soldier at home in offering his services, and embarking on the vessels hired from Venice and other maritime Powers, but set numerous persons at work in different parts of Europe to construct for information and curiosity charts of the region which the crusaders proposed to visit and liberate. These draughts were principally executed at second-hand in the closet or the cloister from report or from rough indications furnished by practical travellers deficient in literary and artistic skill. They range from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, and those which we possess must be regarded as only a salvage. As they emerge from mere speculative empiricism, they become interesting, as shewing the very gradual acquisition of any exact knowledge of

¹ Romanin, iii. 366.

² Morelli, *Viaggiatori Veneziani eruditi poco noti*; *Opere*, i.

³ Formaleoni, *Nautica antica de' Veneziani*, 1783, p. 16, et seq.

⁴ Foscarini, *Lett. Ven.*, 445, n. 2, ed. 1854.

localities; and their imperfection and poverty were aggravated and prolonged by the absence of capable cartographers to commit to paper the discoveries and communications of those who were acquainted with the ground, but were incompetent to delineate what their eyes had seen, and their note-books, after a while, began to record, as well as by the almost unavoidable want of concert among such few as then employed themselves in these inquiries.

The state of the case may be summed up by saying that the charts, *mappæ mundi*, planispheres, and *portolani* which survive in public libraries do not represent the full contemporary experience enjoyed by actual navigators and travellers, but as near an approach as rude draughtsmen could accomplish from intercourse with direct observers without culture and without due appreciation of the importance of accuracy. We do not even know, whether the map of Marino Sanudo was made by himself or by some one else better versed in such work, or, again, whether it was prepared prior or posterior to his return home in 1306. But he had personally, in common with his contemporary and countryman Marco Polo, studied the geography of many regions, and was a man of considerable literary ability; and if he was not an hydrographer, he was far better qualified than most explorers to direct the hand of another.

From the eighth century, at all events, a succession of pioneers, chiefly actuated by religious zeal or the spirit of adventure, but almost without exception illiterate, had contributed to build up a body of traditional and more or less vague information respecting distant localities, their features, and products. Even where they left narratives behind them, however, these necessarily survived in unique manuscript copies, usually prepared from the roughest memoranda or even from memory by third parties gifted with some share of clerical skill, and hidden in private repositories, where they were forgotten; and each individual started afresh, as it were, with the bare knowledge that certain regions presented objects of interest or advantage. One of the concluding paragraphs in the ordinary editions of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* (1322-56) tends to corroborate the view that the ancient charts which we possess from various sources were more or less habitually based on a study of the manuscript narratives brought home by travellers or drawn up by them from their notes on their return, which might leave the way open to

Discerned (in 1925) in the text?

many serious divergences from facts. An English edition of Mandeville of 1503 is for the first time accompanied by a map. Polo, who profited by the previous experiences of his father and uncles, had been preceded by others to some extent; but his labours and researches, occurring at a period when the world was beginning to awaken to an appreciation of the arts and industries of the Far East, and enhanced in value by his practical training, cultivated mind, and opulent circumstances, did more than those of any antecedent traveller from Europe to advance Western civilisation; and some of the mediæval Venetian customs, such as the notation of time by bells, suggest our indebtedness to his Oriental experiences.¹

Polo, after his return home in or about 1295, volunteered to fit out a galley at his own cost for the war against Genoa, and was taken prisoner in the disastrous battle of Curzola in 1298. Among his fellow-captives or visitors at Genoa was Rusticien de Pise, translator from Latin or Italian into French of the Arthurian romance of *Meliadus de Leonnois*. Rusticien took peculiar pleasure in the society of the Venetian; and at length he even went so far as to propose, as a means of beguiling the tedious hours, that his friend should dictate to him a methodical account of his travels in Tartary, China, and India. This proposition was accepted; the undigested memoranda, which Polo had left at his father's house at San Giovanni Grisostomo, were transmitted with the concurrence of the Genoese Executive from Venice; and the work was henceforth continued from day to day, until it was brought to completion. Polo lingered in captivity, mitigated by these circumstances, till 1301, and there was ample opportunity for making duplicate copies of the narrative; the original text was in French; translations into other languages were successively undertaken; an abridged version in the Venetian dialect appeared in 1496, and an English one in 1579; but no authentic Italian edition seems to have been produced prior to 1827. The French narrative is stated to have been circulating shortly after 1298; and we are informed that the author or his amanuensis presented a copy to the King of France.² It is said that copies were then already circulating among the curious. *The Travels* of the Great Venetian in the

¹ C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, 8vo, 1895, pays a high tribute to the geographical services of the Poli.

² Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 126.

Of the residence of Polo only the archway survives, the remainder having been destroyed by fire, nor is it known where he was buried, except that it may be conjectured that it was at San Lorenzo among his ancestors and immediate descendants.

Under the administration of seven Doges, and contemporary with Polo, a gentleman of ducal and tribunitial family dwelled at Venice in the street of San Severo Confessore, who was ennobled by his contributions to literature and science as well as by his extraction. His name was Marino Sanudo Torsello. He was one of the four sons of Marco Sanudo Torsello by his wife Maria;¹ his brothers were Filippo, Tommaso, and Giovanni; and it seems that he was connected by the ties of consanguinity with Nicolo, son of Guglielmo, son of Marco Sanudo, first duke of Andros,² and nephew of Arrigo Dandolo. It is surmised that the Sanudi and the Torselli, who were more anciently known as the Basaniti,³ had intermarried, and that thence arose the hereditary cognomen, which was common to all the children of Marco. The precise date of the birth of Marino has not been ascertained; but he was probably the junior of Polo by some years; and the event may be assigned without the chance of serious error to 1260. From his youth an ardent enthusiasm for the diminution of Turkish preponderance shared with a thirst for geographical discovery his time and attention. The rank, talents, and affluent circumstances of the Venetian gradually procured for him the acquaintance and esteem of many distinguished personages of the age, and of more than one crowned Head; and of his access to the French Court he unceasingly availed himself to urge the organisation of a fresh crusade against the Osmanlis. If his counsel had been followed, the destiny of Europe might have been changed, and neither Nicopolis nor Lepanto would have been fought.

In an undated memorial to the King of France⁴ written in French, and assignable to 1321, Sanudo demonstrates that it will only cost his Majesty or Christendom ten galleys, carrying 2500

¹ SEPULTURA D. MARCI SANUDO TORSELLO ET
D. MARIE UXORIS EJUS ET HEREDVM DE CON-
FINIO S SEVERI IN QVA REQUIESCIT JOAN-
NES FRATE EORVM FILIVS. CVJVS ANIMA
REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN. ORATE PRO EO.

The foregoing inscription is reported by Agostini, i. 441.

² *Epistola M. Sanudi Torselli; Gesta Dei per Francos, passim.*

³ Andrea Dandolo, lib. vii. p. 156.

⁴ *Ramembranze a la Royale Maisté faite humblement et devotement par Marin Sanud, dict Torzel, de Venise, etc.—Gesta Dei per Francos, ii. 5.*

men, 300 horse, and 1000 infantry to guard Armenia.¹ He recommends him to seek the concurrence of the Pope and the friendship of the Venetians, and to appoint some competent person Captain of the Host; and if he does these things, he makes no doubt that other European Powers will co-operate.²

Like the majority of Venetians, Sanudo was a citizen of the world. The greater part of his active and useful life was spent in foreign countries. His travels, which were chiefly prosecuted between 1300 and 1320, extended over the whole coast of the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Holy Land, Armenia, and Arabia Felix. In one passage which, it must be premised, is not free from the suspicion of being an interpolation in the MS.³ he speaks of the smaller Islands lying about England, Scotland, and Ireland, "the names of which are unknown to me"; and it is clear at least that he is not to be understood to have visited personally the northern latitudes, but simply to be quoting some other traveller, who may have forestalled even the Normans⁴ in their discovery of Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland.

In March 1306-7 we find Sanudo at home, in the street of San Severo in Rialto; he had returned from some of his Oriental voyages; and in that year and month⁵ he began to commit to writing the fruits of his labour and experience. The first Book only of the Work so celebrated as *The Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross* was finished at that time and place. In this division,⁶ which comprises five parts, he exhibits the method by which, in his opinion, it was possible to compass the destruction of the infidels; and in fact it is nothing more than the Memorial subsequently sent to Paris in a more elaborate form. The second book of the Secrets, composed at Chiarenza in 1312⁷ and 1313,

¹ In another place he says: "If any one were to ask me, how many men, etc., I answer reverently, I, Marinus Sanutus, dictus Torsellus, that with 300 horse, 1000 foot, and 10 galleys, well armed, not only Armenia, but Romanis itself could be protected."—*G. D. per F.*, p. 7.

² "Et si vostre haulte Seigneurie faict ceste chose, je ne doubte pas, avec layde de Dieu, que le Roy Robert, le Roy Frederic de Secille, et l'Empereur de Constantinople, seront obeissants a vous en toutes choses, qui seront raisonnables."

³ *Secreta*, p. 287.

⁴ Rafn, *Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands*, 1854.

⁵ "Anno a nativitate D. N. J. C. 1306, mense Martii, inceptum est hoc opus, quod per Dei gratiam Marinus Sanudo aliter dictus Torsellus, filius D. Marci Sanudo," etc.—*Secreta*, p. 21.

⁶ "Incipit Liber Primus Operis Terræ Sanctæ, continens dispositionem ac præparationem ad Terram Sanctam recuperandum."

⁷ *Secreta*, p. 34. "I began to write it in the month of December 1312 at Chiarenza.

enters into statistical and arithmetical detail touching the recovery of Palestine; his estimates for manning and victualling fleets and armies are curious, but rather prolix; and he lays peculiar stress on the preparatory conquest of Armenia. Of the third and concluding section, which is devoted to a speculation on the means of preserving the Holy Places, when they should have been won back,¹ and which is partly occupied by genealogical trees of Noah and other not less extraneous topics, the chronology is obscure; but it was certainly posterior to 1324, and as certainly antecedent to 1326 when, in a letter to the Duke of Lorraine,² he expressly says: "Your Highness must be aware that from my *infancy* I have (neglecting all other business) devoted myself to the advancement of the glory of Christ, to the service of the Faithful, and to the extinction of the Pagans; and in order that my labours might be made known to Kings and Princes, and might not pass into oblivion, I have digested into one volume the work of which the title is *Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, being not only for the preservation of the Faithful, but for the conversion or annihilation of the Misbelievers, and for the safe holding of the Holy Land and many other countries."³ That book I have presented to our Lord the Pontiff, to the Kings of France, England, and Sicily, to the Cardinals and many other Prelates, to the Count of Hanover, and to several of the French Counts (including the Comte de Cleremont); and seeing that your progenitors, in whose happy footsteps you are beginning to tread, strenuously bestirred themselves in the affairs of the Holy Land. . . . I send you with these presents the Prologue, Rubrics, and Chapters of the aforesaid book, and some other matters. I am ready to transmit to you the whole work, with the maps of the world, should you express a desire to possess it." Of such a performance, exhibiting his skill at once as an hydrographer and geographer, the author had just cause to be proud. It was welcomed with applause; and by competent judges it was warmly approved. Sanudo must be allowed to speak once more for himself:⁴—

"On the 24th September 1321 I, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, of Venice, had an audience of the Pope, to whose

¹ "Incipit Liber Tertius ejusdem Operis, continens infallibilem et veram doctrinam conservandi ac tenendi ac possidendi Sanctam Terram Promissionia."

² *Letters*, No. 14. *G. D. per F.* ii. 308.

³ "Et tenendam Terram Sanctam et alias multas terras."—*Epist. ubi suprad.*

⁴ *Secreta*, p. 1 *et seq.*

Holiness I presented two books on the recovery and preservation of the Holy Land, one of which was bound in red, and the other in yellow. I presented to the same four maps, the first being of the Mediterranean, the second of the Sea and the *terra firma*, the third of the Holy Land, and the fourth of Egypt. The Father benignly accepted all these things; and he ordered some of the Prologue, some of the Rubrics, and other portions besides, to be read in my presence. From time to time he put questions to me, which I answered. At length he said, 'I wish to have these books examined'; to which I replied, that 'I should be very happy, provided that the persons were trustworthy.' 'Have no doubt of that,' he rejoined. He then sent for the under-mentioned Frati: Fra Boentio di Asti, of the Order of Preachers, Vicar of Armenia; Fra Jacopo de Cammerino, a Minorite, who wears a beard, and who had come to the See on behalf of his brethren in Persia; Fra Matteo of Cyprus, and Fra Paolino of Venice;¹ and he gave them the volume bound in yellow, and desired them to look into it, and to report to him their opinion. The said Frati hereupon withdrew into the house of Fra Paolino, and diligently and faithfully investigated the Book; and they were unanimous in its favour. On the thirtieth day after the commencement of the examination—it was on a Saturday evening—he (the Pope), who was most affable to me, inquired of the Frati repeatedly, when we were together, whether they were of accord; and they assured him that they were. Other remarks were made on both sides. At last the Pope observed: 'The hour is late; you will be so good as to leave the report in writing with me, and I will inspect it, and afterward send for you.' And so," concludes Sanudo, "the book and the report remained in his possession."

The letters of this benevolent and enlightened Venetian, of which all that are known, being two-and-twenty, were printed as a supplement to the *Secreta* in 1611,² abound with interest-

¹ This was perhaps the same who wrote the Treatise *De Recto Regimine*, dedicated to the Duke of Candia in 1313, or the following year, and who owned a glass-work in Rialto as late as 1321.

² *Secreta*, 289-316. (i.) To the Pope John XXII., Dec. 1324. (ii.) To the Cardinals. (iii.) To the Archbishop of Capua, Chancellor of Sicily. (iv.) To the Bishop of Nismes. (v.) Ad diversos. (vi.) To Leo, King of Armenia. (vii.) To And. Palaeologos, Emp. of Constantinople. (viii.) To the Bishop of Caiaphas. (ix.) To And. Palaeologos, Emp. of Constantinople. (x.) To Stefanos Simpolos, Turcoman of the same. (xi.) To the Archbishop of Capua. (xii.) To And. Palaeologos. (xiii.) To Stefanos Simpolos. (xiv.) To the Duke of Lorraine. (xv.) To the Archbishop of Ravenna. (xvi.) Ad diversos. (xvii.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xviii.)

ing matter, and occasionally contain curious scraps of gossip. They purport to have been written at Venice, and range in date from December 1324 to October 1329. It is obvious that they represent only a fragment of his correspondence.

There is no more remarkable fact connected with the life of the Author of the *Secreta* than the circumstance that he does not seem either to have been personally known to Marco Polo, who was living in a street adjoining San Severo after 1301, or to have inspected any of the numerous transcripts of the Voyages in Tartary, China, and Thibet, which appear to have been circulating in Europe prior to 1300. In those parts of his own narrative, where he has occasion to treat more or less at large of the latitudes visited by Polo, Sanudo, overlooking the more recent authority, falls back on preceding and probably far less accurate observers; nor is Polo among those who are mentioned as recipients of presentation-copies of the *Secreta*.¹ It is as curious as it is perhaps regrettable that our early European travellers and geographers worked independently and left to a distant posterity the sometimes difficult task of collating and reconciling their accounts. The impediments to intercourse might often be the source of this phenomenon; and men, who wandered thousands of miles from their homes in quest of knowledge, grudged the labour of comparing notes with co-operators residing not in a neighbouring country, but in a neighbouring street in the same city. There is no apparent evidence that Polo and Sanudo ever exchanged views, or were acquainted with each other; and the general apathy in respect to such matters down to the present century is too clearly established by the want of any complete and authentic Italian version of Polo till 1847 and the burial of the excessively important and fascinating narrative of his fellow-countryman and contemporary in an illegible Latin folio.

The fortunes of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, brothers of the greater Carlo, were remarkable. After the War of Chioggia, the former equipped a vessel, and embarked on a voyage of discovery round the French and English coasts. But, having been over-

To the Archbishop of Capua. (xix.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xx.) To the Archbishop of Capua et alterum. (xxi.) To Pietro de la Via, the Pope's nephew. (xxii.) Ad anonimum.

¹ Pier Angelo Zeno, in his *Memorie de' Veneti Scrittori Patrizi*, 1662, attributes to Torsello, besides his *Secreta* and a *Book of Letters*, a *History of the Morea*.

taken by a tempest, he was thrown upon one of the Shetland Isles, where he was hospitably received by Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and the Faroes.¹ Sinclair invited his guest to remain with him; and the Venetian was subsequently joined by his brother. Antonio, however, did not long outlive his arrival in Shetland. After his death, Nicolo remained in the service of the Earl, and treading in the footsteps of the Norman pioneers, he (as we are asked to believe) extended his explorations westward so far as Newfoundland. Zeno is said to have seen Iceland and Greenland, and to have touched the eastern point of Labrador. It was in the winter season that he reached Newfoundland (*Terra-Nuova*), according to the account printed in 1558; and in the spring he had proposed to pursue his travels. But his crew mutinied, and he was obliged to abandon his plan. A chart of the route which Nicolo Zeno took was prepared by the two brothers, in all likelihood before their departure; and so recently as the sixteenth century, at least, this relic was in existence. In 1558 it was published by Caterino Zeno as an appendix to his own *Travels in Persia*, and it bears date 1380.

The tendency of modern geographical research, however, has been to throw discredit on the posthumous narrative of the achievements of the Zeni, so far as a title to the distinction of having ascertained the existence of land in the direction of the North American continent is concerned.² The details purport to have been derived from family papers; and, seeing the uncertainty of much that is even yet advanced on this subject, it may be premature and unjust to characterise and dismiss the particulars first published so long after the events as fabrications. On the contrary, considering that the explorers started from Shetland under the auspices of Sinclair, who figures in the sixteenth century text as *Prince Zimchni*, that they belonged to a particularly adventurous family, and that the volume was brought out presumably under the eye of a descendant, himself a distinguished traveller, it is quite probable that they may have approached the region in question.

The real fact seems to be, that the merit of the Portuguese and Spaniards themselves has been equally misunderstood and overstated, inasmuch as the existence of a new continent, although it

¹ Caterino Zeno, *Dello Scoprimiento del Isolo Frislande, etc., da due Fratelli Zeni* (at the end of the *Viaggi in Persia*, 1558, 8vo).

² O. R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 1898, p. 28.

was not actually ascertained, or the scanty anterior knowledge of such a thing had been lost, the tradition as to the acquaintance of navigators with such a thing centuries before Columbus could hardly have perished, and whatever honour is due to the Zeni is probably due to them merely in the same kind of suggestive and contributory measure.

With the careers and fortunes of John and Sebastian Cabot Venice has no more than an indirect concern. The former had settled at Chioggia at least as early as 1461, and in 1476, having fulfilled the prescribed term of fifteen years' continuous residence received letters of naturalisation, which placed him on a footing of equality with other citizens of the Republic at home and abroad (*de intra et extra*). But the elder Cabot, to whom it now seems that we should ascribe the chief part of the honour due to the geographical services of father and son, was a Genoese by birth, while Sebastian is generally thought to have been a native of Bristol. Except, therefore, the political interest and importance attached to the explorations of the Cabots, they hardly enter into the category of Venetian heroes and benefactors beyond the initial fact that the father was a naturalised subject of the Signory, when he first comes under notice; and indeed from a Venetian standpoint he was immediately instrumental in one of the revelations, which dealt a fatal blow to the commercial welfare and national vitality of the land of his adoption.

It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Republic was imperfectly sensible of the vast and permanent bearings of the labours of such men as the elder Cabot and Columbus, or, at a point of time, when money was far more abundant at Venice than at London or Madrid or Lisbon, a monopoly of both at any cost would, it is natural to suppose from the habitual generosity and foresight of the Government, have been secured. A protracted correspondence and inquiry indeed took place; but in this case the Venetians permitted themselves to be no more than parties, where they should have been principals; and when it was too late to repair the capital error, as we take it to have been—down to 1551 or thereabout—the matter was yet under discussion. What Venice ought to have done was to be foremost in planting stations and depôts, not to waste precious years in writing letters and considering reports. The efforts of Charles V. of Spain in 1553 to regain the services of the younger Cabot were a tribute to his geographical and

nautical value. But there were of course serious difficulties and complications, arising from other foremost Powers beginning more correctly to appreciate the advantages of trade and from the opportunity supplied by geographical enterprise of carrying it on with facilities so vastly increased.

Gasparo Contarini, one of the most capable of Venetian diplomatists, who afterward performed excellent service in the difficult negotiations with Charles V. and other princes during the trouble succeeding the battle of Pavia in 1525, was employed by his Government to treat with the younger Cabot; and we find Contarini writing home on the 31st December 1522, from Valladolid, to report progress and furnish particulars of a conversation which had just then taken place between them. Cabot professed every sort of devotion to the Republic, and mentioned that he had already told the ambassadors of the most serene Signory in England how anxious he was, for the love which he bore to the country of his birth (Venice), to do what he could for it in regard to the newly discovered lands. His interviewer had some gentlemen to dine with him, and brought the meeting to a close for the moment, letting Cabot understand that he was in possession of all the facts of the case, so far as it had gone. They met again on the same night, and remained closeted together for some time, the navigator supplying Contarini with an outline of his life and career, including his experiences in England and conferences with Wolsey. He spoke of a talk which he had had there with Francesco Sebastiano Colonna, a Venetian, who said to him: "Messer Sebastiano, you are doing great things to benefit other countries: do you not remember your own? Would it not be possible that it might derive some good from you?" Cabot, according to Contarini, was equally communicative and, so far as words went, patriotic; but nothing came of it, although Cabot declared his readiness to proceed to Venice, wait on the Signory, and if they could not agree, come back, all at his own expense. It is manifest enough that, when Contarini saw him, he had already been bought by Spain. He merely signified to the envoy that he had recently devised some new method of ascertaining by the compass the distance between two points from east to west.

The small folio volume, in which the planisphere of Andrea Bianco (1436) is preserved, belongs to the Marciano. It contains eight other drawings which merit a passing notice. There were

originally in all probability as many as thirteen charts in the collection; but the first, second, and fifth have disappeared, and the last is nothing more than an illustration of the Geography of Ptolemy.¹

The first chart in the present order, or No. 3, consists merely of a series of mathematical designs, demonstrating the laws of the winds and the phenomena of the tides, with a catalogue of instructions to navigators, and a table for measuring distances at sea.

No. 4 represents with striking precision and accuracy the Euxine, the Crimea, the Sea of Azoph, and the adjacent parts. No. 6 is devoted to the eastern section of the Mediterranean, and includes the Archipelago. In No. 7 and No. 8 the remaining sections of that sea are given. No. 9 exhibits the shores of France and Germany, and comprehends the Scottish and Irish littorals. In No. 10 we see the Baltic, the Gulf of Bothnia, Norway, Iceland, Friesland, and (under the name of *Stockfish* conjecturally) Newfoundland. No. 11 is simply the reproduction of some of its predecessors in miniature; and lastly, at No. 12 we find the Planisphere of Bianco.² In the Ambrosian library at Milan is the later planisphere executed by Bianco in 1448.³ It has been suggested that all these productions are founded on anterior prototypes no longer known.

It may be worth noting that in the fire at the palace in 1479 a *mappa mundi* executed by an ecclesiastic perished, and that in 1509 there was, for the use of the Government and councils, a map of Italy (doubtless on a large scale) painted on one of the walls of the Senate house.

From the sixteenth century onward dated the series of collections of maps and plans in book form for general information and guidance. The oldest which we have seen is a volume, apparently issued in separate sheets, some of which bear the date of 1571, and comprising nearly ninety charts, and views of countries, districts, and fortified positions, almost exclusively in the Venetian territories, but including Africa on the one hand and England, Scotland, and Ireland on the other. America does not occur.⁴

¹ Formaleoni, *Illustrazione di due carte antiche nella biblioteca di San Marco*, 1788; Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani*, 1818.

² Formaleoni, *ubi suprà*.

³ The planispheres of 1436-48 have been reproduced in facsimile at Venice, 1871-81, obl. 4to.

⁴ *Isole, Famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla serma signoria di Venetia e ad altri Principi Christiani, e al Sig^{or} Turco, nouamēte poste in luce*. In Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, obl. 4to (1571). 86 maps and plans.

No School of Navigation appears to have been in existence, at least under official patronage and supervision, till one was founded in 1683; and at that time captains of vessels were recommended not to accept as able seamen any who had not undergone an apprenticeship or training; but it was thought a good plan to draft on board in subordinate capacities at half-pay any strong young fellows who had no employment at home, and were an encumbrance on their relatives or their parish.

It is indisputable that the mediæval Venetians were conversant with the polarity of the needle, and it is even probable that they were aware of its liability to declination. In a monograph on *Antient Marine*,¹ the author justly ridicules and ably confutes the superficial prejudice respecting the insignificance of the old Venetian Navy, and he claims for his countrymen with some reason not only the honour of having been the first to apply trigonometry to nautical science, but of having developed the theory of tangents and the decimal division of the radius. Sanudo the Elder confidently speaks of the compass as in use in his day. It is an ascertained fact that the Venetians, in and before the thirteenth century, employed a chart of Navigation, and were acquainted with a fixed system (*Martelojo*) of sailing tactics; and it seems to be one of those points which are self-evident, that a people who visited Egypt, the Euxine, and even the Sea of Azoph, so far back as the ninth century, could not have remained ignorant till the twelfth or thirteenth of the properties of the magnet.

The mechanical sciences were principally directed to hydraulic purposes, to the manufacture of clocks, and to the development of the powers of the Lever; and the Republic, notoriously liberal toward those who had it in their power to serve her in some important direction, naturally enjoyed the refusal of many valuable improvements in naval and military mathematics. Even Leonardo da Vinci, better known to us to-day as a painter than as a mechanical engineer, tendered his services, and had some of his experiments tried at Venice; and it is far from improbable that he was concerned in the introduction of the floating batteries employed by the Republic on the Po about 1480.

The knowledge of the Lever was introduced by the Lombard

¹ Formaleoni, *Saggio*, 1783. Nicolas, in his *History of the English Navy*, i., cites passages from two poems of the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which the loadstone is mentioned.

Barattiero, who (1173-78) was invited to superintend various works of drainage and architectural improvement, and who, at his own suggestion, performed the feat of raising on the Piazza of Saint Mark the two monoliths subsequently so notorious as the Red Columns. There can be no hesitation in concluding that the Venetians themselves soon successfully exerted their imitative talents in emulating the ingenuity of the stranger; nor is it easy to believe that so great a commercial people remained long in ignorance of the use of cranes. In connection with the internal improvements under the Doge Soranzo (1312-28) we have referred to the erection of windmills in various parts of the city and its environs.

The study of Medicine, though confined to a limited class, was diligently prosecuted. It almost formed one of the occult sciences. Its professors occupied a high social position, and enjoyed many rare privileges. They were lightly taxed. They carried themselves like lords. They were permitted to dress themselves as they pleased,¹ and to wear as many rings on their fingers as suited their taste. They were at liberty to order of their tailor pantaloons of Alexandrian velvet, to use white silk stockings and shoes of morocco leather, with gold buckles and jewelled points, to trim their coat-sleeves with Valenciennes lace, and cover the garment itself with rich brocade, and to buy hat and gloves in keeping. If the individual was skilful, he was handsomely remunerated; if he proved himself a quack, he was not allowed to practise. No sumptuary law touched the Doctor. No luxuries were denied to him. The best March wine and the maraschino of Zara were to be seen at his table. There was no dainty which he could not command. He was in a position to eat his dinner with a double-pronged fork. The names have been preserved of the physicians who attended Paolo Sarpi and the Doges Giovanni Bembo and Marco Foscarini. During a visitation of the plague in the sixteenth century, a preference was given to the local practitioners over those of Padua.

The Republic originally retained in her pay twelve general practitioners and twelve surgeons, at a salary of twelve lire grosse each or 120 ducats (1324). In 1310, if not earlier, a free residence was assigned to these functionaries at the Office of the Chamberlain of the Commune; and it was shortly after that

¹ *Legge sul lusso*, May 21, 1360, *Avogaria di Comune*; Romanin, iii. *Documenti*, 6.

a college of Physicians was instituted, followed in 1368 by an Academy of Medicine. At this important and learned Society monthly meetings were appointed, at which all professional persons were invited to be present, and to lay on the table, or deliver orally, reports of all the remarkable cases which had come under their notice since the previous assembly. The examination of medical students was confided to the new Academy, which seems to have wholly superseded the old Hall of Physicians, established earlier in the century; and any foreigner, who might be desirous of practising at Venice, applied to it for his diploma. At San Giovanni dall' Orio was a School of Anatomy; and at San Giovanni Bragola, the College of the Liberal and Physical Sciences, upon which in 1470 Pope Paul III. (Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, and a native of the parish) conferred the privileges of an University.¹ In the Provinces of the *terra firma*, and wherever the Venetians extended their beneficent and humanising sway, institutions similar to these, and endowed for the most part with similar privileges, were founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²

Of the philanthropic surgeon Gualtieri and his parent Physic Garden of 1334 mention has been made elsewhere. The trade of the apothecary comes to the surface in 1379, when Marco Cicogna, a member of that vocation, qualified himself for the Great Council by his patriotic sacrifices during the Chioggian crisis.

It was prescribed to physicians at an early period that, where an illness was deemed serious, the patient should be forewarned, that he might take testamentary and spiritual precautions.

¹ Romanin, iv. 500.

² At Zara, so early as 1409. See Romanin, iv. 500-1, note 5.

CHAPTER LX

System of Education—University of Padua—Its Curriculum—Galileo—His generous and enlightened treatment by the Republic—Paduan students—English professors—Columbus a pupil—The sons of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, educated here—Dialect—Families—Nomenclature.

THE system of education, which ascends to the Gothic era, when from slight documentary references we augur the institution of schools and schoolmasters, consisted of three divisions: the seminary, the finishing-school, and the university. There were pedagogues to whom boys were sent when they had learned their alphabet and christ-cross-row at home, to acquire a knowledge of arithmetic, grammar, writing, and psalmody, as well as, if the pupil was of a good family, an elementary acquaintance with the classica. Such was the master who taught little Carlo Zeno his first lessons in Latin and Greek, and who put into his hands the Book of David the King, which delighted the child so much. There were other masters, generally barristers or advocates of standing, who undertook to prepare the sons of the nobility for college, and who initiated them in the principles of law and jurisprudence, without which the education of no Venetian gentleman was deemed complete. Such was that Riccardo Malhombra, who directed the studies of Petrarch's friend, the Doge Andrea Dandolo; but that very distinguished man also acquired a proficiency in French. In the following century, Giorgio Alessandrino and Benedetto Brognolo prepared students for the bar, and gave lectures at the public expense on forensic eloquence, as well as on poetry.

Judging from a work on arithmetic, printed at Florence in 1491, and nearly the earliest of its kind,¹ it was part of the training, at all events in schools intended for the education of the mercantile classes, to qualify pupils to calculate the value of

¹ *De Arithmetica opusculum*, Firenze, 1491, 8vo. But earlier works on arithmetic had been already published at Venice.

money, and to reduce higher denominations to lower, or *vice versa*. The science of book-keeping among the early Venetians was hampered by the complex character of the currency and the acceptance of that of nearly every other country either at par or at a discount.

The Venetian dialect, in which Mr. Theodore Bent, in his able paper on the Estradiots, finds many proofs of Hellenic influence and descent, was remarkable for its habit of eliding or rejecting the terminal syllable in proper nouns, as well as for other more arbitrary modifications of Italian forms. A name mournfully famous passed through the stages of Faletrus, Faledro, Faliero, Falier. But in another case, as in *tafora*, a metaphor from the Greek *μεταφορά*, the first syllable in lieu of the concluding one was sacrificed to the exigencies of pronunciation. Shakespear's *Iago* is Venetian patois for Jacopo.

During the mediæval time, while the men of culture were developing by selection and adaptation a language which was to become the Italian tongue, and while at Venice this was being adopted subject to local influences and colouring among the better classes, those to whom education was unknown probably expressed themselves in a jargon which would have puzzled even Petrarch and Boccaccio on their occasional visits, and which stood at as great a distance from modern Italian as it did from the idiom which Cicero employed. The spoken language of the Republic, in common with that of the rest of Italy, was strengthened and enriched by her intercourse with the Goths and the Franks. The invader blighted with one hand, and fertilised with the other. Of the freedom and property of the Italians he took as much as they had to lose of either; while he communicated to them his speech, his arts, his institutions, and his sentiments.

The makers of Italian borrowed from the right and the left, and imported into their work material from all available sources, as the Greeks and Romans had done before, and as the English have done since. Of the composite structure, which thus grew up into what the revivers of learning found it, the Venetian was a provincial dialect, more Hellenic in its phraseology, more quaintly attractive perhaps to the ear, but more Teutonic in some of its inflections, and to the grammarian less acceptable than the purer and softer forms heard on the Arno and the Tiber.

Perhaps sufficient stress has not been usually laid on the historical value of the archaic forms of the names of places and persons, and in yielding a preference for what is most familiar,

we are apt to lose sight of the nomenclature which was employed by the very people themselves whom we have made it our business to describe, and which carries on the surface its origin and its meaning. The locality, which the Italians call Chioggia and the Venetians Chioza, was known in the Middle Ages as Clugia. Caput Aggeris is lost to us superficially (as it were) in Cavarzero. Nor do we at once recognise in Malipiero the transition from Magister Petrus and Mastropiero. A Venetian boatman called his son his *fiol*, and he would have referred to the Doge Pietro Polani as Ser Pier Boldu. But with this philological argument an historian can only deal in an incidental way; some uniform standard is essential in a homogeneous narrative; and those forms which are generally intelligible are to be preferred on a whole to such as are less corrupt, yet more obscure. As was equally the case everywhere else, the nomenclature long remained unsettled and capricious, and in certain public documents and on some coins the text is found to be a medley of Latin and the vernacular.

It was the genius and attribute of the latter to transform names and terms in a manner and to an extent which sometimes appear strange and capricious. For instance—

Agostino	became	Agustin
Aloysio	"	Alvigi or Luigi
Angelo	"	Anzolo
Badoario	"	Badoer
Basilio	"	Baseio
Dominico	"	Domenigo
Donato	"	Donado and Donà
Enrico	"	Arrigo
Ermolao	"	Almoro
Giovanni	"	Zuan
Giulietta	"	Zulietta
Giustiniani	"	Zustignan
Græco	"	Gritti
Leonardo	"	Lunardo
Maestro-Piero	"	Malipiero
Navagiero	"	Navajer
Orseolo	"	Rusolo
Polani	"	Boldu
Sanuto	"	Sanudo and Zanutti
Tagliapietra	"	Tajapiera
Teodoro	"	Todero
Theofilo	"	Fiofio
Vittorio	"	Vettore
Zeno	"	Zen.

For Avvocato	the Venetians used	Avogador
" Ambasciatore	" "	Ambassador
" Capitale	" "	Cavedal
" Capo	" "	Chao
" Cariso	" "	Cargo
" Fuoco	" "	Fuogo
" Gemelle	" "	Zimole
" Guerra	" "	Vera
" Giudecca	" "	Zecca
" Giunta	" "	Zonta
" Laudare	" "	Lodiare
" Lito (<i>Littus</i>)	" "	Lido
" Mathemaucus	" "	Malamocco
" Maggiore Consiglio	" "	Mazor Conseio
" Matricula	" "	Mariegola [?]
" Monsignore il Doge	" "	Messer lo Dose (or Doxe)
" Nepote	" "	Nibode
" Notario	" "	Nodaro
" Proveditore	" "	Provedador
" Signore	" "	Ser (sometimes Si'or)
" Suo	" "	So
" Torricella	" "	Dorasel
" Traffico	" "	Trafego
" Uccella	" "	Osella
" Venezia	" "	Venexia or Vinegia

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Agostino, S. Eustachio, and Ascensione almost disappear in Zanipolo, S. Stin, S. Stae, and Sensa. But certainly the great printer Theobaldo Manutio can scarcely be traced in Aldo. The familiar British *Ditto* is nothing more than the *Detto* of Venetian invoices and bills of exchange; and *el paron* stood for *il padrone*, which seems to have been an eighteenth-century colloquialism for "the governor."

In the comparatively early decree, by which it was ordered that all legal and legislative proceedings should be conducted in the *Venetian tongue*, the solicitude of the Republic was apparent not only to remove the inconvenience of a Low Latin vocabulary, but to give dignity to her peculiar patois. The latter was not merely the language of ballads and pasquinades, of street-cries and popular songs, but it was, after a certain period, the language which was spoken from the Bench and in the Senate. Nevertheless, by the better historical writers it was largely, if not altogether, eschewed. The more ancient historians composed their works, like Sagorninus and Dandolo, in Latin, or, like Da Canale, in Norman-French. Sanuto wrote his voluminous Diaries in

Venetian, but of some of his other works he left versions both in that and in Latin.

It is not surprising that at the outset, and long subsequently, different patois should have existed among the inhabitants of the capital and those more especially of the more distant insular townships; but we should not be prepared to suppose or believe without proof that such variations have been observed by modern visitors and are familiar to local students. They seem to be partly attributable to physical causes and to the conservatism which has preserved in these places the descendants of early colonists from more or less distant points.

The more popular compositions in the vernacular are very numerous and of no mean value as illustrations of manners and tastes. They are chiefly of a poetical or metrical cast, and have been collected by Gamba.¹

The Venetian families, apart from political distinctions, were of two classes:—(1) Those which merely migrated into the islands; and (2) those which were of a purely insular origin, and were founded subsequently to the rise of the Republic.

Infinitely numerous were the localities from which the immigrants came. The Orseoli, Quirini, Cornari (Cornelii), Marcelli, Valieri (Valerii), and Michieli, pointed to the Eternal City as the cradle of their race. Vicenza gave the Grimani, Capua the Cappelli, Candia the Calergi and the Gezi, Pavia the Badoeri, Altino the Dandoli and the Orie, Fano the Falieri, formerly known as Anastasii, Ravenna the Caloprini, Aquileia the Gradenigi, Trieste the Barbari, whose original name was Magadesi, Messina the Foscari, and Loreda the Loredani. The Gritti, the Zeni, the Tiepoli, the Venieri sprang from a Greek stock. In the veins of the Giustiniani flowed the blood of the Heraclian Dynasty. The progenitors of Vettore Pisani were Apulian Counts. The ancestry of the Contarini are said to have been Lombard peasants; the original name may have been Contadino.

The families entitled by birthright to a seat in the Great Council comprised, especially those with branches, so many individuals of the same name that it often became requisite for identification to distinguish them by their place of residence or the precise line to which they belonged; and so we meet with the expressions Dandolo of San Moise or Contarini della Casa Maggiore (or Cà Mazor), and here and there even a personal

¹ In fourteen volumes, 12mo, 1817.

peculiarity was brought into service, such as *Nasone* or *Collo torto*, or even *Guercio*, or an agnomen, such as Marino Saundo *Torsello*. The father-in-law of the celebrated Doge Foscari was known as Andrea Priuli del Banco; and another and different principle is apparent in such an appellation as *Cane*, which occurs in two successive generations of the ducal house of Dandolo (as an honourable distinction) in the fourteenth century, and has the air of having been borrowed from Verona, where the form is found side by side with *Mastino*, both ostensibly signifying a tenacious and loyal courage typical of the mastiff.

The families which belonged to the second category, and which may be described as indigenous, were those of Da Canale, Da Ponte, Da Riva, Spazza-Canale, Tintoretto, Dalle Fornaci, Dalle Contrade, Molino, Tagliapietra, Monetario, Tribuno, Ducato, Veneto, Malipiero (Mastropiero), Engengniere, Marini, Premarino, and others; and the origin of these is mainly traceable to employments and places of abode. The great painter Tintoretto was the son of a dyer called Robusti.

If we watch with attention the occurrence of names from age to age, old ones disappear, new ones rise up. Many, however, remain to the end, and almost form a link between the last days of the Roman empire and the French Revolution.

The population of Venice long remained incontestably scanty, and never attained such proportions as might have been expected. The periodical ravages of epidemics, coupled with the roving propensities of the people, were opposed to its increase. It is true that in the course of time natives of all countries from Brittany to Bohemia settled in the city, and acquired by the prescribed time of residence, varying from ten to fifteen years, the enjoyment of civic rights. But it is unlikely that any of these distant emigrations were accomplished till the twelfth century. It was not till after the events of 1204 that a Calergi of Crete and a Lippomano of Negropont made the Republic their adopted country. It was only about one hundred years before that the family of Polo quitted Dalmatia and sought a new home on the opposite coast. The influx of Greeks from Constantinople is commonly assigned to the reign of Michieli III. (1170): nor can the establishment of the Brici of Saint Jean d'Acre and other Orientals be referred with much probability to an epoch anterior to the first Crusade (1099).

From Brescia were received the Bontempelli; from the

Bergamasque the Persici, Albrizzi, Muti, Tasca, Gozzi, Castelli, Maccarelli: from Lucca the Angelieri: from Piacenza the Fontane. Among members of the plebeian order who attained wealth and won social aggrandisement were the Bonomi, the Cuccine, and the Labia. The Bresciano and Bergamasque yielded the most valuable accessions to the industrial strength and moral tone of the community. Many or most of them came to the city very poor, and by almost penurious frugality accumulated large fortunes. Bartolomeo Bontempelli of Brescia was originally a mercer at the sign of the Cup at San Salvador; he subsequently established a bank, and was able to negotiate loans to crowned heads; and at the same time he spent, when he had grown rich, considerable sums on the erection or restoration of churches and hospitals, leaving ample legacies to charitable objects. Giuseppe Persico, a Bergamasque, was at the outset an assistant at a silk-merchant's in the street of San Lio, and was employed in drawing water for his master's kitchen and other menial offices. He in course of time opened a *depôt* on his own account, and eventually entered the Great Council on payment of 100,000 ducats.

Fontana of Piacenza settled here in 1577 as a trader, and was able to erect a palace at San Felice on the Grand Canal; and one of his sons was appointed Governor of Caserta Vecchia by the Duke of Guise in the following century. In 1646 the house of Labia bought its nobility for 100,000 ducats, and acquired a splendid palace at San Geremia, where its guests were served on gold plate; and the diamonds of the ladies of the family are described by the President de Brosse as one of the sights of Italy.

The Christian names were borrowed principally from the Scriptures and the Martyrology. The passion of the Venetians for this class of appellation occasioned the speedy transfer to their baptismal nomenclature of such names as Zacchary, Luke, John, Paul, Timothy, Matthew, Noello, Pasquale, Vitali, Theodore, Mark, Thomas, and James. A love of Roman prototypes gradually naturalised Amulius, Ascanius, Priam, Hector, Troilus, Cornelius, Lucretius, Camillus, Fabius, Octavian, Justinian, Æmilius, Valerius, Fabricius, and Livius. Among women, Felicia, Buona, Clara, Agnes, Joan, Lucretia, Margaret, Mary, Anne, Catherine, Justina, Benedicta, Julia, Constance, Romana, were favourites. After the Lombard Conquest of 568, Henry, Froiba, Archielda, Marchesina, and many names, found neither in the Pentateuch, nor in Eusebius, nor in Dion Cassius, were of more or

less frequent occurrence. Subsequently to the rise of the Norman power, it was not unusual to meet with Robert, Bohemond, and Godfried. A not uncommon name in the earlier centuries was *Deus-Dedit* (Diodato), or *God's Gift*, the equivalent of the Greek Theodoros; the second Doge of the family of Orso, who reigned from 742 to 755, was thus christened. It was perhaps merely given under the peculiar circumstances of an unexpected blessing.

At a later date, at all events, it became customary for women of high family to retain their patronymic on marriage, and thus, when a Morosini, a Dandolo, or a Quirini espoused a Grimani, a Priuli, or a Valier, the bride was thenceforth known as Morosini-Grimani, Dandolo-Priuli, or Quirini-Valier. There was a reluctance on the part of a historical house to lose the recollection of origin. It was an usage which became general throughout Europe.

The *Fasti* of the *Studio* or (as we now should say) University of Padua, under Venetian auspices, display to our view an imposing and brilliant array of names, not only of Venetians but of foreigners, in every department of human learning and science. It was toward the middle of the sixteenth century that this institution attained the height of its prosperity and importance, and the Venetian Senate, acting in the strictly conservative spirit of those days, decreed that no degrees other than those of Padua should be recognisable. Upward of a hundred professors were engaged at this period in giving instruction and lectures on the entire range of educational knowledge; and their salaries were such as might tempt the most capable and distinguished scholars to offer their services here. But indeed many of the names are those of wealthy patricians or disinterested enthusiasts, to whom the pecuniary consideration was alike indifferent.

The subjects treated at Padua embraced nearly all branches of human learning then studied and recognised, and the Venetian Senate was ever ready to remunerate on the most generous scale its professors, of whom the one who gave instruction in medicine was the recipient of the highest pay. In 1629, the earliest year for which the prospectus seems to be extant, the courses were:—

<i>Theology.</i>	<i>Philosophy.</i>	Aristotle again.
<i>Holy Scriptures.</i>	"	extraordinary. <i>De calo et</i>
<i>Metaphysics</i> , where Aristotle of course		<i>de mundo.</i>
occupied a prominent rank.	<i>Mathematics.</i>	Elements of Geometry
		and of the Globe.

<i>Belles lettres, (Greek and Latin).</i>	<i>Medicine, Theory of (special or extra-ordinary). Aphorisms of Hippocrates.</i>
Horatii Opera, particularly <i>Epistola ad Pisones.</i>	„ <i>Practical, extraordinary.</i>
<i>Anatomy.</i>	Fevera.
<i>Medicine, Theory of.</i>	<i>Simples in physic.</i>
„ <i>Practical.</i>	<i>Surgery, ordinary. Tumours.</i>
	<i>Lectures on the Third Book of Avicenna.</i>

In addition to these studies, were those connected with law, jurisprudence, and the long most prominent and lucrative vocation of the notary public, who in ages of general illiteracy was required to discharge such a multifarious variety of functions at once important and confidential.

From the period of the revival of learning in Italy, it seems to have been usual for students to attend lectures and to read books with their special tutors, where they were enabled to engage them. So the Doge Andrea Dandolo had in his youth enjoyed the benefit of the services of Riccardo Malhombra about 1330 in grounding him in a knowledge of jurisprudence. Others, when Padua became more widely celebrated under Venetian management, came there to study divinity, philosophy, poetry, and the rest of the *curriculum*. Some took up special lines; some went through the regular whole course. In the last decade of the fifteenth century (1491-92) we trace the Nürnberger Bilibald Pirkheimer, subsequently so distinguished as a scholar and *bibliophile*, reading Horace and Cicero with Calphurnius of Brescia, one of the professors or tutors at Padua. The copies which he employed are still extant; they were all Venetian editions of then recent date.

The University of Padua directed the course of public instruction throughout the entire Venetian dominion in Italy; and the head of it, termed the *Reformer*, was invariably a patrician of approved accomplishments both in an administrative and an intellectual sense. The whole establishment was under his supreme sway, subject to the approval of the Senate at home.

The library of the University is described¹ as containing 70,000 volumes.

Padua was not exempt from the consequences of being, like Oxford and Cambridge, the centre to which converged a great number of young men in the enjoyment of high animal spirits; and we hear of the town-and-gown rows and fights, nocturnal

¹ Galibert, *Histoire de Venise*, 1847, p. 324.

frolics, and even sanguinary conflicts, which have everywhere signalised such phases of life. In 1560 the Reformers of the university were clothed with judicial powers of a limited and weak character, and were required to submit grave cases to the ordinary tribunals. One fruitful source of discord and tumult was the friction between the members of the Jesuits' College (subsequently suppressed) and those of the University; but the most usual butt and victim of academical licence was the peaceable citizen, whom these hot-headed roisterers delighted to annoy.

The authorities on the spot and at home might be fairly indulgent to these misdemeanours, unless the facts were of a nature requiring exemplary punishment. But the strictest discipline was maintained within bounds, and the Rector or Reformer himself was liable to dismissal and degradation, where a breach of duty or any gross misconduct was proved.

The students at Padua are represented by Evelyn the Diarist as being very unruly and dissolute when he was there in 1646. He says: "they take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets to stop all that pass by the house when any of their companions are with them. This custom they call the *chi va li*, so as the streets are very dangerous when the evenings grow dark."

Among others who were attracted hither by the reputation of the place and the excellence of its methods was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, translator of Cæsar and Cicero, who occupied a professorial chair in the fifteenth century; and it was hither that Columbus came in due time from Genoa, his native city, to complete his education. In 1622 the two sons of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Earl-Marshal of England, were members of the University; their father took a villa in the neighbourhood to be near them; and he died at Padua in 1646. The elder of these youths is popularly known as the collector of the Arundelian Marbles.

But the most signal and most honourable trait in the relations of Venice with the University of Padua was its attitude toward the illustrious and unhappy Galileo, who in 1594, under the Rectorship of Marcantonio Barbaro, was invited to occupy the mathematical chair at a yearly stipend of 1000 ducats, being, as Galileo informs a friend, twice as much as he had had previously at Pisa from the Medici. Galileo quitted Venetian patronage and protection to visit the Holy See, where he narrowly

escaped the resentment of the Inquisition on account of his heretical opinions, and finally to settle and die at Pisa. He must have looked back with fond regret on the days which he had spent at Padua, among a people warmly and flatteringly appreciative of his genius and valuable scientific services. What other European Power would in 1609 have invited a man of such advanced ideas in astronomy to deliver at Venice itself before the Doge and the Signory a lecture on his discoveries, so momentous not merely for astronomy but for navigation? The text of his discourse is preserved; and the medal exists, struck by order of his entertainers to commemorate the occasion.

At a later period, when a long series of continental wars and the decline of trade had impoverished the Republic, one of the unfavourable symptoms and results was the inability of parents, through reduced incomes, to send their sons to Padua, and, as we see elsewhere, a second academical centre was established for the convenience of the Istrian population at Lesina.

CHAPTER LXI

Literature—Account written in the eighteenth century by the Doge Foscarini—Venetian historical literature—Its secular complexion—Official historiographers—Independent Annalists—The two schools of writers to be consulted—Minuteness of many of the older historians—Theology—Natural Philosophy—Alchemy—Trevisano family—Botany—The Barbaro family—Logic—Free Thought—Petrarch's curious experiences—Ethics—Geometry—Public Lecturers—Hebrew—Poetry—A friend of Dante—Introduction of Tuscan melodies by the Fugitive Silk-weavers of Lucca in the fourteenth century—Provençal poetry naturalised by a noble Venetian—Sacred Poetry—Fugitive verses on current events—The Battle of Lepanto—The Giustiniani—Marino Sanuto the Diarist and Historian—Some account of his career—His remarkable library—Marcantonio Barbaro—Paolo Sarpi—Sketch of his life—The Admirable Crichton at Venice in 1580.

IN introducing the subject of literature, it becomes proper to mention that the earliest, and long the sole, historian of the Republic in this direction was Marco Foscarini, who filled the ducal throne in 1762-3, and who seems to have been a personage of pleasant and affable manners. A new edition of his work appeared in 1854. The character of the book is descriptive rather than critical, and amounts to little more than notices of the principal writers in chronological order; but it is one of those efforts, at which we are prompted to look with indulgence, when we consider the circumstances of production and the laudable interest manifested by the noble author in such a subject. The Doge lived only to publish the first part.

With one or two exceptions of a wholly unimportant character, the historical literature of the Republic is in its origin secular. To the monkish chroniclers of Western Europe we meet with no counterparts; there is nothing correspondent to the Scandinavian saga, the Saxon minstrel, or the Norman trouvère. No country can perhaps shew such an unbroken series of historians or writers of an historical cast as England. It is traceable back to the commencement of the heptarchical era. But the names which constitute it are the names of ecclesiastics.

Venice cannot be said to have produced any narrative pre-

tending to elucidate or describe the sources of her existence and her power till the second half of the tenth century. The earliest native essayist upon her *Fasti* was an intelligent ironmaster, Johannes Sagorninus, who fortunately contented himself, for the most part, with telling us what he knew and saw, rather than what he had heard, or what he thought. His account comes to a close in 1008; but he was the pioneer of other laymen, of whom some, such as Martino da Canale and Lorenzo de Monacis, followed the same narrow lines as himself, while others, like the Doge Andrea Dandolo, the Diarist, Topographer and Historian, Marino Sanudo, and Bernardo Giustiniani, not content to put into writing their own impressions of contemporary events, planned their labours on a broader and more ambitious scale, and not only resorted to records and evidences of antecedent times, that indispensable helpmate Tradition inclusive, but even brought to their work a certain share of critical discrimination. Giustiniani founded his work on a chronicle written by Abbot Zeno in the eleventh century.

But the Venetians had no Beowulf or Wace, no William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon, no Doomsday Survey or Great Charter. That the Republic possessed chronicles of a date anterior to any now known, it is excessively probable, nor is it much less so that those chroniclers were churchmen, of whose productions their immediate successors in the same literary field might have had the use. The frequent fires which desolated the city, and the fragile material of which its public buildings were long composed, keep us here within the limits of conjecture; for the citations which occur in the pages of such civilians as Dandolo, Sanudo and Navagiero of historical manuscripts preserved in the monasteries, such, for instance, as the Chronicle of San Salvador, do not refer, as a rule, to compilations long anterior to their own epochs, and are not explicitly described as of local origin. But, if the admission is made that the most ancient writers belonged to holy orders, it does not rob of much of its force the view just now propounded that in her historical literature Venice enjoyed a singular and wholesome exemption from clerical influence, and whatever the piece of guesswork about primeval annalists, of whom no vestige seems to survive, may be worth, it does not in the least degree militate against the fact that the Venetian temper and taste, from the moment when the Republic might be said to have a definite con-

stitution and a distinct national life, were in this, as in all other things, emphatically lay. In forming an estimate of other countries the student is referred to compositions which emanated from the cloister; but he finds to his satisfaction that here, from the very commencement of any sort of culture in the ranks of the laity, men of the world, often personages of the highest position, undertook to communicate to the ages to come what they thought to be important in passed or current transactions; and where, as at the outset, local authorities fail him, there come to his succour layfolk beyond the verge of the Islands: Cassiodorus, Eginard, one or two Lombards, and certain Byzantines, with whom he may lay out his hours more profitably than with the harvest of the monastic *scriptorium*. Moreover, whether or not the Republic once possessed certain annals from the pens of ecclesiastics, there is no doubt that the earlier secular authors had recourse to a large assortment of original papers, which have since partly perished, and have (like the English martyrologist Fox) transmitted their substance, and frequently their very text, to us with a fidelity far from commensurate perhaps with modern literary canons, but much more satisfactorily and veraciously than analogous monuments elsewhere produced under the eye of the Church.

The official historiographers of Venice, whose performances are sufficiently well known, date from 1505. They wrote in Latin; and their consecutive narratives, which are, for the most part, dry and jejune to excess, were formed into an uniform series in the last century. Independently of them, the Council of Ten in 1551 resolved that, in order to put and keep men in possession of the events of passed ages, as a method of avoiding error, the annals should be recorded, not in Latin, but in the vernacular by persons selected from time to time from the Order of Secretaries. To what extent this direction was pursued, we do not know; it was possibly abandoned as superfluous. But even before the wider diffusion of historical records through the medium of the press, manuscript copies were multiplied for the use of public men and for libraries, and it is not unusual to meet with cases, where speakers refer to incidents belonging to antecedent centuries, and display a sense of their bearing and value as lessons and precedents, while the printed book was still unknown.

The importance and interest of the official school of writers

are mainly limited to a faithful registration of facts which came within their personal knowledge; their style is usually academic and dry; and they do not possess, on the one hand, the picturesqueness and naiveté which render a few early annalists, even in the Venetian series, so attractive and valuable, or, on the other, the philosophical temper, which might have led them to enter into a comparative investigation of original archives, and to draw their own conclusions. But their pens were naturally hampered by their official engagement; and although Battista Nani, one of them, affirms that he deemed it his duty to place on record a full account of all transactions within the dates assigned to him (1613-71), it is absolutely certain that if the world had depended on these narratives, its knowledge of Venetian history and institutions would have remained singularly imperfect.¹

Apart from the official historiographers and the critical productions of later times, no nation has done more toward writing its own history, or has written it with less bias and more ability, than the Venetian. The names of Johannes Sagorninus,² Martino da Canale,³ Marco . . .,⁴ the author of the *Cronaca Altinate*,⁵ Andrea Dandolo⁶ and his three contemporaries, the Grand-Chancellor Raffaello Caresino,⁷ Nicolo Trevisano, one of the chiefs of the Council of Ten,⁸ and Lorenzo de Monacis, Grand-Chancellor of Candia (1428), historian, ambassador and poet;⁹ Giovanni Bembo,¹⁰ Donato and Gasparo Contarini; Bernardo,¹¹ Pancrazio,¹² and Pietro Giustiniani;¹³ Giovanni Tiepolo; Paolo and Antonio Morosini, Nicolo Zeno,¹⁴ Giorgio and Pietro Dolfino,¹⁵ Gio. Giacomo Caroldo, Secretary

¹ *Cronaca Altinate*, *Chronica di Martino da Canale*, etc.

² *Chronicon Venetum vetustissimum*, ad annum 1008. Ven. 1765.

³ *Cronaca Veneta*, ad annum 1275 (begun in 1267); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

⁴ *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii., and *juxta codicem Dresdensensem*, *ibid.* v.

⁵ *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. This work was written about 1292.

⁶ *Apud Murat.* xii.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Cronaca Trevisana MS.*

⁹ Laurentii de Monachis civis Veneti et Magni Cretae cancellarii, qui floruit anno 1428, *Chronicon de rebus gestis Venetis*, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8574, or 4to, 1758.

¹⁰ *Apud Murat.* xii. The prooemium is: "Ego Andreas Dandolo proposui sub brevi compendio provinciae Venetiarum initium et ipsius incrementum, et prout sub ducibus constitutis notabilia facta fuerunt, summam enarrare."

¹¹ *De origine Venetorum*, fol. 1492, ad annum 809.

¹² *De praeclaris gestis Venetae aristocratiae liber* (1006-1454). Ven. 1527.

¹³ *Historia di Venetia* (King's MSS. 148).

¹⁴ *Cronica de fatti Veneti*, 1557.

¹⁵ *Annali Veneti* (King's MSS. 149).

of the Ten,¹ Marino, son of Leonardo Sanudo,² Andrea Navagiero; Pietro, son of Antonio Marcello, Domenigo Malipiero, and numerous anonymous chroniclers, whose contributions to the literary annals of their country remain unprinted and even unidentified.

The value of many of these compositions may be said to be due to some extent to the circumstance that they were not written with a view to the press, and that their tone and matter were consequently more likely to be impartial.

The two classes of writers on Venice principally to be regarded and followed are the coeval or at least early chroniclers and the modern critical and documentary essayists or compilers, if indeed both do not practically belong to one family and category. There is hardly any great people, whose history has so gravely suffered from inadvertent and wilful misrepresentation; nor is there any which has found in modern days a larger number of enthusiastic and enlightened contributors to the task of undoing the mischief produced by spurious material and imperfect research.

Certain among the historical writers, official or otherwise, have shown an almost excessive tendency toward minuteness even in treating events of remote date and secondary consequence; there has been no attempt to conceal or extenuate the long series of crimes and errors perpetuated by a succession of despotic rulers of various types; and even if we owe such candour to an inability or disinclination to view those transactions with our eyes and feelings, our gain and our gratitude remain undiminished, as we are thereby often admitted to disclosures and confidences,³ which we should have missed at the hands of authors more critical in the selection of their material, and less disposed to leave posterity to form its own opinion.

In Theology, the Venetians were quite on a level with their contemporaries. Already, in the eleventh century, San Gerardo Sagredo, a bishop, and subsequently a martyr, produced *A Commentary on the Hymn of the Three Children*, the *Praises of the Blessed Virgin*, *Quadragesimal Sermons*, and *Homilies*.⁴ The first, which is divided into eight books, is

¹ *Annali Veneti*, No. 147.

² Murat. xxii. This was the same who left the famous Diary and other works. The text of the *Vite* in Muratori is unfortunately an incorrect one.

³ Romanin, iv. 500.

⁴ Pier Angelo Zeno, *Memorie degli scrittori Veneti Patrizi*; Ven., 1662, in voce *Sagredo*.

In Botany Venice boasts the eminent physician and philosopher Benedetto Rinio. In the Marciano may be seen at the present day the original MS. of his Book of Simples (*Libro di Semplici*), illustrated with 443 drawings of plants, with their names beneath in several languages. Those drawings were probably made from specimens furnished by the author to the painter Andrea Amadio, and they bear the date of 1415.

To the fourteenth and two following centuries belong many other names, those of the unfortunate Jacopo Foscari, a distinguished Hellenist and a collector of Greek and Latin MSS.; and of Francesco Barbaro,¹ the defender of Brescia, and illustrious alike in letters and in war, and six later representatives of this great family, remarkable for the versatility of its intellectual gifts and political services; of Pietro Loredano, hero of Motta and Gallipoli, the Venetian Marcellus, a gentleman not less renowned for his cultivated taste and his literary acquirements than for his feats of arms; and of the immortal Zeno, soldier, sailor, scholar, orator, diplomatist, the Scipio and Camillus of a second Eternal City, prototype of the Raleighs of a later age.

It was about this date, that Domenico de' Domenichi expounded the principles of Logic at Padua, where the patricians Lauro Quirini, Ermolao Barbaro, Francesco Contarini, and Antonio Cornaro, as well as Nicolo Leonico, successively taught Ethics. The *Morals* of Aristotle was the favourite text-book; and it is said to have been Leonico who first redeemed the writings of the Stagyrte from the interpolations of Averroes and others. The testimony of Petrarch may warrant the deduction that in his time scepticism and free-thought had made considerable ground in the Republic; and the famous adventure of the poet with an alleged atheist shews that among a certain class, probably not very numerous, that deplorable affectation was in vogue. The Aristotelian theories, seen through a false and misleading medium, were the great delight of the young Venetian collegians down to the age of the erudite Leonico. It was impossible, Petrarch tells us, to listen to these silly wranglers without a sensation of nausea. His feelings may be imagined when a knot of these exquisite coxcombs constituted themselves a jury upon his literary merits, and concluded by pronouncing

¹ A treatise by Barbaro, *De Re Uzoria*, is well known, and obtained at the period of its first appearance a wide reputation. An English version, by "a person of quality," appeared in 1677; and there are French ones by Martin du Pin (1557) and François Joly (1679).

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him a gentleman of upright purpose enough, but of manifestly neglected education.

A work upon Ethics, entitled *Rettor, seu de recto regimine*,¹ was dedicated about 1314 by Fra Paolino the Minorite to Marino Badoer, Duke of Candia.² It was written in the Venetian dialect, and its purpose was to demonstrate the four cardinal virtues which help to form the perfect Ruler. The relic still survives.

Among the earliest teachers of geometry were two contemporaries, Marco Sanudo and Fra Luca Paciolo, a Minorite. The latter was the author of *A Summary of Geometrical Arithmetic*, which he edited, perhaps, merely for the use of his own pupils. In 1449, Paolo della Pergola kept a school of instruction in philosophy, geometry and arithmetic; and at his death his chair was assumed by Domenigo Bragadino, a Venetian patrician. Among the earlier products of the Venetian press were technical and educational monographs on arithmetic for the more special use of those who contemplated a mercantile career. In 1484 we find a certain Pietro Borgi of Venice bringing out a volume of this kind,³ and he was the precursor of many others, including a very curious one, published at Florence in 1491, and noted in another section.

Near the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Rialto stood about the same period a house where, every morning and afternoon, public lecturers, salaried by the Government, delivered readings in philosophy and theology. One of the most distinguished lecturers was the noble Antonio Corraro, whose love of literature and intellectual attainments gave him the highest reputation in his own time. At Saint Mark's, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Campanile, there was a school or academy, where Humanity was taught without any fees; among the earliest professors at that establishment were Giorgio Valla and the historiographer Sabellico.

From the twelfth century, the more highly educated Venetians were usually masters of Latin and Greek. In 1170, Pasquale, Bishop of Equilo, was chosen by Michieli III. as one of his ambassadors to the Byzantine Court, on account of his peculiar conversance with Greek; and this circumstance, while it may

¹ Romanin, iii. 367.

² Cornaro, *Creta Sacra*, ii. 307.

³ Qui comenza la nobel opera de Arithmethica ne la qual se tracta tute cosse a mercantia pertinente, facta et compilata per Piero Borgi da Venesia. 4to, Venetia, 1484.

indicate the rarity of the accomplishment, establishes its existence. The language generally employed was Latin, and among the lower orders a dialect or patois of which some account has preceded. The general ignorance of Hebrew necessitated the perusal of the Scriptures in the Vulgate; and it was this necessity more than any other cause, perhaps, which led to the acquisition of the former. In the first half of the fifteenth century there were several scholars, among whom occur the names of Marco Lippomano¹ and Daniello Reniero, who were competent to read the Bible in the original.

Not only the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues were studied and understood, and even spoken, at an early date, but even Arabic, of which the most ancient printed examples, however, appeared, not here, but at Fano from the press of Gregorio de Gregoriis, a Venetian subject.

In the first moiety of the sixteenth century, Sebastiano Erizzo, a member of the Council of Ten, and an antiquary and numismatist, delivered readings at Padua University on the fruitfulness of the study of ancient coins. Erizzo was born in 1522, and died in 1585. About the same time we hear of Giorgio Colonna as a miniaturist just before the period, when Titian and Veronese arose to execute likenesses on a larger scale of some of their countrymen and countrywomen, so many of which must have perished or must remain unidentified.

A department in which the Venetians peculiarly shone was Poetry;² and it is to be regretted that the numerous works of this kind which do or did exist in the libraries of Italy,³ have been suffered to remain so widely diffused and so inaccessible. An ancient poem, entitled *Leandreis*, on the mythological loves of *Hero and Leander*, by an anonymous Venetian coëval with Petrarch,⁴ introduces Dante speaking of the Venetian bards of his day:

¹ Blondus, *Italia Illustrata*, sig. n 2.

² Morelli, *Dissertazione sulla cultura della poesia presso li Veneziani*, Ven. 1796.

³ In the *Poeti del primo secolo*, Firenze, 1816, 8vo, 2 vols., there is not a single Venetian poem. The Editor has not even included the Sonnet of Antonio Cocco to Sacchetti, which is found in Allacci, *Antichi Poeti*, and of which the first stanza is here given:—

“Ame e gran gratia, Francho, aver udito
La fama, che di voi nel mondo corre;
E questa e stata fondamento e dorre
A durmi qui sanz’ aver altro invito.”—(Allacci, *Opere citato*.)

⁴ Morelli, *Opere citato*.

Dirove alquante nobele persone,
 E primo e Zuan Querin, *che mi fo amicho*
 In vita; e l' altro, che appo lui si pone,
 Zuan Foscharen——¹

Quirini, whom Dante here claims as his friend, addressed a madrigal to Matteo Mattivilla of Bologna,² an acquaintance, in which he begs the latter to transmit to him a copy of the *Acerba* of Cecco d'Ascoli, containing strictures on the *Divina Commedia*, and declares himself prepared to vindicate Dante.

A production, belonging (if genuine) to an earlier epoch than the *Leandreis*, and equally anonymous, is called *A Lament for the Absence of a Husband at the Crusade in the East*. The author, who was perhaps a lady, may be no other than "Dona Frisa" herself:—

Responder voi a Dona Frisa,
 Che me conseia en la soa guisa.
 E dis-ch' eo lasse ogni grameza,
 Vezando me senza alegranza;
 Che me mario se n' e andao,
 Ch' el me cor cum lui a portao;
 Et eo cum ti me Deo confortare,
 Fin ch' el stara de la da mare——³

Besides Giovanni Quirini⁴ and Giovanni Foscarini, the names are commemorated in the *Leandreis* of Bernardo Foscarini and of a second Quirini, Nicolo, Rector of San Basso, and a participator in the Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy of 1310,⁵ some of whose effusions are in the Barberina at Rome.

So far back as 1268, the Merchant-Tailors had recited in the streets of the Capital in honour of the accession of the new Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo⁶ ballads and scraps of roundelays, either extemporised or committed to memory. It is not hazardous to conclude that these melodies belonged to the rudest school of composition. There is some reason to suppose⁷ that the silk-weavers of Lucca, when they forsook their native looms, and fled from the hand of persecution to Venice between 1315 and 1320,⁸

¹ Agostini, *Prefaz.* xv.

² Morelli, *Opere citato*.

³ Gamba, *Raccolta di poesie in dialetto Veneziano*, pp. 1-2; Ven. 1845; 8vo.

⁴ This poet must not be confounded with another of the same name who wrote in the sixteenth century, and some of whose pieces are preserved by Gamba.

⁵ *Vide suprà*, vol. iii. c. 16; and Allacci, *Antichi Poeti*, Indice.

⁶ *Vide suprà*, vol. ii. c. 12.

⁷ *Canti del popolo Veneziano raccolti (per la prima volta) da N. Tommaseo*, 1848, p. 8.

⁸ *Vide suprà*, vol. iii. c. 18.

introduced to their adopted countrymen the ditties which they had so dearly loved in happier days, and that this event, while it was fraught with utility to the Republic in a commercial respect, was also instrumental in imparting to Venetian poetry a certain Tuscan element. But it is certain that, long before the Lucchese migration, a great reform was wrought in poetry by Bartolomeo Giorgio, a patrician, and almost a contemporary of Tiepolo. By profession Giorgio was a merchant; and his taste for the lyric muse was acquired during a residence which he had made at the Court of the Count of Provence,¹ where he tells us that many other Italians had congregated for the purpose of studying the literature of the jongleurs and troubadours. On his return home, the Venetian composed certain songs or *canzone*, similar to those which he had heard in Provence; and a revolution was gradually operated in this branch of the liberal arts. The bard had subsequently, and in every probability during the arduous struggle between his own country and Genoa, the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the enemy, and it seems that he remained in their hands seven years, during which space he possibly wrote many pieces now lost. At all events, of his *Canzone* or *Serventesi* seventeen² only survive in the Vatican; of these five were rendered into prose by the Abbé Millot, who was tolerably felicitous in retaining the spirit of the original.

In the latter moiety of the fourteenth century flourished Marino Dandolo, Gabriello Bernardo, Maffeo Pesaro, Antonio Cocco, of whom a sonnet to Franco Sacchetti has been mentioned as having been printed by Allacci, Marco Piacentino of whose metrical trifles some are in existence, and Filippo Barbarigo, an imitator of Petrarch. During the reign of Andrea Contarini, Pietro da Natali, Bishop of Equilo, composed in terza rima the *Visit of Alexander III. to Venice* (in 1177),³ which has escaped the ravages of time, and about 1381 Marco Giorgio the theologian finished a Life of the Blessed Felix Benci of Florence in heroic verse.⁴ In the succeeding reign, Lorenzo de Monacis, Grand Chancellor of Candia, better known as an historian, dedicated to Mary, Queen of Hungary, consort of Sigismund,⁵ a *Poem of Charles II. of Hungary*, called the *Little*, with a pious description

¹ Foscarini, *Letteratura*, 50, n. 2.

² *Ibid.*, *ubi suprà*.

³ Morelli, *Dissert.*

⁴ P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662.

⁵ Mary died in 1392, according to Bonfinius, *Res Ungaricæ*, 383.

of the miserable haps of the *Illustrious Queens of Hungary*. This performance¹ is supposed to have seen the light about 1385. Toward the end of the century, it is said that an Olivetan monk, Matteo Routo, was engaged in turning the *Divine Comedy* into heroic verse; but it seems to be doubtful whether the achievement was ever completed.² A few decades posterior to Routo, Maffeo Pisani, a priest, produced (1453) a *Lament for Constantinople* in verse, still preserved in print.³

Nor was it long before Sacred Poetry grew into fashion. The famous Minorite, Fra Jacopino da Todi, found zealous disciples in Jacopo Valaresso and Leonardo Pisani,⁴ both of whom, under the Contarini and Veniero administrations (1368-1400), occupied their leisure with spiritual offerings to the Muse. In or about 1399,⁵ the Cavaliere Jacopo Gradenigo, Podesta of Padua, whose family had intermarried with the House of Carrara,⁶ put a finishing hand to *A Concordance of the Four Gospels*, in terza rima, of which a transcript was among the MSS. treasures of an eminent antiquary and scholar of the last century.⁷ A little later, the two sons of Bernardo Giustiniani⁸ trod worthily in the footsteps of Valaresso and Pisani, the pupils of Da Todi. The elder, Lorenzo, successively Prior of San Giorgio in Alga, Bishop of Castello, and Patriarch of Venice,⁹ comprised, among the thirty-six works on various subjects which proceeded from his prolific pen,¹⁰ a small garland of *Spiritual Rhymes*.¹¹ The future Metropolitan, who was subsequently canonised, was born in 1380;¹² and the composition of these rhymes may be therefore assigned without particular hazard to some period between 1400 and 1410.

Leonardo, who was the junior of San Lorenzo by about eight years, and who pronounced in 1418 the funeral oration on his friend¹³ Carlo Zeno,¹⁴ had written in his younger days a volume

¹ It will be found at the end of Flaminio Cornaro's edition of the Chronicle of De Monacis; Ven. 1758.

² Morelli, *opere citato*.

³ See Cigogna, *Bibliografia Veneziana*, 1847.

⁴ Agostini, *Prefazione*.

⁵ Morelli, *opere citato*.

⁶ *Vide supra*, vol. iii. c. 16.

⁷ Apostolo Zeno, *Lettere*, edit. 1785.

⁸ Agostini, i. 135.

⁹ *Ibid.* He was the first who bore this title. The metropolitanate was translated from Grado to the Capital, after flourishing in the former city nine centuries (583-1451).

¹⁰ P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662, *in voce*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Agostini, i. 136.

¹³ Bernardo Giustiniani, writing to Giacomo Zeno, the nephew of Carlo, says:—"Vetus illa necessitudo et amicitia, quae inter praeclarum virum Carolum avum tuum Leonardumque patrem meum fuit."

¹⁴ "Viri Patricii Leonardi Justiniani Veneti Oratio habita in funere Caroli

of *Poesie Volgari* of a profane cast;¹ but at the persuasion of his brother he eventually abandoned this school of poetry, and became the author of *Laudi Spirituali*, which were received with applause, and were printed at Venice in 1474.² In the following year they were reproduced at Vicenza; and such was their reputation, that the printer, Leonard of Basle, ventured to take off 1000 copies.³

The family of Giustiniani was rarely gifted, and boasted the heraldry of genius as well as of birth. The celebrated Ciriaco De Pizzecolli of Ancona, addressing Leonardo in a sonnet, which was printed for the first time by Agostini, says:—

Se stende fino al Ciel con care piume
La fama del valor Justiniano.⁴

According to the testimony of a contemporary,⁵ this gentleman was not only one of the most conspicuous orators of the age, but a passionate musician. After filling several responsible posts under the Government, and attaining the Procuratorial dignity, he died in 1446 in his 58th or 59th year. His *Poesie Volgari* were still in MS. when the *Laudi* were given to the press in 1474; but the former also appeared in 1482, and were republished a few years later, with additions.⁶ The metre of the *Canzonetti* is irregular, and occasionally rugged and inharmonious.

To miscellaneous literature Leonardo Giustiniani contributed translations⁷ from Plutarch of the biographies of Cimon, Lucullus, and Phocion, a life of Saint Nicholas the Confessor, Bishop of Myra,⁸ containing a prefatory dedication to his brother Lorenzo, then Bishop of Castello, at whose suggestion he had undertaken the labour: numerous letters, printed in 1492: some elegiac verses on the death of Victorino of Feltre; and a book, entitled

Zeni concivis sui," presso *Epistole di Bernardo Giustiniano (suo figlio)*, Ven. 1492, folio; and frequently reprinted.

¹ Blondus, *Italia illustrata*, sig. H 1.

² "Incominciano le devotissime et sanctissime Laudi le quale compose el Nobile e Magnifico Messer Leonardo Giustiniano."

³ Agostini, i. 165.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 154.

⁵ Blondus, *Ital. illustr.* sig. H 1.

⁶ *Comincio il Fiore delle elegantissime Cancionete del nobile Messere Leonardo Justiniano*. The colophon is: *Il fine delle elegantissime cancionete di Messere Leonardo Justiniano quivi in Venetia con ogni diligentia impresse per Antonio di Strata a di nove Marzo MCCCCXXXII. in 4to.*

⁷ *Canzonette e Strambotti d'amore composte per el Magnifico Miser Leonardo Zustiniano di Venetia*.—*Impressum Venetiis per Johannem Baptistam Sessa, anno Domini mcccc(c). die vero xiiii. Aprilis, in 4to.*

⁸ Printed by Aldus, with other opusculi, in 1502.

Liber Philologicus, of which little seems to be known, except that it was seen by Montfaucon in the choice library of Bernardo Trevisano.¹ *Æsop* seems to have acquired popularity among some of the educated class. A whimsical case is cited, in which the shops were ransacked for forty-one copies of the *Fables*, because a member of the Quarantia had, during a suspended sitting, called for the book to beguile the time, and it was thought necessary to observe impartiality by placing a copy in the hands of each of the councillors.

In 1409, the wife of Leonardo, reputed to have been Maria Quirini,² bore her husband a son, who was christened Bernardo after his grandfather. This Bernardo was destined to attain the highest distinction as an orator and historian. He was thirty-seven when his illustrious parent died; and he was inconsolable for the loss. He immediately called on his uncle Lorenzo the Bishop, who told him to be of good cheer: "for," said he, "your father is in the path of salvation." "How can you tell that?" responded the young man. "Never mind," persisted the other; "be assured that he is on his way to heaven, and for the rest do not concern yourself!"³ After the death of San Lorenzo, his nephew became his biographer; and the *Life of the blessed Patriarch* was among the earliest productions of the Venetian press. It appeared in 1475;⁴ and it was prefixed to the *Works of the Saint* published at Brescia in 1505. The other performances of the same writer are a funeral oration, which he delivered in 1457, on the Doge Foscari,⁵ and a *History of the Origin of Venice*, bringing down the annals to the year 809: both in Latin. In the latter, which was translated into the vernacular by Lodovico Domenichi, and printed in 1545, Giustiniani has introduced a variety of interesting particulars, not seen elsewhere: and the genuineness of the narrative is largely established by the circumstance, that it is expressly stated to have been partially founded on the *Chronicle of Zeno* Abbot of San Nicolo del Lido⁶ from 1070 to 1100. Bernardo, whose life has been written by Antonio Stella, a Venetian priest, and published in 1553, left a son Pancrazio, who in his turn won literary renown.

The universal practice of commemorating notable and glorious

¹ Agostini, i. 174-5.

² Ibid. i. 162.

³ Ibid. p. 316.

⁴ Ibid. i. 36.

⁵ Foscari, *Lett. Venez.* 324, n. 1.

⁶ Romanin, iv. 502-3.

events in verse or prose was by no means unknown, we perceive, here. It seems to have commenced in the fifteenth century; and when facilities for printing effusions of this kind were given by the multiplication of presses, a historical landmark like the battle of Lepanto in 1571 was bound to evoke an abundance of patriotic *ephemerides*. We have before us a list of between sixty and seventy poems written on that occasion, principally anonymous.

In a totally different sphere of usefulness from his predecessor and namesake, a second Marino Sanudo (or Marin Sanuto), whose name has already occurred, appeared in the fifteenth century (1466-1536), and where his noble contemporaries devoted themselves to the immediate calls of the public service, he, at the age of thirty, conceived, and began to execute, the design of commemorating the transactions of his country on a principle entirely new. From day to day, or at brief intervals, Sanuto registered in a folio volume every incident which came under his observation, as he attended the meetings of the Great Council, or sauntered on the Broglio, or on the Exchange, or met with the recipients of news from outlying districts and abroad. He even prevailed on the Council of Ten to permit him to examine public documents under their charge or control; and he lived to see his notes and collections fill fifty-eight volumes, and include certain papers nowhere else preserved.

The Diarist omits nothing, forgets nothing; even when he is arrested for a small debt, owing to his absorption in his employment and neglect of his affairs, he mentions where the tipstaff met him, and how long (24 hours) he was detained in the sponging-house. He speaks of it as "l' orribil caso."

This monumental work not only survives in its integrity, but a careful transcript of it was actually made for the sake of security by the last Keeper of the Records under the old Republic; and now the Italian Government has generously presented us with the whole in type. The series of over fifty large octavo volumes is as unique as Venice itself and as so many things Venetian.

During the life of Sanuto little or nothing was known of his incessant application to what he had made his career; and after his death the whole work and its author were equally forgotten. It is fortunate that the MSS. volumes escaped all accidents, and have to be added to the grand trophy which the Republic has erected to its own memory and honour.

Besides his *Diaries* Sanuto left *Lives of the Doges*, incorrectly printed by Muratori, a description of the *Magistrates of Venice*, a treatise *De Bello Gallico*, a *Commentary on the War of Ferrara*, privately issued in 1829, and an *Itinerary of the Venetian Terra Firma*, as it was in 1483, with original sketches of places visited and inspected by him; this was printed in 1847, accompanied by facsimiles of the illustrations. Thus justice has been done only in our days to a man whose exertions and sacrifices in the cause of learning were so exceptionally great, and whose sole personal reward was the affectionate ardour with which he followed his favourite and self-chosen path.

Sanuto seems to have been brought into the world for the express purpose of accumulating records and notes of the proceedings and careers of others for the benefit of an unknown posterity, which too tardily awards him recognition and thanks. From his boyhood he evinced an enthusiasm for antiquities and for historical inquiry; and at a period of life when many have not yet quitted school he was an author. When he was a child of about eight, he already started on his mission by transcribing the inscriptions, then beginning to fade, beneath the portraits of the Doges in the Council chambers. This must, from collateral evidence, have been in 1474; and the realisation of the small figure at work is not a little interesting. At seventeen he produced his *Itinerary*, and entered into every variety of technical and financial detail. But the central and crowning labour was the stupendous and invaluable *Diary*, extending over seven-and-thirty years (1496-1533). That it is an arid register of events and repository of dull archives is true enough; it is equally the case that it preserves to us, at the hands of a man of rank and culture, the history, not of Venice alone, but of Italy and Europe during many momentous and eventful years, interspersed with occasional glimpses of the personal history and experiences of Sanuto as a youthful lover of the peerless Gemma, as a statesman whose views generally found him in opposition, as an indifferent economist who was sometimes reduced to financial straits, and as a book-collector.

The social position of the Diarist afforded him immense facilities for obtaining information, as well as intercourse with the best Venetian and Lombard families. He fell in love with a maiden at Rovigo, probably during his tour in 1483, visited the family, and composed songs in honour and praise of Gemma;

but he remained single, and devoted himself to his writings and his library, which included many charts and topographical drawings, and amounted in the aggregate to 6500 volumes, printed and MSS., of which he drew up a catalogue with his own hand. This was a larger assemblage of literary monuments than the combined public libraries at that time of London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Sanuto had completed his account of the *Magistrates of Venice*, his *Lives of the Doges*, and his treatise *De Bello Gallico*, and had by him versions both in Latin and Venetian for the benefit of learned and unlearned, when Aldus inscribed to him in 1498 one of his publications; and the *Itinerary and Commentary of the Ferrarese War* were also probably in existence, and the *Diary* in progress. In 1498 he was two-and-thirty; and he pursued all these literary occupations and his public duties amid continual interruptions from visitors desirous of seeing him and his treasures. Sometimes he consented to receive them; sometimes he declined, even when it was a prince. But he lived to witness the day when great personages presented themselves at Venice, and were told that there were three things worth seeing: the Arsenal, the Treasury of St. Mark, and the Sanuto Library.

The Diarist died poor. He had been repeatedly disappointed in his wish to obtain the post of Historiographer; but the Government allowed him, during many years, an annuity of 150 ducats in consideration of his literary labours; and the sale of his books and other effects must have realised an appreciable amount. Yet it is not unnatural that he should have been angry at the preferment of others to an office so peculiarly congenial and appropriate, and that even the Council of Ten should have found some difficulty in prevailing on him to allow Cardinal Bembo to make use of his material.

He was evidently a many-sided man, to whom study and knowledge were the greatest charms of life, and a genuine collector, who could not refrain from dwelling over a bargain, even if it resulted from the pressure of bad times; for in his will (December 4, 1533) he expressly acquaints us that many of his acquisitions had been made at seasons of great public distress. Then let us recollect that it was long his intention to make the Republic his heir.

The distinguished statesman Marcantonio Barbaro, among his multifarious public functions, was employed by his Government

to delimit the Friulan frontier in conjunction with the representative of the emperor, in order to preclude any farther disputes. Barbaro received from the Senate on the 15th December 1583 the fullest and clearest instructions. He was to have an exact chart drawn up of the territory, shewing not only every town, river, mountain, but the number of inhabitants, character of the soil, and a variety of other minutiae. He was to have two hundred gold ducats a month as pay, and not to be accountable for his disbursements to any one. But it is to be concluded that this eminent and trusty public servant had a confidential charge to report on the question of points in Friuli toward the imperial or Austrian lines, which it might be expedient to strengthen; for we find, sixteen years before, a fortnight's debate in the Senate, where Barbaro held his ground against a heavy majority, and won the day, arguing that it was of no use to establish fortresses in the interior of a province, unless the frontier was protected, since an enemy could pass the former.

This discussion had lasted at least since 1544, and did not terminate till 1593, when the Senate allowed Barbaro to follow his own ideas, and furnished him with the means. The fortification of Friuli proved of importance both against the Germans and the Turks in course of time; but unhappily the vitality of the Republic was ebbing, and a few strong heads could accomplish against the inevitable issue less and less.

At the very period when Barbaro was distinguishing himself by his versatile abilities, another Venetian, Fra Paolo Sarpi, discovered an even higher genius for learning and an even wider diversity of accomplishments. The Sarpi were of Friulan descent; and the famous Servite¹ was the son of Francesco Sarpi by his wife Isabella Morelli, and was born at Venice, 14th August 1552. The mother of Paolo was a tall, fair, gentle lady; but his father is described as a little man, with a touch of the bravo. There was also a daughter of the marriage, who, with her mother, withdrew into a convent after the death of Francesco Sarpi. Young Paolo was brought up by his maternal uncle, who seems to have educated many other distinguished Venetians. At the age of twenty he had begun to acquire a knowledge of the classics and the sciences; and he gradually became proficient in Greek, Latin, mathematics, theology,

¹ Some farther account of this eminent personage may be found in an antecedent chapter.

and canon law, as well as in astronomy, chemistry, anatomy, and every other branch of human learning, which his retentive memory enabled him to store up and utilise on occasion. At twenty-six he was elected Provincial Master of his Order. In person he was small; but he is described as having had plenty of pluck or fight in him; he seldom bought books, and relied on those which friends lent to him, particularly his worthy acquaintance Bernardo Secchini, to whose shop he was a constant visitor.

In 1574, when Sarpi had reached his twenty-second year, his enemies, of whom he had already so early the honour of possessing many, raised a cry that he did not believe the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and, moreover, that he was in correspondence and league with Jews, the latter charge arising from Sarpi having jocularly quoted in reference to a very estimable French Jew, whom he met in a shop, the sentence: "*Hic est verus Israelita in quo dolus non est.*" The Inquisitors dismissed the whole accusation as absurd and malicious.

It was his intimacy with Camillo Olivo, secretary to Cardinal Gongaga, which probably gave Fra Paolo his earliest insight into the policy of the Roman Curia, and led him to qualify himself for the task of championing his native country against the pretensions of the Holy See. He was essentially, more or less in common with many Italians of that age, a man of the most varied acquirements, and endeavoured to render himself familiar with all branches of human knowledge; but in canon and civil law he was a specialist, and there he was best able to serve the Republic, which learned to entertain for him the highest respect and affection, when the rupture with Paul V. occurred in 1605. Although so formidable an antagonist, Sarpi had inherited from his mother a nature which won him friends wherever he went. He was welcome alike at home, at Mantua, at Milan, and in the Eternal City; and previously to the schism with Venice, in which he played so prominent a part, he remained on the most friendly terms with successive pontiffs. When the day arrived for him to put on his armour and stand forward to fight the cause of the Republic, he had acquired no less in public life than in the closet all that ripe culture which made him so excellent and so unanswerable an advocate, and which prompted the most jealous of governments to confide to his hands a task beyond the reach and compass even of Venetian diplomatists.

It was while Sarpi was side by side, as it were, with Barbaro,

yet in a different way, completing himself in his studies (1572-1600), that he was, perhaps unconsciously, making ready to stand forth as the advocate of the Republic in the struggle with the Spanish faction at Rome, which used as its tool the reigning pontiff, and betrayed him into the issue of the famous interdict of 1605. This admirable personage, this earlier and greater Magliabecchi, whom it is out of the question to rank with Paul V. in the controversy, and who could see behind his Holiness the real authors of the movement—the wire-pullers inspired from Naples and Milan, this genuine Master of Arts, would have attained distinction in any calling; but to us he is realised as the daring polemical opponent of the Holy See, who relied, and safely relied, on the unflinching support of his own Government in resisting the pontifical claims at the very moment when a knot of Romanists was nearly successful in England in destroying king and parliament.

The writings of this illustrious Venetian remain standard. His *History of the Council of Trent* is his most esteemed production. But in no instance, perhaps, is it more true than in this, that the Man overshadows the Author; and therefore it is especially fortunate that we possess a biography which bears evidence of having been composed by some one who was well acquainted with Sarpi, and has handed down interesting personal traits of a man so well meriting immortality on all accounts. His heart to the last was in his work, and for a country which so honoured and trusted him.

In 1580, James Crichton of Eliock, who had arrived here from Genoa in a destitute state, managed to introduce himself to the distinguished scholar and printer Aldus Manutius, and presented him with the MS. of a Latin poem, which Manutius printed. The latter did his best to make the young Scot known, and he was at length commissioned to deliver a Latin oration before the Senate. On the 19th August, the College, seeing that Crichton was in straitened circumstances, decided to give him 100 gold crowns; and he left the city, where he had experienced such hospitality and munificence, with a good introduction, to proceed to Padua. The Admirable had seldom had such good days as these.

The Scots appear to have found their way to Venice in common with other Italian centres. Crichton printed some of his *opusculi* here and others at Milan. The Keeper of the Library

of St. Mark's during some years in the sixteenth century was John Dempster, who died in 1571, and who may have been related to George Dempster, Professor of Philosophy at Pavia in 1495. A less favourable illustration of the tendency of the North Britons to foregather abroad was the discovery in 1607 that the assassin of Fra Paolo Sarpi was a Scot, who passed under a fictitious name; and the poverty of the country under the Stuarts, and the intimate relations with the Continent, explain the occurrence of Scottish names in the Italian transactions of that epoch as adventurers even of the most equivocal type.

CHAPTER LXII

The Drama—Play of the *Passion* at Padua in 1243—Dramatic performances by the *Compagnia della Calza*—Official notice as to Scriptural plays in 1509—Gregorio Corraro and his *Progne*—Poetical recitations at entertainments—*Momaria*—The *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus exhibited at the Casa Pesaro in 1514—Plays performed in religious establishments—Henry III. of France engages a Venetian company to come to France in 1574—Procession of the Schools in 1585—Coryat's comparison of Venetian and English theatres—Female writers—Cristina Pisani, Cassandra Fedeli, Veronica Franco, Giustina Renier Michiel—The *Marciano*—Its origin and benefactors—Other libraries incorporated with it—Loss of the great library of Marino Sanuto—Keepers of the *Marciano*—Distinguished visitors to it—Aurispà the Venetian de Bure—The Printing Press—Claim of a Venetian to the discovery of the art—Nicholas Jenson—The two Spiras—Cristoph Valdafer—Aldus Manutius—The house of Sessa—Collectors of books and other antiquities—A collector in 1335—The Doge Faliero—Inventory of his effects (1355)—Numismatists—Arms and armour—Book sales—Petrarch's library sold at Padua—Fra Sarpi's bookseller—Teodoro Correr and his Museum—Literary Academies—Bookbinding.

THE Venetian Drama, in its origin and character, closely resembled the same class of institution throughout Europe. In the capital itself there is no trace, however, of the mediæval mysteries and miracle-plays, although it is difficult to suppose that such a conspicuous element in the religious and social life of the remainder of Western Europe can have been actually deficient here, more particularly as at Padua in 1243 we meet with representations of the *Passion* and the *Resurrection*, and in 1304 in Friuli with one of the *Creation*. It is certain that at Venice the *Compagnia della Calza*, which originated in the early years of the fourteenth century, was influential in promoting and refining, as well as in secularising, the theatrical show, and in rendering it, instead of the rude popular spectacle elsewhere placed on the boards down to the fifteenth century, an entertainment at once more elegant, more costly, and less partaking of primitive superstition; and in the beginning of that century it was, about fifty years posterior to the actual occurrence, when there might well have been many who recollected the facts and

the man, that a Latin tragedy was produced at Padua by Albertino Mussato of that city on the story of Eccelino da Romano. Petrarch, in describing certain festivities at Venice in 1361, mentions Tommaso Babasio of Ferrara in a way which suggests that he was a theatrical performer of some kind, for he compares him to Roscius, while he speaks of him as a private and esteemed acquaintance. As Babasio came to the city to bear a part in a tournament, he was perhaps an amateur actor or histrionic reciter—a fellow of some Ferrarese dramatic society. At the same time, some of the historians insist, and perhaps with reason, on the exhibition in the public squares of the city during a long course of years—during centuries, may be—of those ingenuous dramatisations of scriptural subjects, which delighted other capitals and nationalities; and when we perceive that the earliest official reference to the matter appears to be of the 29th of December 1509, we have to conclude that that contemplated the normal theatrical performance in some kind of building appropriated to the purpose, although very possibly *al fresco*.

It is singular enough, that the Father of the regular Venetian Drama was a boy of eighteen. In his college days, Gregorio, son of Giovanni Corrare by Cecilia Contarini his wife, and grand-nephew of the Cardinal Angelo, founded on the Ovidian tale of Tereus and Philomela a tragedy which he called *Progne*. Corrare was born in 1411, or thereabout. *Progne* appeared in 1429 or 1430. In a letter written to a noble lady of his acquaintance, he says that he shewed his achievement to his schoolmaster Messer Victorino da Feltre, who kept a seminary at Mantua, and that Messer Victorino, when he saw it, did not quite despair of him; and he adds, that he (Corrare) was so strongly affected by the pathos of the story that hot tears rolled down his cheeks, while he was reciting it.¹

Progne was first printed anonymously in 1558 by the *Accademia della Fama*, and again at Rome in 1638. A MS. copy, bearing the title of *Tereus*, one of the interlocutors, and belonging to the fifteenth century, was discovered at a later period in Germany, and was put in type in 1790. The merit of the treatment rendered the subject popular. In 1561, that is three years only after the appearance of the original Venetian edition, Ludovico Domenichi published at Florence a drama purporting to be of his own conception, but chiefly borrowed from Corrare,

¹ Morelli, *Dissert. stor. sulla cultura della poesia presso li Veneziani*, 1796.

entitled *Progne Tragedia*. The subjoined extracts may not be unacceptable:—

CORRARO.—(*Diomedes is speaking*).

Lucos et amnes desero inferni Jovis :
Ad astra mittor supera convexi poli.
Neque enim inter umbras noxius visus furor
Est ullus æque ; Thracia, heu ! solus potest
Explere furiis corda Diomedes : nefas
Odisee liceat : crimini datum est satis,
Satisque sceleri : deprecor fontis plagas :
Amare liceat : Addite ad pœnas meas,
Si quid potestis, dira Furiarum agmina :
Titana pubes exuat vinclis manus
Cœlo rebelles : æneis nodis prematur.

DOMENICHI.

Io me ne vengo da l' oscure grotte
De l' empio Re de le perdute genti,
Et son mandato a riveder le stelle,
Et l' aer vostro luminoso : poi
Che fra l' ombre infernai non s' è veduto
Altro così maligno empio furore :
Et i Thracii cuor può Diomede solo
Empiere, oime, di furie, e di veleno.
Lecito sia quel che non lice odiare :
Che si son viste assai colpe, e delitti :
Et come reo mi prego ogni gastigo.
Lecito sia che s' ami ogni peccato.
Et voi di Furie abominosa schiera,
S' alcuna è in voi possanza, a le mie pene
Aggiugnetemi pur pena e tormento.
Sciolga le mani loro al Ciel rubelle
L' empio stuol de' Giganti——¹

But *Progne* was only one of the numerous works, which are ascribed on good authority to Gregorio Corrarò. The dramatist dedicated to his grand-uncle, Filippo the Procurator, a translation of fifty-three of the Fables of Æsop and others from Greek into Latin: to his brother Andrea, in 1466,² a didactic poem on the Education of Youth³ and to his schoolmaster a volume of satires.⁴

¹ Eds. 1558, sign. B, and 1561, p. 9.

² Agostini, i. 149-52.

³ *Quomodo educari debeant pueri et erudiri, Liber didascalicus.*

⁴ The contents of this collection are:—(i.) Satire shewing why the Author adopted this class of writing to the exclusion of every other. (ii.) Satire against avarice. (iii.) Satire shewing that men are led by venial faults to great vices. (iv.) Satire to his friend on the fear of death. (v.) Satire shewing that a virtuous life alone can stop the tongues of the vulgar. (vi.) Satire upon himself and his servant David.

Sundry odes, epigrams, miscellaneous lyrics, and letters,¹ an Oration delivered before the Emperor Sigismund at the Council of Basle in 1433,² and a Letter to Saint Cecilia³ are also known; but all remain in MS.

About this time, it had been not unusual at private entertainments to present a sort of dramatic interlude or a poetical recitation, as in 1517, when Gaspard della Vedova, secretary of the Council of Ten, gave a *fête* and supper, at which game, stewed fruits, and other delicacies were served; and it incidentally transpires that behind San Cassiano there was a house in 1527, where comedies were recited, whatever that may mean, for in that year the premises were taken for a convalescent home. The date was not at all too early for Titian and his friends. But a more widely appreciated form of spectacular amusement were the *Momaria* or mummeries, otherwise known as *Bombaria*, from the Venetian word *Bomba*, in which a good deal of licence was permitted, and which were in the first instance confined to marriage feasts, subsequently found their way into the houses of the great, and in the end were mainly relegated to the streets. Dramatic pieces of simple construction, but of a more serious and conventional type, now began, however, to contribute to the diversion of the nobility and gentry; in 1514 the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus was exhibited at the Casa Pesaro at San Benedetto by the Compagnia della Calza; and, which is especially curious, we hear a few years later (1532) of the holy brethren of SS. Giovanni e Paolo organising theatricals, termed comedies, at which no layfolk were allowed to be present.

The existence of more than one theatrical company in 1574 seems to be conclusively established by the engagement of a troop by Henry III. of France in that year to play before the States of Blois, in consequence of the satisfaction which his

¹ These are as follow :—(i.) A book of Epigrams, dedicated to Martin V., the reigning Pontiff (who died in 1431). (ii.) A Pastoral, entitled *Lycidas*, and commencing :—

Pastoris Lycidæ dum (nos ?) referamus amores.

(iii.) An Ode in imitation of Horace, called *Dicolos tityastychos*. (iv.) A Hymn to Boys and Virgins. (v.) A Sapphic Ode against the Turks. (vi.) An Epigram on the Tomb of Gregory XII. (vii.) An Epigram to a Friend. (viii.) Two Epigrams and a Distich to Antonio Ricchi, Sculptor. (ix.) A Letter to a Carthusian Noviciate on the advantages of a regular life. (x.) Letters. (xi.) A Soliloquy on the Life and Death of Antonio, Bishop of Ostia, of blessed memory.

² *Oratio Gregorii Corrarîi Veneti Romanæ Ecclesiæ Protonotharii ad Sigismundum Imperatorem pro Concilio Basiliensi.*

³ *Epistola ejusdem ad Cæciliam Virginem de fugiendo sæculo.*

Majesty had derived from seeing them during his stay at Venice.

There were presumably very few known types of dramatic exhibition of which the knowledge and practice did not promptly reach the city; and more particularly in the earlier and purer period performances of a religious cast were doubtless in favour and vogue. It seems somewhat extraordinary, however, to find, so late as 1585, when the Japanese embassy to Rome took the city on its way, a series of spectacles presented by the Schools, where the treatment is described as almost mediæval, and where the mechanical part was ostensibly of a very rudimentary character. The bodies which had prepared these shows were the six principal confraternities (*Scuole*) of la Carita, Misericordia, San Giovanni, San Marco, San Rocco, and San Teodoro, and they went round certain parts of the capital in procession, supporting scaffolds on which were arranged scenes in the lives or histories of the saints with mottoes, while others carried symbolical representations of the various portions of the Venetian Dominion. The School of San Giovanni dei Vetrai of Murano was to have taken part in the solemnity; but its preparations were not completed in time; it had contemplated and nearly finished a castle and an organ entirely constructed of glass. The author of the account of this show assures us, after entering into rather copious details, that he has not told us the thousandth part of the story, and declares that the jewels and gold and silver were worth millions of ducats. The stage or platform dedicated to the patron-evangelist was the receptacle of a richly attired maiden, personifying Venice, in front of whom were six children belonging to the schools in the supposed act of demanding what they ought to do, to which she replies through the medium of a label inscribed with large characters: *Servate praecepta*. It was an interesting spectacle, and must have enormously edified the Oriental beholders, who saw all the leading incidents of the Hebrew Scriptures delineated by means of lath and paste-board.

But the distinguished and unusual visitors were, no doubt, highly impressed by the eight demons with tridents in their hands, who danced and leapt about to the general surprise and gratification. What report the Japanese carried home of their Venetian experiences might have been worth hearing. They had come from Ferrara to Chioggia by the Po in the Duke's own

barge, built on the model of the Venetian *Bucentaur*. The Duchess gave them several handsome presents to take back, as her Highness put it, to their mothers. From Venice the strangers proceeded to Mantua.¹

The promised contribution from Murano, if it came to their ears, would have perhaps rather unkindly tantalised them. It seems difficult to understand how the School of San Rocco brought within manageable compass its manifold display, ranging from the Creation to the Last Judgment; but it must have had more than one scaffold. The wide range of subjects comprised in the programme denotes an amount of scriptural scholarship which was hardly to be surpassed.

The renowned Thomas Coryat, whose period covers the later Elizabethan and earlier Jacobean era, and who had opportunities of comparing the English and Venetian stages in the days of Shakespear, gives in his *Travels*, 1611, the superiority to his own country. Speaking of Venice, he observes: "The play-house is very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately play-houses in England, neither can their actors compare with us for apparel, shows and music." But whatever the Oldcombian hero might have thought of the Venetian stage, a contemporary Venetian spectator at the performance of the *Merchant of Venice* or *Othello* in London would have wondered whence the dramatist obtained his models and his history, even while, in the case of the Moor, he might have appreciated the passion, and have forgiven the violence. Nor would the *Blurt Master Constable* of Middleton, 1602, or the *Venice Preserved* of Otway, 1682, have been regarded as truer to historical facts or local colouring. The three English writers were misguided by flimsy authorities or by hearsay.

At the theatre of San Cassiano, where in the time of Titian dramatic recitations seem to have been already given, we hear of the performance in 1637 of the musical play *Andromeda* by Benedetto Ferrari, which was placed on the stage with the most sumptuous appointments and dresses, and in which dances were introduced.

Evelyn, accompanied by his friend Lord Bruce, took tickets

¹ The visit of the Japanese to Venice forms part of a volume entitled: *Relazioni della Veneta de gli Ambasciatori Giaponesi a Roma, fino alla partita di Lisbona. Con una descrizione del lor paese, e costumi, e con le accoglienze fatte loro da tutti i principi Christiani, per doue sono passati.* Raccolte di Guido Gualtieri. In Venetia appresso I Gioliti, MDLXXXVI. 8vo.

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for the Opera in 1646 beforehand, and saw *Hercules in Lydia*, the scenery being changed thirteen times. The famous treble, Anna Rencia, whom the Diarist subsequently invited to a fish-dinner, sang: also an eunuch, whom the Englishman almost preferred, and a Genoese, an incomparable bass. The performance lasted till two in the morning.

In the later years of the century the patrician Marco Contarini built for himself a theatre contiguous to his country house at Piazzola, near Padua, and connected with it by a long corridor. The same class of performance seems to have been in favour here. In 1679 a piece entitled *Amazzoni alle Isole Fortunate* was presented; and the arrangements are described as of the most princely and expensive character, although not so many years had elapsed since the ruinous Candiot war. The members of the aristocracy themselves composed some of these lyrical entertainments; and the Compagnia della Calza promoted such methods of diverting their female friends and displaying their own talent and profusion. But at the ordinary theatres, of which there were, it appears, at least altogether twelve, the scenery and costumes were far more modest and frugal, and the programmes embraced a wide range of subjects, from the ancient comedies of Plautus and the contemporary productions of Ariosto or Machiavelli to the broadest and coarsest type of bouffe or low domestic comedy.

From this time down to the age of Gozzi and Goldoni a succession of dramatists kept the stage supplied with pieces adapted to the local taste, and more capable of appreciation by Venetian than other audiences from their language and allusions.¹

Independently of the acted dramatic literature, scarcely a public incident occurred which did not at some later date become the theme for treatment by national writers, whose productions did not leave the closet. In the course of these pages numerous plays, of which the plots dealt with exploits performed by Venetian characters so far back as almost prehistoric days, have been cited; some of them were of a lyrical cast; and others were unsuitable for representation. At Venice, except before select academic audiences, the genius of the stage soon acquired a spectacular or operatic character, where it did not descend to low

¹ The Memoirs of Gozzi afford a curious insight into the checkered personal and professional career of the writer, and the elaborate prolegomena of Mr. Symonds will be read with pleasure for the view which they supply of the Venetian low comedy of the eighteenth century.

comedy and farce; and the classical Muse was obliged to content herself with the smiles of scholars and patriots. But within a measurable distance of time compositions professing to depict the scenes and manners of the remote past appealed for sympathy and approval to Venetian readers, in whose minds the original *dramatis personae* were as mythical and dim as Romulus and Remus or Hengist and Horsa to the average Roman or the average Englishman.

The Republic produced four female writers of celebrity, not all of whom, however, were strictly Venetians. One, Cristina Pisani, was born at Venice in 1363 of Bolognese parents. Her father, Tommaso Pisani, a renowned astrologer of his day, left the city in 1368, and settled in France with his wife and daughter, the latter of whom never revisited the spot of her nativity. All her productions are in French. The principal are:—1. *The Life of Charles the Wise, King of France*, her father's patron, written on commission for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; 2. *The Feats of Arms and Chivalry*, a compilation from Vegetius *De Re Militari*, printed in an English version in 1489; 3. *The Book of the City of Ladies*, translated by Bryan Ansley or Annesley, and printed in English in 1521; 4. *The Moral Proverbs of Christine*, translated by Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers, and printed in 1478; 5. A volume of Amatory Poems, printed at Paris in 1529; 6. *The Hundred Histories of Troy*. Many of her compositions remain in MS., and are scattered over the public libraries of England and the Continent. Cristina or Christine is said to have died very poor in or about 1420. The story runs that the Earl of Salisbury, when he visited France to arrange a marriage between Richard II. and Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., saw her, and being a man who delighted in ballads and light literature, offered to take Christine back with him; but she had become too warmly attached to her adopted country, and the reason which she gave the Earl was "Je ne puis croire que fin de desloyal viengne à bon terme." The most complete account of her life and writings is that furnished in the second volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* and in a monograph published in 1838.¹

The second lady, who belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, was Cassandra Fedeli, a Venetian subject, but merely a native of the *terra firma*. Fedeli enjoyed the esteem of many of her learned contemporaries: Angelo Politiano terms her *Decus*

¹ See Agostini, *Notizie degli scrittori Viniziani*, ii. 477-8, 485, 601.

Italiae. In 1488, on graduating as doctor at Padua, she delivered before the university a Latin speech of her own composition, which was warmly admired; and about the same time, at a banquet in the Ducal palace during the reign of Agostino Barbarigo (1485-1501), the same fair personage improvised certain Latin verses accompanied by the lyre. A widow at fifty-six, Cassandra determined to embrace a religious life, and died lady-superior of the Hospital of San Dominico at Vicenza in 1567 at the more venerable than romantic age of one hundred and two.

Then there was the beautiful and famous Veronica Franco, called the Venetian *Aspasia*. Born in 1553, probably in the street of San Agnese, at the age of twenty she published a volume of *Terze rime* of an amatory cast, and had the honour of being painted by Tintoretto. Veronica, left a widow at a very early age, became the central attraction of an intellectual and musical circle, and was distinguished by the brilliance of her conversation and the charm of her voice. It was just when she was in the rich bloom of early womanhood that Henry III. visited the city, and he was at once taken captive, nor would he quit Venice without having secured her likeness, which Henry personally visited her house to solicit. She subsequently sent it to his Majesty with two sonnets in her own handwriting, which are printed by Gamba. The subject of this notice was courted in her prime by the great, the learned, and the gay; and she unhappily succumbed to the powerful temptations by which she was surrounded. But in 1578, when she had nearly completed her twenty-fifth year, she sought to make amends for the errors of her short life by the institution at her expense of a *Soccorso* or Magdalen. The portrait of Veronica, which has come down to us, does much to exculpate both her and her admirers.

Finally, in the last days of the Republic lived Giustina Renier Michiel, authoress of a well-known book on the Venetian Festivals; and this high-born lady, descendant of doges, survived to witness the closing scene, and to look back sorrowfully on the past.

The Public Library, which is most familiarly known under the designation of the Marciano, was originally a very small collection, and boasted, perhaps, little more than the few volumes presented by Petrarch in 1362, with some later additions.¹ Of this parent nucleus of the public or national library, which was stated in 1882 to contain 120,000 books, it is questioned whether any vestiges

¹ Romanin, iv. 501.

whatever be extant. It is stated to have comprised some interesting MSS. and a few Books of Hours. The Latin poem on the Marian Games by Pace del Friuli, written about 1300, and dedicated to the Doge Gradenigo: a Latin version of the *Therapeutica* of Galen: and a French missal of the twelfth century, which there is an inclination to identify among a few others as memorials of the liberality and goodwill of Petrarch, are not of undoubted authenticity. Neither the Dante which Boccaccio presented to his friend, nor the copy of Quintilian, *De Institutione Oratoria*, which the poet himself discovered at his birthplace in the winter of 1350, is known to exist. But the Republic was literary heir to the poet only in a limited sense, and between 1362 and the date of his death Petrarch had opportunities of making additions to his shelves. Such books as remained at Arqua or elsewhere, when he died ten years later, were publicly dispersed at Padua.

Morelli¹ seems to establish that in point of fact the number of books which *actually came to Venice* was exceedingly small, and that many volumes, after passing through various hands, at length found their way into the Public Collections of Rome and Paris. Yet we are bound to credit the Republic at this tolerably early date with the spirit and feeling for letters and culture which received such a powerful stimulus in the succeeding centuries.

During the temporary ascendancy of the Albizzi party at Florence, that illustrious patriot and statesman, Cosmo de' Medici, sought an asylum at Venice in 1434, and appears to have taken up his own quarters at San Giorgio Maggiore, while members of his family resided by permission of the Florentine government in other parts of the Venetian territories. It occurred to the exile to requite this hospitality in a manner characteristic and worthy of his tastes; and he engaged his personal friend and fellow-exile, the architect Michelozzo, to enlarge and partly rebuild the old Abbey library, to which Medici presented books and works of art.² This seems to have been intact in 1713, when the Elector of Saxony visited it, and admired the bindings of some of the volumes. Again, thirty-four years later, in 1468, the literary treasures of Cardinal Bessarion, which had cost the owner 30,000 ducats, came as a donation to the Republic. The piece of good fortune, which was cordially accepted by the Doge in a letter of the 10th August, was attributable to the intimacy which the Cardinal had contracted with several of the more cultivated patricians, especially

¹ Morelli, i. 7.

² See Romanin, iv. 501.

Paolo Morosini. In his communication announcing the gift, his Eminence had observed: "I should regard all my care as inadequate, if I did not take measures to provide that the books collected by myself with such great pains should be placed, where after my death they will be secure from loss or dispersion, in order that they may be at the service of Greek and Latin scholars. Of all the towns of Italy, your illustrious and flourishing city appeared to me to answer most completely my views. What country could offer a safer asylum than yours? Actuated by equity, submissive to the laws, and governed by integrity and wisdom . . ." and so the donor went on, concluding with a hope that Venice would wax greater day by day in power and fame, and in the time to come be recognised as a second Byzantium.

The bequest of Cardinal Grimani, one of the sons of the Doge Marino (1521-23), followed in June 1506;¹ and by various gifts and purchases the national institution gradually assumed an importance and extent which encouraged the Government to employ the architect Sansovino to erect a building for the reception of these accumulated stores,—too late, however, to save the precious Sanuto library of 6500 volumes,² which the owner had dearly wished in 1536 to leave to his country, and for which there was then no adequate accommodation.

A list of the librarians of the Marciano is an impressive record, because it establishes the solicitude of the Signory, here and everywhere else, to select individuals, who had rendered themselves conspicuous by their attainments and public services. It at the same time illustrates the catholicity of the Venetian functionary:—

1485. Marco Barbarigo, afterward Doge.	1543. Benedetto Ramberto.
1486. Agostino Barbarigo (his brother), afterward Doge.	1547. Andrea de' Franceschi, Grand Chancellor.
Marcantonio Sabellico, the historian.	John Dempster (a Scot).
Andrea Navagiero, the historian.	Bernardino Loredano.
(c. 1530). Pietro Bembo, afterward Cardinal.	1575. Luigi Gradenigo.
Gio. Battista Ramusio (assistant librarian).	1584. Luigi Pesaro, Lecturer on Philosophy.
	1588. Benedetto Giorgio.
	1601. Nicolo Morosini.
	Girolamo Soranzo.
	1635. Giovanni Nani.

¹ Sanuto, *Diarii*, vi. 281.

² It appears that there had been a greater number, but some were sold in the lifetime of the owner to meet incumbrances.

1650. Angelo Contarini.	1762. Alvigi Mocenigo, afterward Doge.
1659. Battista Nani, the historian.	1763. Girolamo Grimani
1678. Silvestro Valiero, afterward Doge.	Alvigi Contarini.
1693. Francesco Cornaro.	Girolamo Ascanio Giustiniani.
1716. Girolamo Veniero.	Zaccaria Valaresso.
1736. Lorenzo Tiepolo.	Francesco Pesaro. ¹
1742. Marco Foscarini, afterward Doge.	

The French, the Italians, the Spaniards, and even the Germans, soon learned to look toward Venice for the means of obtaining for their own institutions transcripts from valuable or even unique codices, particularly after the installation of the Bessarion bequest in 1468. Sansovino relates how the Duke of Ferrara and Henry III. of France in 1574 spent an entire day in inspecting the literary and bibliographical stores of the Grimani family, a portion of which came to the national collection.

After the surrender to the French Republic in 1797, a large number of valuable books and MSS., in addition to works of art, were appropriated by Bonaparte, not only from Venice itself, but from Padua, Verona, and Treviso, and from Udine in Friuli; and of all these items an inventory has been preserved.² It comprises many of the most precious examples of the parent presses of Venice itself and other countries, including the *Rationale* of Durandus of 1459 on vellum, and an extensive assemblage of important codices, a considerable proportion of which belonged to the Bessarion library. The selection has the air of having been made by a person or persons conversant with bibliography and the relative importance of literary antiquities. It was in this sense and respect that Bonaparte proved himself an Attila to the Republic; for the system of plunder was alike merciless and shameless, and was characteristic of the arrogant brutality of the ascendant Power. The municipal authorities, in the face of these and other exactions, could only say: "Since right cannot resist force, it lies with you to do as you please."

The ardour of bibliographical research, the earnest spirit of literary inquiry, and the desire to become acquainted with the best classic models, which began toward the middle of the fifteenth century to animate her patricians and merchant-princes,

¹ The last was in office in 1797.

² Romanin, x. 389-446.

had the natural effect of securing to Venice the finest and largest collection of MSS. in the world. Aurispa, the Venetian De Bure, possessed a library of 238 MSS. among which were the works of Plato, Procopius, and Callimachus. Many other private individuals followed the example of this enthusiast, and formed similarly choice and precious cabinets. The Venetians became the highest bidders for autograph or unique codices. Bibliomania was here seen in its healthiest aspect; and the passion, so far from being pernicious, was productive of the most salutary results. But the generous thirst for knowledge, and the widening appreciation of the masterpieces of the ancients, soon led to an increased demand for those compositions which rank among the noblest effort of human genius; and a gigantic revolution was wrought in course of time in the character of literature and history of books. The Republic, though not the cradle of typography, shewed herself almost at the outset one of its most magnificent patronesses; and in fact the Venetian territory on the *terra firma* is not without its pretensions to the still somewhat doubtful claim of priority in the most valuable of discoveries. For Panfilio Castaldi of Feltre is alleged to have acquired in 1440 the art of committing characters to type, and to have been associated with Fust, to whom he imparted the secret, the latter through Gutenberg forestalling him, however, in its practical application; but at any rate Castaldi permitted many years to elapse without taking any steps, so far as we at present are aware, to assert his right, or to carry out the art at home.¹ Again, it is curious that in a pack of cards, 1681, on the back of the *Cavallo di Spade*, we read: "arte della stampa introdotta in Venetia dalla Dandola Dogaressa Malipiera," or, in other words, by the consort of the Doge Pasquale Malipiero (1457-62).

On the 18th September, 1469, the Senate, seeing "that this peculiar invention of our time, altogether unknown to those former (ages), is in every way to be fostered and advanced,"² accorded to John da Spira, for five years, the right of printing books. In the same twelvemonth, Spira produced the *Familiar Letters* of Cicero and the *Natural History* of Pliny; and of the latter, at least, if not of both, a few copies were struck off on vellum. The privilege granted to John of Spira, and afterward

¹ See farther Horatio F. Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, and Ongania, *L' arte della Stampa*, folio, 1894, where some interesting facsimiles may be found.

² Romanin, iv. 510.

to his brother Vindelin, did not, however, long remain exclusive. In 1470, the monopoly was broken by Nicholas Jenson of Sommevoire. Jenson appears to have commenced his career at Venice by the issue of the *Rhetoricorum Libri Quatuor* of Cicero, 1470, of which there are copies on vellum. The colophon in verse was presumably by Jenson himself, and shews that his gifts were those of a printer rather than of a Latinist. At any rate, in the colophon to his folio collection of Diomedes and other grammarians he describes himself as *Nicolaus Jenson Gallus*, by which we are to understand his French, rather than Frankish, extraction. The work of Pliny was at this period so popular, that in 1476 the new-comer, having in 1472 republished the original Latin, printed an Italian version in a large folio volume, which is still of common occurrence; in the colophon of the book, which also occurs on vellum, it is said to be "Opus Nicolai Jensoni Gallici"; the *Bibbia Volgare*, which Jenson produced in 1471, was reprinted at Turin; and these publications only form a very small proportion of that long and numerous series which entitle him and his successors to rank high among the early masters and benefactors of the art. Nor was it long before others entered the field; and of them the most famous, perhaps, were Christoph Valdarfer, from whose press proceeded the first edition of the *Decameron* with a date; Theobaldo Manutio, commonly called Aldo; the house of Sessa, whose productions used to be distinguished by a cat on the title pages; and that of Giolito, which carried on business down to the second half of the sixteenth century. The typographical annals of the Republic have been thought worthy of a monograph; and the names of the early printers belong to several nationalities. A complete assemblage of works from the older Venetian press would constitute an extensive library, and would embrace, in addition to theology and the classics, a fairly copious assortment of contributions to history, lyrical and dramatic poetry, and popular literature.

The elder Aldus was, no doubt, assisted in selecting his texts by the scholars, whom he collected round him, and who may have had a hand in correcting the press; but he also employed in his office the learned Peter Morinus and other competent and experienced persons,¹ to whom is mainly due the accuracy

¹ A copy of the Naples edition of Pontanus, folio, 1505, before me, has the

of these lasting monuments of editorial erudition and technical skill. It might be profitable to follow the suggestion, which has been made, that both Erasmus and Holbein were professionally associated with the great Venetian typographer, the former in an editorial capacity, the latter as a designer of bindings. The distinguished Dutch scholar certainly edited for Aldus the *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia* of Euripides in 1507, and added a Latin Ode in eulogy of Henry VII. of England and his family.

In connection with the pursuit of the typographical art it is proper and necessary to introduce a notice of the two literary Academies, the *Accademia della Fama* and that *Dei Pellegrini*, which not only afforded facilities, in the form of libraries and assembly rooms, for the promotion of knowledge and culture, but undertook the publication of works, for which there was not sufficient public encouragement. The *Accademia della Fama* was founded in 1558 by Federigo Badoer, a distinguished statesman and a personage of the most illustrious descent, on a princely scale. It was composed of about one hundred members, and lectures were delivered on every branch of polite and technical learning; it accumulated a fine library for the use of all who chose to resort to it; it had its own chapel and ministers; and there were periodical festive or hospitable gatherings. Bernardo Tasso held the office of Chancellor with a salary of 200 gold ducats, and the President was Paolo Manutio, son of the celebrated Theobaldo or Aldo. This magnificent scheme came to an end in 1561, and the Badoer family was ruined by the profuse expenditure. A revival of it took place in the same year under the auspices of Paolo Paruta the historian; but it resembled the original institution in name only, and lasted many years. The *Pellegrini* were organised on a somewhat different principle. They assisted the passage through the press of literary productions of special and limited interest, and held their meetings at each other's house or in the gardens of the Giudecca, Murano, or San Giorgio, where they read aloud the poets and prose-writers of ancient and modern times; and they extended their programme to educational and eleemosynary purposes, and to the payment of due honours to departed colleagues. It was a fusion of the Club with the Gild.

These two features in the life of that period may be said to

autograph of Morinus, and may be the very one from which the Aldine impression was derived.

abroad, or in Government stock which, if it was less advantageous, was more secure. It is curious to consider that, with the now reigning and almost tyrannical love of what is old, the furniture, the kitchen utensils, and the money in daily use by that same Venetian, if he was a housekeeper of fair resources and taste, and they by some miracle had descended to us in an unimpaired state, would be prized at more than their weight in gold ducats, while similar illustrations of the domestic life of the Greeks and Romans would have probably possessed in his eyes a more subdued interest. An omnivorous study of bygone ages was reserved for men and for times, whereof he had formed no conception.

The term *Studio* bore at Venice a twofold signification. It meant a university; and it also stood for the repository where a collector arranged his books or his other possessions of an artistic or archæological character. It was the modern study with a somewhat wider application. It imported a room, where literary monuments in print or manuscript merely constituted a section, and which might embrace paintings, bronzes, sculpture, majolica, porcelain, armour, and all kinds of miscellaneous antiquities.

The inventory made by Johannes Presbyter of SS. Apostoli of the artistic and ornamental effects in the Red Room of the Casa Falier at SS. Apostoli in 1355 after the death of the Doge has been preserved,¹ and merits particular notice, partly because many items of value had in some way passed from the hands of Marco Polo into the possession of the Falieri—perhaps of the Doge himself, who must have personally known the great explorer. The most prominent objects were:—

A painting (*tabula*) with the effigy of St. George.

Another executed by Magister Thomas *Pictor*, with figures of various nationalities.

A couch (*triclinium*) of rosewood (*lignum rubeum*), with carved work.

Objects in glass and alabaster.

A cabinet with fifty coins "*mire antiquitatis*."

Another with rings and jewels, two given to the family (? the late Doge) by Marco Polo.

An antique sword with an inscription.

Two heads of *barbari* or foreigners, brought from Africa by Jhacobello, a seaman.

Costumes of various peoples.

¹ *Bulletino*, 1877-80.

LXII The Early Study—Faliero Inventory 723

A curious berretta.

A copper († bronze) sword found at Padua.

Two MSS., one with animals painted in gold and colours, the other containing Lives of Saints with their effigies.

Three engraved silver cups.

A gold statuette of Santa Marina.

Two cases of white leather, with various objects in gold and silver, given to Marco Polo by the Khan or some other foreign king.

A three-edged sword belonging to Polo, and carried by him in his travels.

A brazen *Sphæra Mundi*, which formerly belonged to Master Antonio the astrologer.

Painted Indian cloths, formerly the property of Polo.

A MS. of Polo's travels.

De locis mirabilibus Tartarorum, said to be in Polo's autograph.

Several astrological and physical treatises and other books in red and white leather.

Thus the house of Falier or Faliero clearly seems to have come into possession, by gift or otherwise, of many of the curiosities which Marco Polo carried back with him to his native city on his return from his strange and romantic experiences in regions then previously unknown; and the present document, transmitted to posterity by the systematic care of the Venetian archivists, exhibits one of the most familiar names and characters in the story of the Republic as a pioneer in the pursuit and preservation of antiquarian remains and works of art.

The Venetians signalised their zeal in the formation of libraries and in a diversity of allied pursuits. A long list of names gradually accumulated, commemorating those distinguished and meritorious citizens who became owners of literary treasures both before and after the invention of the printing press, and of whom some generously bequeathed their possessions to the Republic.

Quite a catalogue might be drawn up of the men who followed in the footsteps of Faliero down to the end of the eighteenth century, and the name of the Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who died at Rome in 1523, and who brought together at Santa Maria Formosa that princely collection, which included the famous *Breviary*, stands nearly foremost. But Sansovino enumerates many others. Bibliomania dated from an even anterior period. Let us assist in commemorating as many as possible of those distinguished book-lovers in the days of Italian splendour:—

Bernardo Trevisano.	Girolamo Donato.
Giovanni Grimani, patriarch of Venice.	Jacopo Contarini.
Pasquale Cicogna, Doge from 1585 to 1595.	Leonardo and Alvigi Mocenigo.
Gabriele and Andrea Vendramino.	Francesco and Domenigo Duodo.
Marino Sanuto.	Gianbattista Erizzo.
Benedetto Dandolo.	Simone Zeno.
Antonio Calbo.	Giovanni Gritti.
Andrea Loredano.	Francesco Bernardo.
Cardinal Bembo.	Gio. Paolo Cornaro.
	Apostolo Zeno.

The catalogue of the museum of Andrea Vendramino occupied sixteen large volumes. Of Cardinal Bembo many of the acquisitions found their way to Parma and Turin. The libraries of Jacopo Contarini and Apostolo Zeno came to the State; that of Marino Sanuto was unhappily scattered. Apostolo Zeno, the eminent man of letters, who is said to have amassed 30,000 volumes, bequeathed them to the Jesuits' College, whence they were transferred to the Marciano.

The Venetians, in days of prosperity, were in the field whenever any great collection was announced for sale either at home or abroad; and there is collateral testimony to a fact, which is itself eminently probable, that portions at least of the library of the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, found their way to the shores of the Adriatic. This was about 1490, when the purchasing power of the subjects of the Republic was in its zenith.

Other favourite lines of collecting were arms and armour, and ancient musical instruments; and we have the names of some of those who made such objects of ornament or records endeared by private association their speciality, and the extent, to which prodigality of decoration on weapons of more or less recent manufacture was carried, is familiar to later generations, who pursue similar tastes. The Doge Faliero, who died in 1355, seems to have been one of the earliest enthusiasts in numismatics, and left behind him a cabinet of Roman coins; he had numerous followers, particularly Sebastiano Erizzo (1522-85) a public servant, lecturer, and archaeologist: Domenigo Pasqualigo, whose treasures of the present nature came to St. Mark's: Giovanni Soranzo: and the founder of the Correr Museum, equally the property of the Republic.

The multiplication of printers and books naturally led, as

elsewhere, to the rise of a class, which made it their special calling to distribute in retail and sell at second hand. There is in the Marciano the ledger of an anonymous dealer of this kind, who flourished in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century, and who seems to have been quite miscellaneous in the character of his stock. He must have been one of the leading members of the trade, and his place of business was somewhere near the Rialto. His entries extend from May 1484 to October 1485. He sometimes gave books in exchange for household requisites; sometimes he sold a lot at an agreed price, as when he lets sixteen various works go "in massa" to Messer Alvise Cappello for two ducats and one lira = a sovereign or thereabout. In one instance he makes a present to a corrector, probably of the press. Popular literature at the period fetched comparatively nothing; and indeed many of the classics, and many books with fine engravings, were estimated at pence; Plutarch's *Lives* are thought worth two ducats, or about a sovereign; and for nearly the same money a customer might have had Plato, Dante, Petrarch, and Diogenes Laertius. The Geography of Ptolemy, however, is invoiced at 3 ducats, 4 lire, 18 soldi. The owner of this unique day-book, which is more interesting to posterity than all the items which it registers, recognised the principle of allowing credit, perhaps only to regular and safe clients, and pursued the modern method of always keeping in hand surplus copies of articles in constant demand, such as school-books, Juvenal, *Itineraries to Jerusalem*, and the letters of His Holiness Pius II. As a record there is probably nothing elsewhere approaching this Venetian one in antiquity and curiosity, since for the date it is unusually multifarious, and presents a refreshing leaven of books of human interest.¹

The winter months constituted, according to the returns for the period comprised in the account, the busiest part of the year; from September to December, 1484, the takings were 318 ducats. Not only the season, but current circumstances, influenced custom, for in the case of another bookseller, Leonardo Crasso, an extension of copyright was conceded in 1509, because the *Hypnerotomachia* of Polifilo, 1499, which he held, had proved unsaleable by reason of the wars; and this was a costly production. In the previous May the former dealer took stock, and found that he had 1337 volumes on hand. A list attached

¹ Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, pp. 37-39, 432-52.

to the ledger enumerates the holy days, on which he was obliged to close his premises wholly or partly, and to refrain from exposing goods for sale outside.

At the Frari in Venice there is a second relic of a similar kind, belonging to a much later epoch, 1596 to 1603; but such MSS. are almost necessarily of peculiar rarity as objects long deemed unworthy of preservation or notice.

The collection of all antiquities implies indeed the existence of sources whence the acquirers furnished themselves, and where such things were stored pending the arrival of a buyer. The records of this class are both scanty and intermittent. So far as books are concerned, we learn that such as Petrarch left behind him at his death in 1363 were sold at Padua. Anton Kressen of Nürnberg bought a copy of the poet's works, printed at Venice in 1501, in that city, and caused it to be bound for him in his own home in 1505. In the first half of the sixteenth century the members of one of the Councils were supplied with copies of *Æsop* to fill up vacant time; each of the forty-one Councillors had one; and they were all brought to light in a short space of time from local depôts; and in 1536 the extensive library of Marino Sanuto must have flooded every emporium and private study in Venice.

We know that Paolo Sarpi was during years a daily frequenter of the shop of Bernardo Secchini, and that many others resorted to it, both Venetians and foreigners; it was there that Sarpi fell in with the French Jew. There were not only the shopkeepers, but stall-holders, who exposed their goods in the public thoroughfares, where the space allowed, and in 1774 we meet with the hawker, who traversed the streets in search of clients.

Evelyn was much struck, on his visit to the city in 1646, by the museum of curiosities which had been formed by Signor Rugini, a noble Venetian, who occupied a fine and richly-furnished palace. The collection was of the type then admired in England, and associated with the names of Ashmole and Sloane; but Rugini counted among his acquisitions many costly and splendid specimens of ornamental furniture and, according to the diarist, some valuable cameos; and it is worth noting, in immediate reference to a bedstead inlaid with agates, crystals, cornelians, lazuli, and other stones, estimated at 10,000 scudi, that at that time gilt-iron bedsteads were commonly used in Italy on account of the liability of wood to harbour vermin.

Many private collections of more or less notable character existed down to the last years of the Republic; and a few survived the Fall in 1797. It was in those families which had retained their wealth, or had been willing to sacrifice other considerations to their heirlooms, that relics of the past were to be sought. The contents of aristocratic mansions and palaces were of a sumptuous, varied, and more or less casual description; the middle-class or bourgeois connoisseur was long unknown in such a State, where even merchants were patricians; and one of the most recent cases under the old *régime* was that of Teodoro Correr or Corraro (1750-1830), who formed and carried out on an ambitious scale the design of accumulating all available remains, which served to illustrate the Venetian annals and life from the earliest period. This noble undertaking resulted in the Correr Museum, bequeathed by the owner to his native city and country. It embraces archaeological examples of every kind: unique State papers, weapons, bronzes, coins, medals; and we cannot be too thankful to such a man for his invaluable legacy to the entire world of culture. Correr was on the ground, of course, when such things were procurable, more especially in the last dark days, when a vast amount of property was cast adrift, and few, if any, besides himself, were at hand or disposed to secure it. The Museum is consequently the sole repository of a large number of historical and personal memorials, which might have perished in the absence of those affectionate eyes and hands. It has received some later accessions, particularly the Molin bequest.

Of a native school of Binding we find no actual vestige previous to the fifteenth century. The multiplication of books after the establishment of the Aldine Press in or about 1494 probably encouraged the institution of a binding department, which may, as in France and England, have been under the same roof. The extant specimens of Venetian work in morocco can hardly be referred to an earlier period than the second half of the sixteenth century; the Venetian leather, which was doubtless of Levantine origin, became celebrated; and modern English artists long followed the practice of attiring not only the productions of Aldus and Asulanus in this vesture, but any choice volume committed to their care. But the expression *Venetian binding* is very loosely and vaguely employed in catalogues to denote morocco liveries, which have no perceptible connection with Venice, and may not be even of Italian origin.

It is extremely possible, however, that many of the Grolieresque bindings found on the productions of the Aldine Press between 1520 and 1540 may have been locally executed; they are sufficiently abundant, but seldom occur in a high state of preservation.

Although the Petrarch of 1501¹ noticed above as purchased at Venice was carried back home to receive a German cover, there is no doubt that, even before the time of the Aldi, Venice had a school of bibliopegistic art which, starting with oaken or other wooden boards, covered with plain or stamped leather, as elsewhere, gradually developed through the stages of pigskin and limp vellum into Levantine morocco gilt, tooled, and otherwise decorated to meet an ever-growing variety of tastes. Some rich examples occur among the *Ducals* of a more or less early period. There is one of the Doge Andrea Gritti, directed in 1531 to Andrea Gradenigo on proceeding as governor or proveditor of Monselice, in the original gilt red morocco, with the name of the recipient on the upper cover.

The fashion for painted book-covers and edges set in even before the sixteenth century, for the Piloni family of Belluno formerly possessed a marvellous assemblage of volumes so decorated by no less a personage than Cesare Vecellio; and a Florentine visitor to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in 1713, in company with the Elector Friedrich August of Saxony, records that they saw there a second collection of books with richly embellished bindings. The painted edge has the air of having been an outgrowth from the gauffred style of decoration not uncommon on examples of works from the Venetian Press.

¹ Now in the British Museum.

CHAPTER LXIII

Houses—Their structure—The Hall—Study—Drawing-room—Chimneys—Their primitive formation and dangerous character—The *Sala Camminorum* at the Palace—Wells—Their value and universality—Clothes-chests—Dwellings of the poor—Favourite domestic objects—The Curfew—Marco Polo brings back from China a remedy against fires—Nocturnal resources—Illumination of the city—Linkmen and torch-bearers—Sittings of the Great Council by torchlight—Sulphur matches—Venice a place of universal resort—Floating population—Securities for strangers—The Commissionaires—Hotels—Their supervision by the police—Furnished apartments let in 1484—Fairs—Great Frost of 860—The Plague—Official precautions against it—Climate and air—Lazaretto—Board of Health—Measures to prevent adulteration of food and wine—Precocious attention to condition of thoroughfares and disinfection of suspected objects—*Black Death* of 1447.

THE houses of the early Venetians, subsequently to that primitive epoch, when the city presented an assemblage of low and undecorated timber tenements roofed with thatch, and pierced with unglazed port-holes, exhibited some points of resemblance to the Roman buildings at Pompeii, which may be another way of saying that the models of building, transmitted by the Romans, were followed by their successors, who may have had some of them still fairly preserved under their eyes in the Middle Ages. But a unique piece of testimony survives in the form of a reference to certain judicial proceedings in the second half of the eleventh century to indicate that in some of the ancient dwellings of the aristocracy a spacious portico or porch constituted a feature; for a suit at law is said to have been heard before the ducal court under these circumstances at the residence of a member of the Candiano or Sanudo family.

Fir, larch, and elder were the descriptions of timber in principal use. The house, which was not uncommonly one-storied,¹ seldom exceeded two stories exclusively of the *Liago* or *Heliakon*, a terrace or balcony at the top of the building, where the inmates were accustomed to resort in the evening: namely,

¹ Zanetti, *Dell' Origine di alcune Arti presso li Veneziani*, 78-79.

the basement or *terreno*, on which were the kitchen offices and the armoury, and the upper story, which contained the reception rooms and dormitories.¹

On entering a house of the better class through the ample portico, the first object which met the eye was an outer court, leading into a vestibule (*atrio*), from which a staircase conducted to the second story. The latter, in addition to the dormitories, contained the principal sitting-room, along the walls of which were ranged curiosities of art, armour, weapons, and other family relics—the sword which a Michieli used at Jaffa, or the spurs which a Dandolo wore at Constantinople. It was a quadrangular apartment, not usually very spacious, of which the sides were covered with leather, embossed with gilt arabesques; or, if the family was particularly wealthy and extravagant, with silken tapestry, brocaded with silver. The more private portion of even palatial dwellings was not adapted for the accommodation of festive assemblies.

From the sitting and sleeping apartments you ascended to the *Liago* or *Solarium*, which was closed on three sides, and open only on that which had a southern aspect, and enjoyed the morning sun. The roof was flat, and composed of rafters, instead of being vaulted like that of the Roman edifices.

Wherever we look, flat roofs appear to have been generally preferred, as they are still in many places either for safety, where the cyclone is an habitual visitor, or for use and enjoyment where it is often possible, as in the tropics, to sleep in the open air, or at Venice, where at least the inmates of the house could inhale the evening breeze after a sultry summer's day during eight months of the year. Nor was such a structure by any means unknown in more northerly latitudes, though the nature of the climate in England and elsewhere made such an architectural feature comparatively unserviceable.

It was in the hall that entertainments were usually given, especially those on a large scale. Meetings of interest to the various branches of a family were held in it. As long as the Ducal Court was one of circuit, and the Doge himself presided over it, this part of the house was often devoted to the hearing of suits, as it yet continues to be in Morocco and other parts of the East, if the weather or other circumstances precluded the use of the porch. In the hall of the Casa Polo the great explorer

¹ Mutinelli, *Annali*, p. 12; id. *Costume Veneziano*, p. 49.

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received his friends and kinsfolk at a banquet on his return in 1295. Out of it a series of doors opened into apartments intended for reception or for family use, and the various offices. The *terreno* generally contained the store-magazines. Above, in the second story, besides the dormitories and study or library, was a private chamber, employed as a withdrawing room for the ladies. But there was, of course, at no time a precise uniformity in the distribution of the apartments or their application.

But the hall was always in dwellings of any pretension, as now, sufficiently spacious for convivial purposes, and its walls were the receptacles for paintings, arms and armour, and the trophies of the chase; while woodland within a reasonable distance afforded ample facilities for sport, and hunters or hunting parties frequented the neighbouring *terra firma* in quest of the boar, the wolf, the deer, and the fox, nearly all once found within the confines of Venice itself.

The usual receptacles for the wardrobe and even the chamber fittings were those large carved chests of oak or cypress which the Venetians exported in Plantagenet days to England and other countries, and which are described in numerous ancient inventories and writings, and it appears that a particular sort, known as *bisacche*, were employed to hold books, as in a trial, which took place in 1549, certain heretical works are described as kept by the owner in "un per de bisacche." At a later period Flanders competed with the Republic in this, as in other directions; and examples of Flemish work are still to be seen in museums and private collections. The employment of cypress wood at Venice was recommended by its presence close at hand in earlier times, when so large an area was still forest and coppice.

It was probably the province of the Gild of Trunkmakers to construct these indispensable receptacles for household apparel and other effects. As early as 939 the romantic episode of the Brides of St. Mark reveals to us the existence of this body, and it was then by inference in a flourishing condition. It responded to a large and incessant want, and the followers of the vocation appear from a casual allusion to have extended their labours to the manufacture of umbrellas.

In the dwellings of the poor the floor of the room consisted of common paving-stones, strown with sand or with rushes, as elsewhere; but the remains which have been exhumed of cement pavement shew that that material was often applied to a similar

subject in more fashionable residences; and marble and mosaic were also largely employed.

Buildings of an antique and patriarchal type were still to be seen in the eighteenth century—some the original structures abandoned to the humbler classes, others reproductions of old tenements of an unpretending character on the former lines.

It is capable of proof that chimneys were to be found here and there during the reign of Domenico Contarini (1043-71) even in the habitations of the middle classes.¹ In a document of the year 1048 a house is sold with a specification of its contents and character, and the chimney is one of the features named. There was evidently not more than a single one, although the premises have the undoubted air of having been for the period of considerable importance, and even to have been in part of stone. The vendor was one of the Morosini family. The earthquake of 1282, which committed the most terrible damage in many quarters of Venice, was fatal to a very large proportion of those in the metropolis. The Venetian *Cammini*, which were generally in the kitchen² of the residence, were in the first instance of the rudest possible structure, especially in the humbler abodes, the inmates of which contented themselves with the hollowed trunk of a tree, or even with a bamboo, as a conductor for the smoke. Nevertheless their simple existence must be treated as a mark of superior civilisation. For elsewhere such appliances, in any form or aspect, continued till the fourteenth century to be of the rarest occurrence;³ and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that during a very long course of years a larger number of chimneys might have been counted in the Dogado than in the whole remainder of Italy. It was to the faulty structure and inflammable material of the *Cammino* which, like every other portion of the house, was formed prior to the Great Fire of 1106 entirely of timber or bark, that the origin was due of many of the innumerable conflagrations which desolated the metropolis between the fifth and sixteenth centuries. In the view of the Piazza, as it appeared in or about 1498, the chimneys are particularly conspicuous from their funnel-like form. The great fire at the palace in 1574 was thought to have originated in the kitchen chimney-flues during the preparation of an inaugural banquet.

In 1355 an apartment or saloon at the ducal palace, supposed

¹ Filiassi, *Ricerche*, p. 163.

² Zanetti, *Origine di alcune Arti*, 78.

³ Zanetti, p. 79. They were not introduced into Rome till 1368.

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to belong to the private portion of the building reserved for the sovereign, is designated *Sala Camminorum* or the chimneyed room, as if the feature were then sufficiently exceptional to be thus distinguished; and we know from various authorities, as well as from actual experience, that the Venetians even in modern times, where the weather not unfrequently demands artificial warmth, content themselves with a stove. The *Sala Camminorum*, however, may have been a species of hall, where the chimneys of the building converged. It is difficult to speak or feel with certainty where it is a question of a structure no longer extant.

But in connection with the same era and the same personage—the unhappy Doge Faliero—it is mentionable that at his private residence at SS. Apostoli the room which held his library and antiquities was known as the *Camera Rossa*, and not improbably it grew customary thus to distinguish apartments in important and stately houses by their decoration or upholstery.

Every establishment of any sort of pretension was provided not only with a kitchen, but with a well and an oven—the two great essentials among all mediæval communities. It is one of the features specified in the deed of sale in 1048 of premises belonging to the Morosini. We are all aware of the stress laid on the possession of a well in the Old Testament, and of the principle on which it was regulated. In the second book of Samuel, the well of Bethlehem is represented as by the gate of the city. But this, like our own parochial wells, was for public use, and such abound in India and all other parts of the world. At Venice, on the contrary, if a well was sunk, it belonged to the person who owned the property and his tenants or clients; it was sunk, as at Pompeii, in the outer court, and near at hand was sometimes a cistern, where a sufficient quantity of rain was preserved for use. The water from the cistern was allowed to filter into the well, it being thought that pure filtered rain water was an improving ingredient in that which was derived from the subsoil or the river. One or two of the shocks of earthquake, which so often visited the Republic down to the end of the thirteenth century, inflicted serious damage on these valuable contributions to comfort and health; and until the Brenta was brought into service, the supply of fresh water was always in danger of interruption or deterioration by natural agencies. Temanza proposed to himself a dissertation on this subject; but it does not seem that the idea was carried into execution.

In 1888 an immense ancient well, supposed to have been sunk in the fifteenth century to meet the contingency of a blockade or a prolonged drought, was found in the centre of the Piazza. Its site indicated the probable line of the mediæval Canal Batario, which once bisected St. Mark's Square, and was filled up in or about 1275.

The conveniences, to which they were accustomed at home, the Venetians are naturally found seeking in their colonial settlements, and even in the ports where they merely enjoyed trading rights, since the employment of those common to the inhabitants was apt to prove a source of disagreement.

Amid their graver callings, the Venetians were distinguished by a passion for three objects—music, birds, and flowers; and few houses were without a garden and an aviary, in the former of which flower-beds and avenues of fruit-trees were agreeably diversified with shrubberies of cedar, cypress, larch, pine, and laurel. Cages filled with singing-birds formed part of the pageant at a ducal coronation in 1268, and such birds are a feature in the *Cries of Venice*, 1785. We remark that in another engraving in the series a woman is represented at a window holding a cat in her arms, because such domestic pets were presumably common long before. The printing-house of Sessa placed a cat on its title-pages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and the great Doge Francesco Morosini, who died in 1694, carried a cat with him in all his campaigns.

One of those incidents, of which the main importance for posterity and the historian resides in their indirect bearing, was the loss about 1212 of a Doge's son through the injuries sustained, while he was bathing, from the savage dogs kept by the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore, and this circumstance may be allowed to stand sponsor for the existence of the practice at Venice of employing watch-dogs, as the Romans had done, while the pursuit of the chase even within the limits of the Dogado in early times must have involved the use of more than one species of hound. But we fail to trace back the dog as a domestic pet. Those which were attached to San Giorgio were probably mastiffs, a breed apparently familiar to the Gauls of ancient Venetia.

In the gardens which belonged to the wealthier class exotic plants became not uncommon, when the Crusades had rendered Europeans familiar with Oriental botany; and a crystal fountain, which sometimes was to be seen playing in the centre, completed

the picturesque effect of the landscape. The orchard of San Giorgio Maggiore, the vineyard of San Zaccaria, the olive-yards of Amiano, and the aviary of San Job, enjoyed during the Middle Ages peculiar celebrity. Among private grounds, those of Tribuno Memo at San Marcuola in the ward of Canal-reggio, were most famous at the close of the tenth century.

The Venetians, in common with other mediæval societies, had the curfew, an almost unavoidable safeguard in an age of timber and thatch; but at what hour of the evening it came into operation does not appear. That there was at least one exception to its provisions seems certainly to be shown by a law¹ of 1306-7, according to the Gild or Company of Barbers the privilege of keeping fires after dusk in the Barbieria; and in the Rialto generally lights were permitted, it appears, till an hour after midnight. If at Venice, as in England, it was the case that the barbers were also professors of surgery and dentistry, and were, in fact, prior to the rise of the regular physician, the only medical men outside the monasteries, we can more readily understand the grant of such an indulgence to them. But the use of oil as a lighting medium, especially when its employment was extended to public and other buildings, and a free resort to links, almost necessarily formed a fruitful source of casualties even with the strictest enforcement of the curfew and the exercise of the utmost care. Marco Polo had brought back with him in 1295 information of the means which in some parts of China or Cathay they then employed for the extinction of fires—means not dissimilar from those still in use in the north of Europe; but no explicit account reaches us of the machinery, if any, adopted in mediæval Venice.

The general operation of the curfew restricted perhaps the enjoyment of indoor recreations after nightfall. But at certain seasons, and in the case of the aristocracy, the dispersion of festive parties, on the approach of dusk, and a retirement to the dormitory, was evidently here, as it was elsewhere, a rule subject to many modifications. It was certainly a law for which, beyond the excessive danger of locomotion by night in a labyrinth of dark alleys and canals, and the inconceivability of an adequate illuminating medium for general purposes, no actual necessity existed, and which in its origin was rather political than social or domestic, while in the poorer or less populated quarters of

¹ Gallicioli, *Delle Memorie Venete*, i. c. 10.

Venice silence and gloom probably prevailed, when daylight waned and the night was moonless. So late as the close of the seventeenth century, in London, it was usual to retire to rest at an early hour for reasons analogous to those which governed society elsewhere, and the hour of rising was also earlier. Arrangements were adapted to existing conditions of life.

There is sufficient testimony that nocturnal entertainments and late hours among the higher classes were by no means unfamiliar, even in the presence of the old decemviral ordinance, some time about 1310, that no one must be seen traversing the streets after the third bell of the night. Of lighting appliances there was (in a rude and barbarous way) a tolerable profusion. The giver of a ball or masquerade, a concert or a birthday supper, might have his oil-lamps and candelabra for waxen tapers, or, as at the fatal masquerade when, in 1393, Charles VI. of France was nearly burnt to death, the host might line the saloon with flambeaux; and when the moment came for breaking up the party, the guests could proceed home on foot or by water, attended by torch-bearers for protection against the darkness, and furnished with weapons for defence against still more dangerous enemies. Here, again, the phlegmatic conservatism of the Venetian comes to our assistance; for with all the riches of modern invention at his elbow he still contents himself at night with the occasional glimmer shed over the canals and over all but a few leading thoroughfares by the lights of the hotels and public offices.

Those who have in quite modern days travelled abroad, as well as those who are familiar with the open country in England, in the immediate suburbs of London after nightfall, will not be surprised to learn that a vast space of time elapsed without any attempt or thought in the direction of lighting Venice, when daylight failed. The appliances were long absent, and nocturnal locomotion became necessarily limited. Within living memory, in old Antwerp, almost unbroken darkness prevailed at night in the minor thoroughfares except where, in a niche appropriated to an image of some saint, a candle or small oil lamp burned, not for the public convenience perhaps so much as for devotional ends; but centuries earlier the conception of the illuminating medium occurred to the Republic (1117-28), and appears to have arisen in a similar way and spirit. Small oil lamps, called *cesendele*, were distributed over the thoroughfares of the metropolis,

and indirectly helped to indicate where water-lanes terminated in a canal. The remedy was of course extremely imperfect; but if the lights on certain public squares and at the entrances to hotels were absent, the city would yet be impassable. Where personages of rank had occasion to traverse the streets or canals in the dark, they were accompanied and protected by their linkmen or torch-bearers; and the new reform did not accomplish much, it is to be apprehended, in the way of checking robberies and acts of violence. The cost, it appears, was thrown on the public by intrusting the clergy of each parish with the execution of the work, and authorising the levy by them of a rate for its maintenance;¹ and it may be supposed that the religious aspect of the usage tended to reconcile the taxpayer to this particular burden. The devotional side long continued to be prominent. In 1178 the Doge Ziani left funds to a monastery to maintain a *cesendela* outside its gates in honour of St. Stephen.

An incidental help is given to us in respect to the usages of this in common with other mediæval capitals, when daylight failed, and some extraordinary occasion demanded artificial illumination, by a passage in the narrative left by the historian Sabellico of the famous Carmagnola tragedy in 1430-32, where this writer speaks of a sitting of the Senate from the first lighting of the torches to the break of day. The torch yet plays its part on the same ground, but is no longer required for the same or any kindred purpose. But let us imagine an august body of about two hundred legislators engaged under such conditions during several hours in deliberating on a public question of the most momentous consequence, the Doge Foscari one of them, with the natural incidence of reading and examining papers, registering propositions, and taking notes! At the same time the wax candle was at first perhaps dedicated to religious ceremonies, and even clothed with a sort of sacred character, as the term *ceremony* has its root in the Latin *cera*. The custom was in many places, where the torch was charged with wax, to mix with the latter a proportion of resin to prolong its duration. The wax-chandler was a known vocation in England in the middle of the fourteenth century, and must have been so in Italy. But the torch-bearer is an inevitable figure in all the scenes and transactions of the old time after nightfall.

¹ Galliciolli, *Memorie*, lib. i. ch. 8, sect. 19; Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, p. 49.

The *Cries of Venice*, 1785, portraying and renewing many aspects of the earlier life and customs, introduces a public lamp-lighter, whom we observe on his round at dusk kindling the oil-apparatus, thinly scattered up and down the back lanes and at the doorways of certain houses. It is elsewhere noted that in the time of Annibale Carracci, who died in 1609, sulphur matches were in use at Rome, and doubtless co-operated in multiplying disasters.

It yet remains a difficult and hazardous undertaking to approach and enter, when daylight has failed, any harbour in the world with all the advantages of modern improvements; but when the sun went down and the night was moonless, Venice was as unreachable as if it had been surrounded by a wall of brass; one of the busiest and most wealthy capitals of Europe lay in silence and darkness. In 1380, at one of the acutest crises in all this history, when Carlo Zeno, on whom the existence of his country hung, reached Lido in the middle of the night with his prayed-for fleet, he does not seem to have ventured to proceed to Chioggia till daybreak.

Another and cognate respect, which was unquestionably an element in rendering conflagrations more frequent, was the recourse for warming and cooking purposes to wood and charcoal, before oil was introduced as a heating medium. Wood would be long employed in open fires, surrounded by the same material on all sides except the floor; charcoal seems, in the eighteenth century, to have been deposited in braziers or pans, and served a variety of uses, including the deprivation of a few early Doges of their eyesight as an expedient for rendering them incapable of farther mischief. The most modern provision on this ground for mitigating the severity of winter is inadequate enough to persuade us that in former times, especially in the beginning of Venice, the condition of affairs was even less supportable.

This was almost from the beginning a place of universal resort. At Venice was to be purchased every article of use, luxury, or ornament. Here might be found shopkeepers, manufacturers, and contractors of every class, who were ready to execute orders of any description. On her quays, captains of vessels were continually waiting to receive cargoes and passengers. In those streets, sailors and mechanics, the workmen at the glass-furnaces, and the operatives at the Arsenal, busy townfolk, and curious strangers, were to be seen at all times hurrying to and fro in a

confused throng from the break of day, when the Bell at the Campanile (beneath which were the counters of the money-changers) summoned the artificers in the employment of Government to their labours till sunset.

The floating population of such a city, where the number of permanent dwellers never reached 200,000, was of course very great. Multitudes were constantly arriving or on their departure.¹ Whether the visitor to Venice was a pilgrim, who desired to take his passage in a vessel bound for the Holy Land, or a foreign merchant, who had come to attend the Fair at Murano, or some devout person, who wished to join in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus-Christi, it mattered little. On landing at the Piazza of Saint Mark, he was sure of meeting with one of the commissionaires (*Tholomagi*, *Sensali*, or *Messeti*²), who were bound to be in constant attendance on that spot, and whom he engaged to provide him with a lodging, to change his money, and to perform any other service which he might require. It was the business of the commissionaire to protect his employer against fraudulent innkeepers, and to caution him against the deceitful practices of sea-captains; if he was detected in an act of dishonesty, or in a dereliction of his duty, or if he was charged with a misdemeanour of any kind, the official was liable to a penalty of not less than half a ducat. It was the province of a particular department of the Public Service (*Messetaria*³) to take cognisance of the proceedings of this body of officials, as well as to examine and regulate the charges of hostelries, to check mercantile agreements, and, generally, to see that no imposition was practised with impunity on unsuspecting travellers. The Tholomago was under oath to accept or solicit employment only at the hands of strangers, or of members of the Venetian clergy and nobility.

We meet with no ancient guide-books to the city analogous to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, of which the edition published at Treviso within the Venetian territories in 1475 may not be the first; but Rome had of course a degree of attractive sanctity peculiar to itself and independent of topographical and commercial requirements.

The Venetian hotels were very ancient and very celebrated. The leading establishments of this kind in the fourteenth century were the *Moon*, the *White Lion*, and the *Wild Savage*. The first-

¹ Sanudo Torseello, *Letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna*, March 1326; *G. D. per Francos*, ii. 304.

² Marin, v. 181.

³ Marin, v. 181.

named was flourishing in 1319, the second, in 1324; and the *Wild Savage* was a famous resort for travellers, who could afford to pay well, in the time of the Doge Andrea Contarini (1368); but in 1769, when the Emperor Joseph II. visited the city in strict incognito, he put up at the *White Lion* on the Grand Canal, either the same house or another under the same sign. In the following century, the *Pilgrim*, the *Little Horse or Cappello*, and the *Rizza*, are mentioned in the Books of the Procuratie of Saint Mark. Lithgow the Scottish traveller put up, he tells us, at the *Cappello Rosso*; this was about 1614. When Evelyn the Diarist was here in 1646, he selected the *Black Eagle*, near the Rialto, proprietor Paolo Rhodomante, whom the visitor describes as honest, so that his charges may have been reasonable. He does not say what they were. It will be recollected that it was at the *Luna* that Silvio Pellico stayed both when he was a free man, and when he returned to Venice a prisoner in 1820.

After 1280, and perhaps earlier, it became the business of the Police to take care by personal inspection that hotel-keepers provided proper beds and clean sheets and coverlets, and duly attended to the comforts of their visitors.¹ In 1484 the concourse of strangers at a tournament, held in that year, was so vast, that all the hotels were filled, and permission was given to private householders to let their apartments furnished.

There were many posts which were less lucrative than that of *Tholomago*. Not a single day elapsed without witnessing the landing of a large number of persons at the Piazza on business of various kinds. Sometimes it happened that an ambassador and his suite came and wished to secure berths in a vessel about to leave for Constantinople. From time to time, a Royal or Pontifical visit, or a Coronation, or a Ducal wedding, was the means of providing profitable employment for every member of the calling in the city. But the cause, which more than any other contributed to swell the floating population, was the periodical recurrence of Holy Festivals, as well as secular diversions, when the gathering of strangers from every part of the adjoining *terra firma* was beyond all belief. As many as 100,000 visitors were reckoned among the company at the Annual Fair of the Ascension (*Sensa*), at a time when the entire urban population did not approach double that number. One year, during the reign of Pietro Tradenigo (860), was recollected, when the frost was so severe, that the

¹ Romanin, iv. 492.

visitors to the annual fairs were able to cross on foot, or come in carriages, instead of employing boats.¹

From those twin scourges of the Middle Ages, Plague and Famine, which were largely due to an ignorance of agriculture, to the slowness of intercommunication, and to the stagnation of trade, even Venice herself enjoyed not an exemption. Her experiences of them, however, though severe, were not more so than those of Milan and Florence. It was only as the spirit of commercial enterprise, which the Italian Republics fostered, and to which the Crusades gave an undoubted stimulus, was gradually developed in Europe, that those frightful visitations of pestilence and hunger, with the recitals of which the pages of history abound, when men forgot their humanity and blasphemed their Creator, sensibly diminished in frequency and horror.

There can be slight doubt, however, that epidemics largely influenced during centuries the permanent population of Venice, which was at all times abnormally limited. It has been supposed that in the tenth century the numbers were about 40,000. In 1170 they had only reached 64,000. In 1339, 40,000 able-bodied men were counted. In the middle of the sixteenth century the figures are given as between 150,000 and 160,000; and in 1593 they were lower by 16,000. The Plague of 1576 swept away about 50,000 souls, that of 1630-31 nearly 47,000; and when the day of thanksgiving was held, the crowd is said to have been enormous, which may prove nothing, yet does not suggest at all events a decline in the numbers. At the period of the extinction of independence (1797) the statistics shewed 149,476.

The city, although placed in a situation which naturally suggests extreme humidity and insalubrity, has been considered healthier and drier even than Milan in consequence of the beneficial influence of the east and south-east wind, while the saline exhalations from the lagoons have been recommended to sufferers from pthisis, scrofula, and tuberculosis. But in summer there was always danger of contracting malaria or enteric fever from the wide areas of marsh and brackish shallow bordering on the Adriatic and Mediterranean. In 1782, a foggy and wet spring, followed by a very dry summer, involved Venice in

¹ The only other occasions when the ice on the canals was sufficiently firm to allow free transit, and to suspend navigation, were in 1378, 1491, and 1709. See *suprd*, i. 678, ii. 292-3.

common with nearly the whole of Europe in an epidemic of Russian catarrh. This malady could be traced back to the fourteenth century, and in 1731 it spread as widely as in the later year. It was supposed to emanate from North America.

The Government was perpetually adopting some fresh precaution against epidemics. During the Plague of 1348, a Committee of three Sages had been deputed to concert all necessary and possible measures for arresting the evil; and in 1423 the first Lazaretto was established on part of the site of the modern Armenian convent. The successive developments, which this novel and admirable Institution received, greatly helped to improve the health of the Capital, and to diminish the rate of mortality. In 1467, larger accommodation for afflicted persons having been demanded, a Hospital with 100 wards was built at the public expense, in a vineyard belonging to the Abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore; and this building became known as the New Lazaretto.¹ During the plague of 1527 the Convalescent Home already existing at SS. Giovanni e Paolo was enlarged, and three others behind the Hospital of the Incurables and San Cassiano, and at the Giudecca, were established; and the patients received gratuitous rations of bread, soup, and wine.

In the same spirit, every species of commercial roguery was brought within the pale of the law. A heavy penalty attended the exposure for sale, or even the attempted introduction into the City, of meat unfit for human food; justice had its terrors for the vintner, who endeavoured to palm upon his customers some nondescript compound as the finest growth of the Marches or as undoubted malmsey. One ground of complaint and trouble in respect to wine was the habit of the skippers of stealing it at sea, and filling up the casks with the brackish water of the lagoons; and it went hard with any confectioner, who was detected in putting chalk into his sugar-plums, or adulterating his maraschino, or even diluting it. Of her project of sanitary reform the Signory never allowed herself to lose sight. In 1459, the Board of Health, which had been already organised from time to time, as occasion

¹ Romanin, iv. cap. 6. A remarkable account of the lazar-houses established in England and elsewhere may be found in a paper by Dr. Cookson in *Lincolnshire Topographical Society's Transactions*, 1841, pp. 29 *et seq.*

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required, was virtually rendered¹ a permanent branch of the administration, although it was not officially declared to be so till 1485; and, somewhat later, a species of Highway and General Police Act, in the shape of Regulations for keeping the thoroughfares in a state of cleanliness, for the clearance of all offal, putrefying substances, and rubbish from the footpaths, was promulgated. No expedient was neglected which tended to add to the general safety and comfort. During the prevalence of an epidemic in the neighbouring cities, no meat, fish or wine, was admitted into Venice, until it had undergone a regular process of disinfection. The most tender care was exhibited to secure for metropolitan use the sweetest and most wholesome water; and subsequently to the fifteenth century the entire supply was derived from the Brenta. No impurities were suffered to offend the eye or the nose; smoky chimneys, as well as noxious smells, were prohibited; and it was illegal to pollute the canals, which were periodically dredged to check the stealthy accretion of mud and slime from the continuous deposits of the Brenta, the Adige, the Piave, and the Po itself. Two bulky quarto volumes by the engineer Zendrini attest the energetic and unremitting efforts to keep the waterways open.

These regulations were framed with such extraordinary attention to the minutest and most trifling details, that they acquired in process of time European celebrity, and furnished a model so recently as the eighteenth century for the Dutch Republic. The malodorous condition of the minor footways and back lanes under Austrian and Italian rule would have hardly been tolerated in the old days, in the face of the more general distribution of wealth and the abundance of splendid and luxurious private habitations.

One of the most memorable visitations of Asiatic cholera or Black Death subsequently to that of 1348, was that which was experienced at Venice in 1447. So powerful was the dread of contagion, that altars were erected in the streets, and mass was celebrated in the open air. Fires were kept continually burning to purify the atmosphere; braziers of scented woods were employed with a similar object; processions were made in every quarter; every effort was used to deprecate the supposed wrath of the Almighty; and a hymn was composed,

¹ Domenico Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, 655. The printed copy, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* vii. 137, was abridged, and there the passage does not occur.

which the people sang aloud in the streets and on the Canals :—

“Alto Re della gloria,
Cazzi via sta¹ moria;
Per la vostra Passione,
Abbiane misericordia!”²

The Plague of 1447 may, with the customary deliberation and delay characteristic of all proceedings where urgency was not deemed imperative, have led to the introduction, about the same period as the admittance of the Board of Health in 1485 among the permanent Executive bodies, of the principle of Quarantine, in which, as in so many other matters of police, the Republic took the initiative, and which yet remains a feature in all European systems. Its wisdom and efficiency are not to be judged by present sanitary needs and views, but by those of the time, as well as by the special precautions imposed on a city, which had such constant intercourse with the East.

¹ *i.e. questa.*

² *Cronica Erizzo*, MS. in the Marcian Museum, quoted by Romanin, iv. 482.

CHAPTER LXIV

Hospitals and other charitable and pious Institutions—*Scuola della Carità*—Asylum for destitute children—*Misericordia*—Magdalens—Poor-Relief—Monastic Institutions employed to accommodate Prisoners of War—Manners and costume of the earlier period—Testimonies of foreign writers (940-1498)—Dress of the humbler class—Character and attire of ladies—Their personal appearance—The chopines or *Zilve*—Their long prevalence and ultimate abolition—Pietro Casola at Venice in 1498—His description of a noble lady's lying-in apartment—Dom Pedro of Portugal at Venice in 1428—Other distinguished guests from Italy and other parts of the world—Three great ladies visit the city *incognito*—A Japanese arrival (1585)—The drawing-rooms—The Procurator Trono and his wife—Sumptuary laws—Their inefficacy—The *Sigisbeo* or *Maestro di Casa*—Lady Arundel's *Maestro* in 1622—Casola and the Venetian ladies—Evelyn here in 1646—His account—Later guests—Gloves.

FROM the opening of her independent career, Venice abounded with pious and charitable institutions. By his will, made in 977, Orseolo the Holy left funds for the erection of a hospital. A *Scuola della Carità* was established before 1310. The Doge Marino Giorgio founded an asylum for outcast or destitute children. A building, known as the *Misericordia*, was endowed by Giacomo Moro for poor women, and Magdalens at Saint Christopher-the-Martyr by Bartolomeo Verde and by Veronica Franco (in 1578) for penitent females. During the reign of Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1339-42), the Foundling, or *La Pietà*, had its rise; and in 1349, an Orphanage was to be seen at San Gianbattista, at the Giudecca. The system of establishing schools such as the *Carità* seems to have attained great development in the sixteenth century, when we meet with two classes, *Maggiori* and *Minori*; and these were mainly supported by voluntary contributions or endowments, and occasionally took part in public ceremonies and processions. They were partly eleemosynary, partly educational, in their objects. Moreover, periodical distributions of alms and poor-relief took place, both on the part of the Government and on that of individuals. At the same time, by a law of the Great Council, passed in 1300,

street-begging was interdicted; the officers of the Signori di Notte were ordered to take all mendicants, and to convey them to the hospitals.

A peculiar appropriation of the monastic establishments under stress of circumstances was their share in housing prisoners of war, for whom the Government had no means of providing in the ordinary places of detention. Venice has been usually regarded as a spot remarkably rich in gaols; but, on the contrary, its resources in that respect were always scanty; and when pressure arrived, special arrangements were compulsorily made.

It is the rather optimistic remark of Sansovino, that in times of the highest antiquity the citizens of the Republic judiciously adopted a style of attire, which harmonised with the simplicity of their manners and the soberness of their carriage. "Originally," he continues, "the Fathers (*i Padri*), being strongly attached to religion, on which they based all their actions, and anxious to educate their children in the observance of virtue, the true foundation of all human affairs, as well as in the love of peace, had recourse to a species of costume suitable to their gravity, and such as might indicate modesty and respect. They were filled by a solicitude to do no wrong to any man, and to live in quiet with all; and they desired to make this solicitude apparent not in their manner only, but in their garb also."

But there were doubtless departures from this puritanical sobriety of costume. At the entertainment which Marco Polo, his father and his uncle gave at the Casa Polo in 1295, on their return from their travels, the three explorers appeared successively at table in long gowns of crimson satin, crimson damask, and crimson velvet. These transformations were part of a pre-concerted expedient; but Ramusio, writing in 1553, seems to speak of such a class of dress as usual at that period. In short, much depended on circumstances and the taste or resources of the wearer.

The Venetians were in truth, at the outset of their career, a staid, earnest, and thoughtful people; courteous, affable, and even jocund in their manners, but somewhat distrustful and circumspect; strict in their religious observances, and in the offices of charity and piety unsparingly liberal: prone to show and expense: costly and splendid in their dress, in their choice displaying a conservative spirit in keeping with the conservatism of their later policy: chiefly bent on the more practical pursuits and

severer duties of life; yet turning aside with no reluctant heart, when the hour called to holy worship or innocent recreation. Such were the Venetian merchants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pope Gregory VII., the immortal Hildebrand, is said to have remarked that the spirit and liberty of ancient Rome still survived in the Republic, and assuredly in comparison with the state of the rest of Italy (including Rome itself) at that period (1073-80), the Venetians might well have seemed to be what this great man described them. But long before his time a Lombard envoy, who was at Venice in 940, on his way to Rome, animadverted on the politeness as well as the rich attire of the citizens, and compared these traits with the social condition of his own countrymen and of the Franks. "The City of Venice," writes Ferretus of Vicenza,¹ "deserves to be called free; for it is governed by the counsels of good citizens, and not by the dictates of an absolute King"; and it was a saying, when the ducal authority threatened to grow too overbearing, "it is no king that we want." Nicholas Bonotriensis, who accompanied Henry VII. of Germany during his Italian journey in 1310-14, complains of the discontented and restless spirit of the Venetians of his time. "They will have," says the Bishop, "neither God, nor the Church, nor the Emperor. Neither the land, nor the sea satisfies them!"² A similar stricture is passed by Froissart, however, on the Lombards generally; and Cardinal Wolsey, in a conversation with the Venetian Resident at London in 1516, somewhat inconsiderately declared that, if the Republic aimed at grasping so much it would end by making enemies all round. The Duke of Milan had said much the same thing as far back as 1466. In the *Chronicle* of Muazzo the Islanders are accused of being incurable rambles. "The villas, the gardens, the castles of the Venetians," remarks this writer, "are Dalmatia, Albania, Romania, Greece, Trebizond, Syria, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Apulia, Sicily, and other countries, where they find advantage, recreation, and security, and where they stay ten years at a time with their sons and their nephews."³

"I have considered," writes Pietro Casola of Milan in 1498,⁴ "the quality of these Venetian gentlemen, who are for the most part persons of fair and comely presence, astute, and in

¹ *Rerum in Italia gestarum ab 1150 ad 1318 Historia*—Murat. ix.

² *Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi, A.D. 1310-13, Auctore Nicolao Episcopo Bonotriensi*.—Murat. ii. 895.

³ Filiasi, *ubi suprad.*

⁴ *Journey to Jerusalem, A.D. 1498*; edit. 1855.

their dealings very subtle, so that it is needful in your transactions with them to keep your eyes and ears open. They are proud; it is, I conceive, from the great empire which belongs to them; and when a son is born to a Venetian, the saying is, 'a lord is born into the world.' In their houses they are very thrifty and modest; out of doors, they are exceedingly generous. The City of Venice retains the old way of dressing, and never changes it—that is to say, the long mantle, the colour being optional and a matter of taste, though most frequently black. Nobody stirs abroad in any other costume; it is a style certainly very suited to grave persons. They all look like Doctors of Laws, but, if any one were to appear in the street without his toga, he would be taken for a madman."

The dress of the men among the common classes was merely a sky-blue frock with narrow sleeves confined at the wrist, those wide breeches which went under the name of Venetians, and close-fitting hose; and their headgear with the rest of their habiliments was probably of a no less simple character, and subject to little variation. In a climate where a warm temperature prevailed during eight months of the year, there was a limited call for thick clothing.¹

The Senators² usually appeared in a long robe with ample folds, and furnished with open sleeves which were variously termed *Dogaline* and *Ducali*; the colour chosen, if not black, was azure (*turchino*), of which the Venetians were passionately fond. In wet or cold weather it was customary to fasten the large sleeves round the wrist with strings, which was called wearing them *a Comeo*; but the younger men who disdained this effeminate precaution perhaps, and never used strings, were said to wear them *a Dogalina*. The sleeve was generally ornamented with a double row of buttons, one of which, running in a transverse direction, made with the other a species of Cross. The cap, which was most frequently composed of black or red velvet, was in form triangular, with two silken fillets as strings, meeting cruciformly in front across the forehead. There were temporary fashions. A favourite general won over the young aristocrats to his particular way of wearing his bonnet; it was now *alla Sforzesca*, now *alla Carmagnola*.

Not satisfied with raising memorials of the Crucifixion in

¹ For the gala dress of the working women compare p. 794 *infra*.

² Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, Saggio, 1831.

their churches and their dwellings, the Venetians carried such memorials also on their persons; they symbolised the Passion in the sleeves of their dresses and the ribbons of their hats, and a Doge in the fourteenth century wore a cross in his corno as a concession to his father, who would not uncover in his presence, unless such a subterfuge was provided.

Above the inner robe was ordinarily thrown a long mantle or cloak, which descended nearly to the feet. To this cloak was in most cases attached a hood, which might be drawn at pleasure over the head, or allowed to hang down the back or over one shoulder. The waist was commonly encircled by a wide band of velvet or other material (in mourning black or violet velvet), which served the twofold purpose of a girdle for the dress and a belt for the weapon which long formed an indispensable part of the costume. High leathern shoes, which conspired with the flowing vest to hide the red stockings, complete the description of a senator or nobleman of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The dress varied according to the seasons¹ as well as the personal taste of the wearer. But, at the same time, the mantle was very seldom seen without a fur lining: in summer, ermine, in winter, furs of fox and squirrel, were preferred; and the number of skins of animals of this kind, preserved in the dwellings of the rich, was barely credible.

The modes were naturally governed by the practice of personages in high society, whose influence was capable of introducing changes and modifications of costume. At one time scarlet superseded blue; and that was again replaced by red. The cloak was an inseparable adjunct of out-of-door dress; and even the beggar liked to imitate his superiors by throwing over his shoulder some rag, which did duty for this appendage.

As the Shylock of the *Merchant of Venice* is represented to be a subject of the Republic and a Levantine Jew, it may be permissible to remark,² that such persons usually wore yellow turbans or, in the words of Bacon, orange-tawney bonnets, whereas their Italian co-religionists were commonly seen in red hats.

The ladies were distinguished by the intelligence of their

¹ See Fulgore da San Geminiano, A.D. 1260, *Sonetti de' Mesi: Poeti del primo secolo*, ii. 172, Gennaio.

² Hunter's *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1845, ii. 307. The writer mentions that a Maronite of Mount Libanus, named Scialac, was living in 1614, and that this seems to be the source of the Shakespearian designation.

character, the sprightliness and vivacity of their wit, their fondness for music, their talkativeness, their coaxing ways, and their love of spruce clothes. "Ladies of Venice," says Gianni Alfani, a poet of the thirteenth century,¹ "I wish to sing with you of my mistress, because she is adorned by every virtue and charm, which are resplendent in you."

In person the ladies were graceful and comely, though rather low in stature and with a slight inclination to fulness of bust, ascribable, perhaps, to the warmth of the climate and the prevalence of indolent habits. They are said by Sansovino to have enjoyed a pre-eminence among the Italian women for the whiteness of their linen and for their skill in sewing and embroidery. Their costume underwent numberless changes at successive periods.² Originally it consisted of a robe of gay colour, generally blue, unless in mourning, and of simple pattern, descending in loose folds to the instep, and a mantle of azure tint, which could be thrown across the shoulders or be drawn close to the person by a clasp, at the wearer's option. In a drawing, which probably belongs to the thirteenth century, appears a Venetian lady in this kind of drapery with those peculiar shoes, resembling pattens, then in vogue, and with a small cap, perhaps of velvet, from which her hair escapes in careless ringlets down her back. Her sleeves are straight and fitted tightly to the wrist. The outer garment seems to be lined with a warm material, and the whole aspect of the figure indicates that it is designed to represent a female of the better class in the winter garb of the period. A second drawing,³ which is ascribed to the fourteenth century, exhibits a lady who, from her mien and deportment, may be pronounced without much hazard to be a member of the aristocracy, in indoor and perhaps evening apparel. Her hair is elaborately arranged and parted, and is combed off her brow; her head-dress is a species of turban. The robe which, though a high body, leaves the neck exposed, is confined at the waist with a narrow zone; the sleeves are of the simplest description. The hand which is not concealed by the drapery is gloveless; the arms are bare considerably above the elbow; and a bracelet encircles the right wrist. The feet are quite hidden from sight, and the curious pattens displayed in the present illustration were merely the covering which was

¹ *Poeti del primo secolo*, ii. 420.

² Filiati, *Ricerche*, 144.

³ Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, 1881.

employed in traversing the kennels and alleys, and which was replaced in the house by easy slippers, or on formal occasions by shoes of more elegant workmanship. When Pietro Casola was at Venice in 1498, the pattens or *zile*, as they were called, were worn so monstrously high, that ladies in the streets were obliged to save themselves from tumbling by leaning on the shoulders of their lacqueys.¹ The chopine was still in full fashion in the time of Coryat, who describes them in his *Crudities*, 1611; they were frequently made of the Lombardy poplar. They have been long discarded.² The daughters of the Doge Domenigo Contarini (1660-74) are credited with having taken the courageous initiative in revolting against this highly inconvenient and unbecoming feature in the outfit of women of quality, and emancipating their countrywomen from a mischievous fashion. An improved police had perhaps rendered it less indispensable. But they still remained in use, when the Sieur de la Haye was here about 1660, and he saw the ladies going abroad supported by female attendants, he says.

Casola describes the lying-in chamber of a member of the ducal house of Dolfino; and we propose to stand aside and let him tell his own story:

"Neither the Queen of France, nor any lord of that country, would have displayed such pomp," the Milanese traveller tells us; "and the ambassador of the duke [of Milan] says the same thing, assuring me that our most illustrious duchess³ would not have carried this splendour so far. And the said ambassador of the duke chose me to enter in his company as a favour (for the apartment was not capable of accommodating many people), so that I might see and might report elsewhere the state of the matter. And when we were together there, he repeatedly asked me what my opinion was of this or of that. I could only shrug my shoulders, for it was estimated that the chamber where we were had cost 2000 sequins or upward for the embellishments; and yet it was not more than a dozen arms'-lengths in dimension. There was a chimney-piece of Carrara marble as lustrous as gold, carved with figures and foliage, so delicately executed, that neither Phidias nor Praxiteles could have added anything to it. And the ceiling was gold and ultramarine, while the walls were so exquisite, that I cannot describe them. A carved bedstead, valued at 500

¹ See Hazlitt's *Doddsley*, x. 367.

² Romanin, iv. 495.

³ Beatrice, wife of Ludovico il Moro. She was herself at Venice this year.

ducats, and fixed in its place in the Venetian fashion, so rich in sculpture and gilding, that Solomon, King of the Jews, who esteemed gold as nothing, could never have beheld such abundance as was here: the decorations of the piece of furniture and of the lady herself—the counterpanes and pillows (of which there were six), and other fine linen—I think that I had better not say any more lest I should be disbelieved, although the ambassador of the duke might not suffer me to be charged with an untruth. There were five-and-twenty young Venetian ladies, each prettier than the other, who had come to pay their respects; their dress very decorous and in the Venetian style. They did not shew more than from four to six fingers' lengths of bosom and back. They had, these demoiselles, such an amount of jewellery on their heads, necks, and hands, that is to say, gold, precious stones, and pearls, that it was the opinion of those present that they were worth altogether 100,000 ducats. Their faces were much painted, as well as the rest of their persons allowed to be visible."

Our Milanese conductor cannot have discovered all these matters, while he was in the room, but must have collected his statistics outside. Nevertheless, his description is, considering the time, instructive enough.

It is only by casual and intermittent glimpses, that an insight is obtained into this class of history. A much earlier observer than Casola, Petrus Damianus, who was at Venice in the eleventh century, has drawn a picture of the Lady Dogaresa of that day, a Greek by birth, whose luxurious habits excited mingled astonishment and displeasure in the mind of her biographer. It seems that every morning, when the consort of the Doge Selvo (1071-84) rose, her cheeks were bathed with dew, which was found to impart to them a beautiful sanguine colour. Her ablutions were performed in rose-water. Her clothes were scented with the finest and most delicate balsams. Her hands were always gloved. Her chamber was saturated with essences and aromatic perfumes, insomuch that her attendants could scarcely refrain from fainting during the tedious process of the toilette.

The lady was a Greek; and this was a personal trait—especially at so early a date. Yet it is observable that in the Coronation Oath of 1229 balsam and rose-water are expressly mentioned as articles which might (with plants, flowers, and sweet herbs) be offered as gifts to the ducal family.

In 1428, at a ball given in honour of Dom Pedro, son of the King of Portugal, then at Venice, there were 120 ladies entirely enveloped in robes of cloth-of-gold, blazing with jewels, and 130 others attired in crimson silk studded with pearls and precious stones. The prince expressed a desire to see some of the private houses of the patricians, and pronounced them as less like the dwellings of citizens than the palaces of princes and kings; and elsewhere we have a statement, almost a complaint, that, while crowned heads used wooden platters for their food, the Republic dined and supped off silver.

Scarcely a year elapsed without some incident of this class, necessitated by political or commercial motives. In 1422 Francesco Sforza and his bride Bianca Visconti: in 1438 Johannes Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, visiting Italy to attend the Council of Ferrara: in 1476 the Marquis of Mantua: in 1493, Beatrice, wife of Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan: are only a few among hundreds of names belonging to the illustrious and influential of ages, and to personages of all nationalities and all parts of the known world. It sometimes occurred that reverses of fortune changed the views of the Republic about those whom it had honoured. We observe that the Duchess of Milan was received with homage in 1493; but when her husband was taken prisoner by Louis XII. and sent to Loches in 1500, bonfires were lighted at Venice to signalise the event. The diarist Sanudo writes under date of April 14: "This evening they had a bonfire on the Place of Saint Mark. Yesterday the Signory caused to be brought thither thirty cartloads of wood, and the ambassador of France, who arrived to-day, also purchased a quantity, and had it set alight, together with the boat in which he came."

One of the most elaborate receptions was that of Alfonso II. Duke of Ferrara, in 1572, of which an eyewitness has transmitted particulars. Seven palaces were engaged to accommodate him and his suite; and the crowd of gondolas on the Grand Canal was such that there were some fatal collisions. The visit of Henry III. of France twelve years later was attended by extraordinary display and enthusiasm; but two mansions sufficed to hold his Majesty and those who accompanied him. The Milanese envoy at Venice furnishes his employer, the Duke Galeazzo Maria, in 1476 with a curious narrative of the stay of a Tartar delegation in the capital, and the profuse outlay

on the representatives of a country where the Republic had every desire to preserve and extend its reputation for wealth and power. Not only rich vestments and precious stones, but armour, weapons, and horses, were offered as a testimony of the great affection and loyalty of the Venetians toward the great Khan; and the travelling expenses of his Highness's diplomatic agents on their return home were handed to them as a crowning proof of friendship and of the indifference to money.

The visit of the lawyer, Anton Kressen of Nürnberg, to the city in or about 1505 is noticed in connection with his purchase of a *Petrarch* there. It was in the same year that a more distinguished man than Kressen found his way to Venice in the person of Albrecht Dürer, and remained there or in Italy a full twelvemonth. In a letter to the magistrates of Nürnberg, he states that the Doge had once written to him, offering him a home and a yearly *honorarium* of 200 ducats; and in a most interesting correspondence with his intimate friend, Bilibald Pirkheimer,¹ the scholar and collector, he shews to some extent how he employed himself during his stay, and what his opinion of the Venetians was. He evidently combined business with pleasure; and we hear of him laying out 100 ducats in colours. In a communication to Pirkheimer of September 1506, he tells him that the Doge and the Patriarch have called to see one of his paintings, and in another he announces his intention to pay a professional visit to Bologna before he leaves. Dürer met with agreeable society here: artists, musicians, men of letters, persons of prepossessing address and extensive information. He formed the acquaintance of Giovanni Bellini, who recommended him to several, and expressed a desire to possess one of his works, for which he would gladly pay a good price. He conversed with a printer, whom he does not name, but does not suggest that he executed any artistic commission for him or any other member of the calling, or for any bookbinder. He in one passage of the correspondence declares that he is becoming by degrees a veritable Venetian signore. The letters of Dürer to Pirkheimer almost lead us to infer that the prices realisable for his productions were not as high as in Germany or at least at Nürnberg. We perceive that he made numerous purchases for his friend: rings, tapestry, fans, paper, glass. He reports to him

¹ *Albert Dürer à Venise et dans les Pays Bas*, traduit de l'Allemand par C. Narrey, large 8vo, 1866.

the difficulty of obtaining sapphires and the high tariff for emeralds, but says that amethysts of medium quality in white and green might be had for twenty or five-and-twenty ducats. As to the latter he merely professes to repeat what the experts have told him, not knowing anything about precious stones. He had bought some wool or woollen goods on his own account, and the parcel was lost in a fire, as well as, he fears, a cloak, which altogether puts him out of humour.

This sojourn was apparently quite independent of the previous overtures of the Signory; and the event merits commemoration, looking at the singular eminence of the individual and the rarity of notices of the resort of his countrymen to Venice, notwithstanding the long existence of a local German Gild, and the antiquity of diplomatic and commercial relations. It seems improbable that Dürer and Kressen met on Venetian ground, for the latter was back at Nürnberg in the course of 1505, and had had his *Petrarch* sent home by the binder. Pirkheimer himself was no stranger to Italy, having spent a good deal of time in the last decade of the preceding century at Padua and elsewhere; and he was almost undoubtedly at Venice. His Aldine Martial of 1501 was given to him by a Venetian nobleman, Andrea Cornaro.

Two episodes, each in its way unique, occurred in this category at different times. One was the arrival on the 17th February 1502, on pleasure, of three noble ladies, the Marchioness of Mantua, the Duchess of Urbino, and the Marchioness of Cotrona, who were lodged at the Trevisano palace at San Eustachio; they came incognito, but received a visit from certain members of the Government, who placed themselves at their disposition, and offered them rich gifts. The other event was of a totally different character, and happened in 1585, when a party of Japanese, who had visited Italy to confer with the Roman Curia, stayed a few days at Venice, and were hospitably entertained. These strangers were apt to excite even a keener curiosity and interest than the visitors, a century prior, from Tartary, since so much less was known, then and long after, of the dominion of the Mikado; and the powerful impression produced must have been reciprocal, when our eyes meet the copious and vivid account which an early narrator affords of the spectacles presented, the dresses, the jewels, the throngs of people, with the caution and proviso that he has not told us a fractional part of the whole story.

These ceremonial observances, of course extending over a lengthened period, represent a phase, and not an unimportant one, of the foreign policy of the Republic, which thus preserved an extra-diplomatic contact with almost every Power in Europe and Asia.

Evelyn has left his impressions of the *Sensa* as it appeared to him in 1646, and takes the opportunity to describe the ladies at that period and their attire: "It was now Ascension-week," he writes, "and the great mart, or fair, of the whole year was kept, everybody at liberty and jolly; the noblemen stalking with their ladies on *choppines*. These are high-heeled shoes, particularly affected by these proud dames, or as some say invented to keep them at home, it being very difficult to walk with them, whence, one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied they were *mezzo carne, mezzo legno* (half flesh and half wood), and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming always in masquerade; . . . they wear very long crisp hair of several streaks and colours, which they make so by a wash, dishevelling it on the brims of a broad hat that has no crown, but a hole to put out their heads by; they dry them [their locks] in the sun, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their petticoats coming from their very arm-pits, so that they are near three quarters and a half apron; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift-sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, showing their naked arms, through false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow veil of lawn very transparent." The diarist proceeds to mention that the courtezans and citizens did not wear the high shoes, and covered themselves with a long taffeta veil, out of which they cast glances at passers-by; but he presently discriminates between the women of pleasure and the *cittadinanza* by informing us that the former went unveiled.

Sir Andrew Balfour, a Scottish physician who visited Venice about 1668,¹ arrived there by water from Bologna in a vessel which made the voyage twice a week. He was advised to go to the English Consul for advice as to lodgings. At that time Giles Jones filled the position, and entertained lodgers, Balfour

¹ *Letters written to a Friend*, 8vo, 1700.

tells us, himself, and he speaks of him as an honest fellow, who sent his purchases on to London. Balfour considered three or four weeks not too long to enable one to gain a thorough knowledge of the place. Speaking of Murano, he observes: "They have likewise a great Art of whitening wax, which is observed to succeed better in this Island than any other place in or about the City." And he presently adds: "It will be worth your while to visit the Booksellers' Shops, for besides many curious books, that you may light upon here, and particularly of Botany, you may likewise find verie many books, that are prohibited in other places of Italy." The writer was pleased to meet with the brother of a botanical authority, who had published an account of certain natural objects found in the lidi of Venice in 1631, and who shewed him some interesting copper plates of them. He says: "There are many Virtuosi in the City, that have great collections of fine things which you may be pleased to inquire after and see."

There was no cessation of visits of illustrious personages so long as the Republic lasted. Nor was there much abatement of extravagance. In 1769 the Republic had notice from the Cavaliere Trono, Superintendent of the Government posts, that the Emperor Joseph II., after visiting Florence, Mantua, Turin, and Milan, proposed to come to Venice in strict incognito under the title of the Graf von Falkenstein. His Majesty arrived on the 22nd July about midnight with a very small retinue, and was taken by Trono, whom the Signory had selected to attend upon him during his sojourn, to the "White Lion" at SS. Apostoli on the Grand Canal. The lateness of the arrival did not prevent him from going to the Opera at the San Benedetto Theatre, where he paid his respects to the great ladies in their boxes, and had his visits returned. The next day he visited all the objects of interest, especially the Arsenal, but declined all publicity and state, and excused himself to the Senate, through Trono, for not attending the festivities and diversions which had been prepared in his honour, observing that he did not care for such matters, and during all his travels as a young man he had followed the same principle. The Cavaliere, however, prevailed on his Majesty to go to a *conversazione* at the Casa Rezzonico,¹ it being

¹ The card of invitation was as follows :—

"Resta avvertito V.E. figli e consorte per parte degli eccellentissimi Savii, cassiere attuale ed uscito, che nella sera di martedì, sarà li 28 luglio alle ore 24, vi sarà una publica conversazione in cà Rezzonico a cui resta supplicata d' intervenire.

understood that it had not been arranged on his account, and that he was not to be received with the slightest ceremony. There were one hundred and twenty ladies there splendidly dressed and blazing with jewels, and upward of six hundred patricians. The Emperor arrived when the music had already commenced, and entered unnoticed without torchbearers and footmen, attended only by his major-domo. He was present at a sitting of the Great Council, and insisted on occupying one of the ordinary benches set apart for strangers, where the Cavaliere Mocenigo explained to him the course of procedure; and the Emperor subsequently heard a cause before the Quarantia, and, although he considered all existing judicial systems liable to a charge of inconvenience, he pronounced the Venetian forms the purest and most conducive to equitable results, which he had seen. He conversed with Trono upon the objects and benefits of commerce, of the inevitable tendency of Powers to commit acts, or adopt measures, prejudicial or obnoxious to their neighbours, but that such things ought not to produce a breach of friendly relations; and to the procurator, touching on Trieste, and mentioning that others, who had studied commercial questions more than himself, had remarked that millions might be spent in that City without any adequate fruit, his Majesty replied that that might be so, but that he intended to go there, and judge with his own eyes what the real facts were.

His Majesty left Venice after the conversazione on the night of the 25th July, full of admiration of all that he had seen. Trono informed the Senate that Joseph spoke German, French, Italian, Latin, and a little Hungarian. He gave him a very high character. The Emperor was again at Venice in 1775, and was then accompanied by the Archdukes Leopold, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. The whole party was in strict incognito, and they remained eight days, witnessing the Sensa and the Regatta.

This certainly was one of the most remarkable experiences of the kind, and the city had never been honoured by the presence of a guest so exalted in rank and so unassuming in demeanour. The Venetians must have regarded his Majesty with speculative wonder as a type totally distinct from those to whom they had been immemorially accustomed: perhaps as one meeting half-

Sono invitati li nn. hh. in vesta nera, e le eccell. dame in andrien nero con cerchio e barbole.—Romanin, vii. 191.

way the new democratic spirit to which Venice itself was not by any means a stranger toward the last.

The preparations for the imperial visitor, in addition to fireworks, illuminations, and a regatta, included an artificial lake in front of the Piazzetta, set off with fruit-trees to represent the gardens of the Hesperides; and on this sheet of water fishermen dressed as tritons plied their craft, and went through all the forms of their pursuit by torchlight.

A very different person from Joseph II., William Beckford of Fonthill, author of *Vathek*, speaking of the appearance of the streets in 1780, mentions the unusual number of Orientals and the polyglot conversation heard by him: here some talking in a Slav dialect, there some in a Greek argot or jargon. If the Church of Saint Mark, he says, had been the Tower of Babel, and the square in front of it the principal street of that city, the confusion of tongues could not have been greater. The numerous Jews, both Italian and Levantine, in their gabardines and red hats or yellow turbans, contributed to render the scene more impressive and dramatic. How many Shylocks were there?

There was scarcely any interruption of this sort of incident, or limit to the variety of guest, who sought in these late days the hospitality of Venice, and found it not less generous and thoughtful than in times of infinitely greater prosperity and power. In 1782 and the succeeding year came his Holiness Pius VI., the Grand Duke Paul of Russia and his wife travelling as "Conti del Nord," and Gustavus III. of Sweden, who adopted the incognito of Count of Haga. All were received with splendour and politeness. For the pontiff there were religious ceremonies and a special cantata, written by Gasparo Gozzi, with music by Buranello; and Pius visited all the public buildings and the Arsenal. The shows prepared in honour of the Russian *incogniti* necessitated a temporary enlargement of the Piazzetta; and the crowd of spectators is described as enormous. Yet, to the infinite astonishment of the Grand Duke, perfect order was preserved by the head of the police in his red robe, assisted by five *uscieri* of the Council of Ten; and he exclaimed, "Voilà l'effet du sage gouvernement de la République! Ce peuple est une famille." Russian acquaintance with western affairs had improved, since a Duke of Muscovy imagined that Venice was a province of the Apostolic See.

Still another class of witness is the Spanish Abbot Juan

Andres, who travelled in Italy in 1789, and took Venice in his way. He appears to have been a bookman, and he was struck by the large number of booksellers in the place in comparison with Rome, Naples, or any other Italian city, and such commodities, according to him, were exposed for sale not only in regular shops, but on stalls and benches, by those who lived by dealing in nothing else.

One of the last guests of distinction seems to have been the Comte d'Artois, subsequently known as Louis XVIII, who presented himself here in 1791 on behalf of the Royalist cause in France, and was received with royal honours, as the progress of the French revolutionary movement was still uncertain, and the king still reigned; and shortly after the Queen of Naples and the Emperor Leopold arrived on a similar mission. The object appears in both cases to have been to obtain the friendly neutrality and advice of Venice rather than an active support, although the naval exploits of one of its naval commanders at this juncture in Africa against the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers may have led some of the Continental Powers to exaggerate the belligerent resources of the Signory. These two episodes were quickly succeeded by the fall of the French Bourbons; and when we next hear of the Comte d'Artois he has been desired by the Government to quit the Venetian territories, where he had taken up his residence.

The drawing-room or *salon* had its history and development, if it had been practicable to trace with any amount of consecutive precision the gradual stages through which it passed, till it assumed the form which it is described as wearing in the eighteenth century by correspondents, diarists, and playwrights. The peculiar rigour of the official system survived to a great extent to the close of the Republic; but even at Venice the tribunals, more especially the Senate, grew at last more pliant to those influences, which are mixed products of the drawing-room, the theatre, and the fashionable promenade or the *ridotto*. As the corruption of manners tended to increase, there were cases where important political preferment was decided by the wife of some statesman, more ambitious, more indomitable, perhaps more attractive, than himself. Maria Quirini-Corraro desired in 1756 to obtain for her husband, then filling one of the embassies, the post of Bailo of Constantinople, and at first failed; but the Signora canvassed everybody likely to be of service, exhausted all expedients, even

procured a private interview with the Doge, and ultimately gained her point at all risks. There were several others equally celebrated and equally intrepid in the pursuit of their aims. But partly owing to the rare personal capacity of her husband in the diplomatic service, and his own extraordinary predominance in the last days, Caterina Giacobba Dolfin-Trono or Tron acquired a social position and influence probably unsurpassed. The procurator Tron, from his special prominence and his selection to discharge any function where unusual tact and dexterity were needful, had received the popular sobriquet of *el Peron* (*il padrone*) or the governor. He descended from a family which had given one Doge to the Republic in the fifteenth century, and which had popularised itself by its munificence; and the *salon* of his beautiful and imperious wife was the favourite resort of all who aspired to be in the inner circle, who had a taste for hearing or talking scandal, or who had a suit before the councils or the courts. *La Trona* was in her time the central figure of the most distinguished, the most influential, and the most brilliant society in Venice—the Venice of Gozzi and Goldoni, of feverish gaiety and ubiquitous intrigue, of the masquerade and the card-table; and according to the descriptions of her which have descended to us she must have been a highly fascinating woman.¹ But she had two faults, and they were a daring and insolent indiscretion and a want of self-command. She committed herself both by what she said and what she did; she sometimes lost her temper, and she sometimes left room for unfavourable criticism. One of her retorts is preserved. When some one said, “*La Trona vendeva il palco piu caro dela persona,*” the lady rejoined, “*Gavè razon, perchè questa al caso lo dono.*” Her connection with the Gratarol affair, however, was the most serious blow to her prestige, and is supposed to have been immediately instrumental in excluding her husband from the Dogeship, when a vacancy occurred in 1779. Pier Antonio Gratarol, Secretary to the Senate, was compelled to quit his office and his country, and ascribed his disgrace to the machinations of *La Trona*; and in his *Apology*,² printed in 1779, he has drawn the character of the “Venetian princess” with a pen dipped in gall, and at the same time insinuated that she employed the Senate as a medium for publishing her decrees.

¹ “D’après le portrait que nous en a laissé un de ses adorateurs, elle avait les cheveux blonds, le front serein, les yeux d’azur, la bouche de roses, la gorge opulente et d’une blancheur de neige, les mains et les pieds très-petits.”—Molmenti, p. 463.

² *Ibid.* p. 487.

The sumptuary laws which were promulgated as early as the opening years of the fourteenth century, in order to restrain extravagant expenditure on dress, personal ornaments, and household living, usually date from some political crisis, when the Government discovered that the resources demanded for public objects were squandered on luxury and ostentation. Practically the observance of statutory precepts was never in this respect very rigidly enforced. On the day after the issue of one of these edicts, so to speak, a magnificent ceremony or pageant necessitated a revival of the old splendour and profusion; and where not a constitutional, but a social principle was involved, the authorities were singularly lenient. Vast sums of money, no doubt, were wasted; but the community at large was entertained and propitiated.

The wars with Genoa (1353-55) and Hungary (1356-58) had superinduced a scarcity of money and a dearth of prices; and the times were pronounced to be bad. Yet this distress was insufficient to check the progress of luxury among the higher classes, who were less sensible of the pressure; and it was thought necessary in 1360 to impose restraints on this costly tendency. The measure, which had been preceded by one of a similar character in 1334,¹ was the third known step which the Senate had actually taken in that direction; for in 1299 an ordinance appeared in the wake of the Genoese troubles to repress extravagance. The effect of the new legislation² (May 21) was to limit the amount of marriage presents, to keep within more moderate bounds the taste for jewellery and the extravagant love of personal decoration, and to forbid parents to take their sons and daughters of tender age to parties and wedding-suppers, where the young ladies more especially imbibed precocious notions respecting pearl-earrings and jewelled head-dresses. Spinsters were not unreasonably asked to restrict themselves to thirty pounds' worth of ornaments; and they received an encouragement to marry at the earliest opportunity by the privilege which they thus acquired of more than doubling their stock. From these provisions the Doge, the Dogressa, and the ducal family, were expressly exempted; and their operation extended neither to esquires, judges, nor medical practitioners, who were permitted to dress themselves as they pleased.³

¹ Romanin, iii. 347.

² Ibid. iii. *Documenti*.

³ "Item licet cuilibet militi, judici, vel medico conventato posse portare quicquid voluerint in suis personis propriis."

Nowhere, indeed, were regulations laid down for the government of society outside the Executive with more minute precision, and more audaciously disregarded. As far back as the fourteenth century entertainments involving late hours and the presence of women, unless they were relatives, were prohibited from the month of September till the last day of the carnival, and no one was to be permitted to keep his doors open to guests of either sex, from Michaelmas till the commencement of Lent, after the third evening bell. In 1450 the authorities conceived the notion of limiting private dinners or suppers to half a ducat a head; and they carried their paternal interposition to the extent of prescribing the quality or extent of table-linen, gold and silver plate, and other accessories to be displayed on festive or ceremonial occasions.

These injunctions were almost uniformly inoperative, and the State itself was the greatest offender, and set the worst example. When Beatrice, Duchess of Milan, came to Venice in 1493, there was a grand reception at the Palace, with music and an infinite number of torches; and the guest of the day describes in a letter how there were 300 objects in gilt-sugar and fine drinking-glasses, the tables extending the entire length of the hall. The display of costly subtleties in sugar became a favourite and constant feature at these princely celebrations. When Henry III. of France was similarly feted in 1574, all the appointments of the table were formed of sugar, and when the king proceeded to take up his napkin it broke in his hands. The dish placed in front of his Majesty represented a queen seated on two tigers, of which the breasts presented the arms of France and Poland; to the right of the royal table there were two lions with figures of Pallas and Justice, and to the left figures of Saint Mark and of David.

The provincial governors and proveditors lay under the same nominal disabilities as those at home with penal provisions for disobedience, and not improbably the letter of the law was similarly set at defiance. Nor were the official ordinances respecting personal attire and ornament more practically successful. Decrees were periodically launched against the unseemly and extravagant excess in clothes and in jewellery, and the abomination in the sight of God proclaimed; yet the alleged abuses and contempt of heaven remained in full vigour. The fashions might change; but whether they were Oriental or French, or Italian or Spanish, or even English, they were always splendid, always ruinously costly.

It was not only so here, but after a time at Milan and at Florence; and even Dante lived to behold and regret the disappearance in the Tuscan capital of the chaste and simple manners familiar to him in his youth.

It is almost amusing to scan some of the drastically worded ordinances of the Senate respecting ladies' dress and ladies' preposterous extravagance in changing, at short intervals, the fashion, and incurring enormous expense at their milliners' or *modistes'*. One of 1504, just before Cambrai, enters into all sorts of particulars, and probably received as much attention as its predecessors and those which came after. But one cannot forbear to speculate, who sat down at the council-table to formulate such libels on the fair sex, and how it went with him, if he was known, when he next appeared in any of the drawing-rooms.

In the time of Louis XIV. the ladies here appear to have copied the French modes; and an eyewitness tells us that when Madame du Plessis Besançon was at Venice about 1670, "they most industriously imitated her in all the fashions she brought with her out of France."¹ Late in the next century an instance occurs, where a Venetian diplomatist at Rome in August, 1796, sends a lady a gown, of very inconsiderable value, he confessed, and merely wool, but made in the prevailing style, and, he thinks, with some taste. The recipient is to bear in mind that the dress should be worn, as he is informed, a little over the bosom, the sleeves gathered up to the shoulder with riband, and the bodice fixed with pins over the little white favours, says he, which you will see—a costume which will suit either town or country, and serve both for ceremony or every-day use.² This pretty little attention from the representative of the most Serene Republic at the Court of the Vatican to his sweet friend Caterina Cornaro was, no doubt, just at that moment the top of the fashion in the Eternal City.

Venetian householders of the higher class, as time proceeded, and luxury increased, did not concern themselves with domestic details; and both the master and mistress of an aristocratic establishment were accustomed to engage a *sigisbeo*, who had his analogue in other parts of Italy, but was, and is, only imperfectly represented elsewhere by such officers as stewards, treasurers, and bailiffs. He was a kind of factotum. He transacted all kinds

¹ Sieur de la Haye, *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, translated into English, 1671, p. 68.

² Molmenti, *La vie privée*, p. 435.

of business for his employers, acted as an escort for the lady or ladies of the palazzo, and settled accounts. Sometimes the Signore and his consort had independent functionaries; it was a question of means and tastes. But it is easy to perceive how mischief and disaster might accrue from this anomalous relationship, where the sigisbeo presented himself at an early hour, was at liberty to proceed to the lady's private apartment, sat chatting at the bedside, assisted her in completing her toilette, took chocolate with her, accompanied her to her place of worship, and, later on, to the theatre or the promenade, and relieved her, in short, of all trouble. He even organised the dinner parties and soirées, and if his mistress was invited to another house he was her chaperon. The sigisbeo was thus something between a majordomo and a gentleman-in-waiting, but of a type which only Italian manners and ideas were capable of regarding with tolerance, although we discern an approach to the same sort of cavalieresque gallantry at the courts of Charles II. and Louis XIV.

Among the most distinguished houses the selection of the sigisbeo was a task of difficulty, thought to demand careful consideration. A not too fastidious abbé frequently accepted the post; and the by-name of abbatino was coined to describe this equivocal type of ecclesiastic. In former days a noted beauty passed through the streets, veiled or masked, attended by several male admirers or *cavalieri serventi*, to two of whom she gave an arm to support her in her clogs, while the others carried her fan or her cloak. All this belongs to the past.

The sigisbeo, who was by no means an exclusively Venetian institution, may be taken to have gradually developed from the *maestro di casa*, of whom we hear at a comparatively early period, when manners had not yet acquired so lax a tone, and when establishments of a certain rank already found it convenient to allow the management of household details to devolve on such an official. In the opening years of the seventeenth century it casually transpires from a political correspondence that Signore Francesco Vercellini of Venice had been acting in this capacity at the Casa Barbarigo, and that he subsequently entered the service of the Earl and Countess of Arundel, who had residences at that time both at Venice and in the country. A notary of the Chancery, writing to the Council of Ten at the end of April 1622, states that he had been acquainted with Vercellini ten years. He was apparently an ordinary steward.

The Sieur de la Haye speaks of the gallantries of the ladies in church, where on saints' days they went under pretence of public prayer, and returned the glances of the young gentlemen behind the pillars. De la Haye served the Republic in a military capacity, and his account belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century. But this licence in church was by no means of recent origin or an exclusive characteristic of later and more corrupt manners, for in the official records of the fourteenth century occur numerous convictions for indecent assaults on ladies and their female attendants. A trace of such libertinism is visible in the incident which brought to pass the Faliero tragedy in 1355, the obscurity of which is partly owing to the loss of the registers for the years 1355-67.

At that date the precision of the gondolier was as noted as it is at the present day, and he was also equally a party to intrigue. De la Haye testifies to the dexterity with which he threaded his way through such an infinite number of boats, as well as the unerring manner in which he would follow a gondola, containing a lady, whom his own freight was desirous of keeping in sight. In 1646, when Evelyn and his friends were escorting a lady home after supper, they heard shots from two carbines, just as they approached the landing-stairs, and these had been fired at them by men in another gondola, where a nobleman and his mistress were entertaining each other, and did not wish to be disturbed or reconnoitred.

Casola was an eye-witness of the splendid pageant of the Fête-Dieu on the Piazza in 1498, and can scarcely find words to describe the cloth-of-gold and velvet costumes, the richness of the decorations, the profusion of flowers and wax tapers, the prodigality of colour; and this scene survives for us all to-day in the well-known painting in the Venetian Academy.

This observant traveller continues to give an account of the life of the period. He tells us that the elderly ladies and the young matrons used in his time to walk abroad closely veiled, but that the unmarried women were, on the contrary, liberal rather to excess in the display of their charms, and painted a good deal. Perhaps the latter practice was followed to hide their bad complexions, which it was the opinion of a contemporary of Casola, Marino Sanudo the younger,¹ that they spoiled

¹ *Edificazione della città di Venezia* (Cicogna MSS. 920), quoted by Romanin, *ubi supra*.

by their artificial way of living. Casola himself observes: "The women of Venice do their utmost, particularly the best-looking, to shew their bosoms, that is to say, the neck and shoulders, in so much that, when you view them, you become astonished that their clothes do not fall from their backs. Those who can afford it, and even those who cannot, are very finely set out in robes, and have much jewellery, with pearls, rubies, and diamonds round their necks and on their fingers. The ladies who do not possess these things will borrow them; and they neglect no artifice to improve their appearance." They employed, it seems, a pigment to impart to their bosoms a natural tint.

The first explicit reference to the haberdasher in London is under 1311,¹ and under 1378 we are supplied with the contents of the shop of one who had relinquished business. It does not ostensibly include any items of Venetian origin; a counterpart illustrative of a similar dépôt in the Republic is much to be desired. From the appropriation of the term *Milliner* to the city of Milan it has been inferred that that place was in ancient times an important centre of the trade. In England the business was known as early as the fifteenth century, and was then in the hands of the haberdasher or dealer in small wares; but in the sixteenth we occasionally meet with the milliner as an independent trader of considerable importance. Venice must have been furnished with keepers of such emporia as soon as any European capital. But while there is for our use and edification so extensive an assemblage of works of art, shewing the modes in which the Venetians of both sexes attired their persons, history has failed to transmit the names of their tailors, their dress-makers, their coiffeurs, and their hatters, as much as it has those of their great masters in cookery, pastry, and sweetmeats, in which the world never beheld such triumphs.

Gloves had been introduced into France at a period of high antiquity, and were in use in that kingdom in the beginning of the ninth century (814). Johannes de Garlandia in his *Dictionary* (thirteenth century) speaks of the glovers of Paris as cheating the scholars by selling them gloves of inferior material. He describes them as of lamb-skin, fox-fur, and rabbit-skin; and he refers to leathern mittens.² To the Greeks this article of apparel was familiar at a prior epoch, it being extremely probable

¹ Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 115.

² Wright's *Vocabularies*, 1857, p. 124.

that their knowledge of it had been transmitted to them through the Romans from the ancient Athenians; and it therefore seems perfectly irrational to suppose that the Republic, which traded with both countries at least so far back as the Carolingian era, and which had already become the great vehicle of communication between the eastern and western worlds, was otherwise than conversant with an usage, which she was perhaps the first to introduce to the latter. Political circumstances were about that time fortuitously instrumental in improving to a material extent the commercial relations of Venice with the two leading European Powers of the day; even in the time of Charlemagne himself (768-814), Venetian fashions had found their way into the imperial palace no less than into the mansions of the nobility; and it is so far from being likely that the Venetians of the ninth century were strangers to the practice of covering the hand, that the probability rather is, that the great annual Fair at Pavia, which was frequented almost exclusively by their traders, formed the sole mart for the gloves, which are represented to have been worn to such a pitch of extravagance by the subjects of Louis le Debonnaire!

The entertaining narrative of Petrus Damianus bears, however, the earliest allusion of an explicit nature to the employment of gloves among the Venetians; and if the evidence just adduced was not strongly contradictory of such an hypothesis, it might have been supposed that the fashion in question was much rarer than it is proved to have been at that time (1071), and that the Dogressa Selvo was guilty of innovating upon the manners of the period to an extent which scandalised Damianus.

CHAPTER LXV

Meals—Diet and provisions—Character of Cookery—Large use of oil—Beef and veal—Game and poultry—Friulan hams—Fish—Wines, fruit, and confectionery—Liqueurs—Subtleties in sugar for the table—Food of the lower classes—Wheaten and millet bread—Shambles and fish-market—War prices of necessaries in 1379—Forks—An eleventh-century Dogaresse's double-pronged gold fork—The knife—Evening amusements—Games—Music—Singing—Dancing—The restorer of Music a Venetian—Painters—The benches in the Piazza—The social circle of Titian—His and other men's pictures offered for sale at the Senza Fair—Pietro Aretino—His intimacy with all the great folks of the day—Giorgione and his friends—The Bellini—Tributes of Titian to fellow-artists—Paolo Veronese and the Holy Office.

Two meals in the course of the day ordinarily sufficed then, as at present. The first (*pranzo*) was originally taken at or even before noon. The other, a repast of which the character depended on circumstances and tastes, followed at seven or eight in the evening, according to the season. At the palace in ancient times the *pranzo* was served in the principal hall, and the Doge and his ministers, who resided under the same roof, ate in public. His Serenity usually supped in his own apartment with his private circle. Councils were held in the forenoon, and if the business was lengthy and urgent, were adjourned at a certain hour to reassemble "*dopo pranzo*."

In cookery garlic, onions, sugar, and all sorts of condiments and spices were used; oil was an article in universal demand, and there were the kinds employed for food and for lighting or heating purposes; eggs were plentiful enough; beans, peas, cabbages, and other vegetables were well known; and, after the first course of soup (*grasso* and *magro*) and meat, fruit, wine, pastry, and confectionery,¹ of the last of which the ladies were particular patronesses, were frequently placed on the tables of the more affluent, while at great banquets or on public occasions elaborate conceits and contrivances in sugar, and bonbons in gilt

¹ Sagorninus, Da Canale, Chinazzo, etc., *locis supra citatis*.

baskets, were, in the fifteenth and following centuries, a favourite and conspicuous feature. At one entertainment 300 baskets of sweetmeats were on the tables at the ducal palace.

Excellent beef was procurable; but the veal of Chioggia was renowned, the hams of Friuli, and the Bolognese sausage. All kinds of game, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, hares, were eaten, boiled or roasted. Pigeons and other birds were common. The Polesine of Rovigo supplied a good store of poultry; and wild-fowl must have long abounded in the Dogado.

In fish, salmon,¹ trout, mackerel, lampreys, crawfish, and eels were among the delicacies known at this time; but, above all, there were the turbot eulogised by Boccaccio in his letter to the Prior of SS. Apostoli at Florence, the superb and too seductive red mullet, and the fresh sardine, designated the ortolan of the Adriatic. Oysters and mussels were obtained, the former of large size and served as made dishes.

The grapes of San Zaccaria and of Comanzo in Chioggia had a special reputation. Large importations of apples and cherries were made from various parts of Lombardy and the Marches, and from Dalmatia.

Wheaten bread, in ordinary times, was not uncommon among the poorer classes; but millet was also employed. During the war of 1413 the pressure of high taxes obliged many to submit to the latter; but it is said to have been regarded as a hardship. The Republic procured its wheat for the most part from Apulia and the Levant, from Egypt and from Barbary. In the famine of 1268 Venetian ships penetrated as far as the Crimea in search of grain.

It is through one of the tragical occurrences which so largely entered into the earlier annals, that we make our first acquaintance with a shambles in 976; the remains of a dead Doge and his murdered child were deported thither in that year in a boat as food for dogs. It was ostensibly at some little distance from the centre of the city. The coronation oath of 1229 refers to a shambles as well as a fish-market, both licensed by the Executive. In 1339 the butchers' quarters were removed from the neighbourhood of San Giovanni in Rialto to the Casa Quirini, which was popularly known as Stalon; this, again, afterwards became the poultry market. In 1649 it was estimated that 520 bullocks were slaughtered weekly. The emporium for the sale of the article,

¹ Sonetti di F. da San Geminiano, A.D. 1260 (*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, ii. 168).

however, seems (judging from much later times) to have been unrestricted in its *habitat*; for in 1565 Jost Amman depicts a meat-shop on the Molo itself under the very nostrils of the Doge. In 1597 the Butchers' Gild took a prominent part in the inauguration of the Dogaresa Morosini.

The gastronomic wants of the middle-age Venetian were circumscribed by his experience; and his diet was governed by the climate and by local conditions. Fish, bread, oil, and fruit formed the staple food of the lower class; to the mediæval Italian, as it does still, oil stood in the same relation as honey or butter to his Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman contemporary. Pork and poultry were more or less plentiful. But of beef and mutton the oldest documents do not speak beyond the general indication of a taxed shambles; the art of improving the breed of sheep and oxen had still to be learned; and the bullock was principally reserved for the plough and the wain; nor had many of the fruits and vegetables, which are now regarded as among the necessaries of existence, been introduced into Europe. Still we learn something of the culinary resources of Venice, at the end of the fourteenth century, from the details of prices of various articles of food during the war of Chioggia in 1379. Everything had at that crisis become frightfully dear, however. Corn was selling at nine *lire di piccoli* the small or sixteen the large measure: millet, ten lire the measure: barley, five: beans, from eight to twelve: peas, twelve. Salt meat was fetching eight soldini a pound, oil the same. Two soldi were given for an egg or a cabbage; a *lira di piccoli*, or the third of a ducat, for a rope of onions; and for a hundred head of garlic, two lire. Wine was not to be procured under six lire a quart; the choicest vintages produced double that amount; and (the winter coming on) firewood was eleven lire the boat-load. It is one of those cases where indirect or collateral evidence has to suffice in relation to the diet of the humbler classes. In the *Cries of Rome*, 1646, a various assortment of domestic necessities occurs, in company with cheese, curds, chestnuts, and cakes, "fine tripe," which doubtless importantly entered into the poorer Venetian cuisine, but of which a choice sort was produced at Treviso.

The Venetian chefs do not seem to have included the potato in their menu. Andrea Navagiero, the ambassador of the Signory, saw it in Spain in 1525; and in his Diary under date of Seville, 15th May, he mentions that he met in that city with

many things from India or the Indies, and among them a root, which they call *Batatas*, which he ate, and thought it in flavour like a chestnut.¹

At a later period, no refinements in luxury were omitted by the Venetian gourmet and epicure. Every article of food was procured from the locality which enjoyed the principal celebrity for its production or preparation. A preference was given to the *mortadella* or rich sausage of Cremona, as well as to those of Bologna, Milan, and Modena, the cheese of Piacenza, the lampreys of Binasco, the sturgeon of Ferrara, the thrushes of Perugia, the geese of Romagna, the quails of Lombardy. In their sauces the chefs put sugar and even gold, of which the latter was supposed to exhilarate the heart. Wines were obtainable of all vintages, and were brought not only from Hungary, the Rhine, the Moselle, and Austria, but from the East. That made from the muscat grape was much esteemed; it was this kind which the Doge offered to the Fruiterers' Gild in 1618 with other equivalents in kind for their customary oblation to him on his accession, and which the physician of Sarpi sent from his own house for the use of the patient, when that great man lay on his deathbed in 1622. Liqueurs were already in vogue; and the cherries of Zara were thought to produce the finest maraschino. All these articles of consumption must have been costly, while heavy duties were charged alike on all imports and exports.

The German traveller or observer, who wrote the semi-mythical account of the life of Faust, published at Berlin in 1587, makes his hero particularly struck by the cheapness of food at Venice in the sixteenth century, even in the absence of immediate sources of supply.

A French traveller² of the last years of the eighteenth century describes the Venetians as abstemious in their habits at table and as soberer than other Italians. They drink little wine or liqueur, he says, and are not partial to ragouts; but they care more than we do for rice, *pâtés*, chocolate, and ices.

At the tables of the common people the method of eating was ever primitive enough, but among the better classes the food was conveyed to the mouth by a fork with one prong, which represented an evolution from the Oriental chopstick. Forks were known in England and France in the thirteenth century;

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian Series*, iv. xxiv.

² Lalande, *Voyage en Italie*, 1790, cited by Romanin, ix. 10, *note*.

but they were of gold or crystal inlaid with precious stones, and were laid up among the jewels of crowned or noble personages; Piers Gaveston is described as the possessor of three implements of silver for eating pears. The Greek princess, Theodora Ducas, who married the Doge Selvo (1071-84), was thought to be guilty of an almost sinful refinement in making use at meals of a double-pronged fork of gold. It is not improbable that this exalted personage merely introduced into the land of her adoption a practice to which she had been always accustomed at home. Doubtless the very early and constant intercourse between Venice and the mediæval Greeks contributed to Hellenise at once the sentiments, manners, and language of the Western Power. It has been pointed out that the Republic derived from this source the common name for a fork in her local dialect, *piron*, whereas the Italians around her employed a wholly different word, *forchetto*, to signify the same thing. But the Italian *prone* or lever, which presents a strong appearance of relationship to the Greek term, was perhaps at the outset a tool with a single prong, and acquired by degrees a secondary meaning in the vocabulary with which it was incorporated. The double-pronged development may have been suggested to the moderns by the pronged trident observable on many early coins, and known as a weapon among the Tartars. We are all aware that the third prong was eventually added, and completed the resemblance.

It unfortunately happens that very few remains of mediæval domestic utensils have been preserved in our museums, while those in fashion among the ancients are rendered abundantly familiar by descriptions or actual examples.

A steel double-pronged fork, which is said to have belonged to Henry IV. of France, was long preserved at Pau, his birth-place, as a curiosity. But the fork was, for the most part, limited to helping purposes during centuries, even in Italy; and, curiously enough, its employment was justified there by the prevalence of unclean hands. When Thomas Coryat was at Venice in the opening years of the seventeenth century, the fork was still sparingly used at table; but it was far more uncommon in England, and when the traveller returned he acquired from the circumstance that he brought some specimens with him and habitually ate with one, the sobriquet of *Furcifer*, to which his friends may or may not have intended to apply a double sense.

We gain very slight explicit information about the *Knife*, an implement everywhere in vogue from the most remote times. But we know that Venetian cutlery gradually became celebrated, and was exported to other countries. At the great fairs of Europe, England included, it was a staple commodity; and our universities were supplied with Venetian knives, purchased at the nearest fairs. There had been a period, however, when all refinements of this class were rare in Western Europe, and when travellers found it necessary to carry their knife, fork, and spoon on their persons in leathern cases. Chaucer introduces us to the Sheffield whittle.

The evening amusements were varied enough. There were dancing and singing; and for those who did not dance or sing there was instrumental music, while for such as did not care for the viol, the guitar, the cittern, or the lute, there was a chess-table or a backgammon board, both in full force in the thirteenth century, and the latter an inheritance from Rome; while at a later time basset was a favourite form of gambling. To some of the pastimes out of doors, by which the wealthier Italians beguiled their leisure, a nation of islanders was necessarily a stranger; it is not known that the earlier Venetians were addicted to the winter diversion of snowballing the ladies, which was so much in vogue on the mainland; but hunting, fowling, and fishing, at first within the alluvial confines, and eventually throughout the continental territories in Lombardy, were pursued with regularity and enjoyment by those who had the time and the means, or who found in those occupations a source of subsistence.

Convivial meetings, concerts, balls, and serenades were soon introduced. The musical instruments chiefly preferred came from Germany; but the song and the dance were contributed by Provence. In the words of the old Sienese poet, Fulgore da San Geminiano, who admirably paints in his sonnets the life of his day:—¹

Cantar, danzar alla provenzalesca
Con instrumenti novi d' Allemagna——

San Geminiano relates that in his own town Monday was the day for serenades, and Wednesday for receptions and balls,—

Ogni Mercoledì corrido grande
Di lepri, starne, fagiani, e paoni,

¹ *Sonetti de' mesi*, ubi suprâ, li. 175.

E cotte manze, ed arrosti capponi,
E quante son delicate vivande

Vin greco di Riviera e di vernaccia,
Frutta, confetti, quanti li e talento

E donzelenni giovani garzoni
Servir, portando amorose ghirlande!"

This picture, which refers more immediately to the manners of Siena, may by analogy afford some insight into the contemporary aspect of Venetian society, of which it is to be lamented that no similarly graphic illustrations exist. An Arezzan poet who flourished concurrently with San Geminiano, Cene dalla Chitarra, has also left *Sonnets of the Months*. They shew that the life of Arezzo, Ancona, Florence, and other places had many features in common with that of Siena; and we know enough of the intimate life of Cosmo de' Medici in the Via Larga and at Mugello to satisfy us, that in high society in the Tuscan capital in the middle of the fifteenth century instrumental and vocal music and the dance formed habitual resources after the employment of the day. The verses of Cene are indeed less rich in colour than those of his fellow-bard. But this circumstance may be partly explained by the fact that one was an advocate of abstinence, while the other was not only fond of his glass of wine, but even goes farther than the author of the *Vana de Vire*, and counsels intoxication:—

"Bevete del mosto, e inebriate;
Che non ci ha miglior vita in veritate;
E questo e vero come il florin giallo."¹

Speaking of his mistress, Albertuccio della Viola, a third poet of the same epoch, writes:—

Alla danza la vidi danzare,
L' Amorosa, che mi fa allegare.
Così, come danzava, mi ferio—
Vestut' era d' un drappo di Soria,
La Donna mia, e stavale bene.

The most ancient vestige of the employment of musical instruments at Venice appears to be the incidental notice by the Greek exarch Longinus, when he was there in 568, of the presence and use of the flute and cittern, both equally, no

¹ "The florin of gold."—*Posti del primo secolo*, ii. 181, 196 et seq.

doubt, of Hellenic origin and importations from the Italian *terra firma*. The culture of Music appears, from an allusion in the Chronicles of San Giorgio Maggiore under the date of 790, to have found affectionate promoters among the members of this holy fraternity at that epoch. The knowledge of instrumental harmony made such rapid progress that a Venetian priest (Fra Gregorio) was invited into France, about 826, to superintend the construction of an hydraulic organ for the king. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Mistro Zuchetto is mentioned as filling the appointment of organist to the Chapel of Saint Mark; but it is not to be supposed for an instant that Zuchetto was the first who had served in that capacity. In 1498 the Government granted a monopoly for twenty years to Ottaviano de' Petrucci da Fossombrone for the printing of all figured song and tablature for the organ and the lute; and this was the starting-point of that enormous volume of musical literature which claims Venice as its source.¹

Giuseppe Zarlino of Chioggia, composer of *Orfeo*, has been called the modern restorer of music. He harmonised the hymns used in the thanksgiving of 1577 after the cessation of the plague.²

In the days which immediately succeeded, and down to the close, Venice was the centre and soul of all that was agreeable, gay, bright, and seductive. In the seventeenth century, according to De la Haye, there was no want of music; but it was so disposed into several apartments, that one was sensible only of a single melody. In one chamber there was a theorbo, in another a lute, in a third a viol, in a fourth a violin, and so forth.

The naval and commercial glory of Venice was all her own; and her literature and drama were, to a large extent, of local origin and complexion. But with her typography and schools of painting and architecture it was not altogether so. The men who worked for her earlier Doges were, like the Lombard engineer Barattiero, neither her citizens nor her subjects. They executed commissions for the first comer, or, like the soldier of fortune, for the employer who paid best. Of her great painters nearly all belonged to the Venetian *terra firma*, and adopted the city

¹ Brown, *Venetian Press*, 1891, p. 41.

² The works of Zarlino were collected and published at Venice in two folio volumes under the title of *Tutte l' Opere, contenente l' Istiuzioni harmoniche e le dimostrazioni harmoniche*, with musical notes and diagrams.

as a residence. They created a school, whose triumphs in form, ornament, and colour are recollected when the commerce of the Republic is extinct, and her victories by sea and land are more obscure, and seem scarcely less remote, than Marathon or Salamis. They were settlers on that soil from choice; there was the sense of freedom and the assurance of security. This may possibly strike as a fanciful distinction the professional man who, destitute of sentiment and indifferent to history, visits Venice to-day to study work produced under conditions of life wholly different from his own: produced, not as speculations, but with the whole feeling and might of a generous affection for the art which they pursued.

A primitive survival, an aspect of *al fresco* life, which strikes dwellers in a harsher climate as strange and refreshing, apart from the question of conventional dignity, and another curious aspect of the middle period, must have been the painters' benches in the Piazza, where they were suffered to sit and make their sketches at will, and where for a time they had as an associate a dyer's son named Tintoretto. But these rude appliances made way, even in the time of Titian, for studios, where the artist, if he did not desire to use his private residence, could accommodate pupils and see clients, or even place works on view; and Titian himself found it necessary to have such a central convenience in Rialto.

The circle, which gathered round Titian at his successive residences in Venice itself and in the country, included, during some years, the famous Aretino, who made his society acceptable and serviceable by his eulogistic notices, in his extensive correspondence, of the works which his artistic comrades had from time to time in progress. This strange character doubtless promoted the sale of many a canvas, which might have otherwise remained on hand; for his acquaintance among the rich and influential was considerable; and he deserves to be regarded, among his manifold qualifications, as the founder of an ingenious literary mechanism not generally thought to have so distinguished or so remote an origin. We have to learn what the Venetian word for *tip* was. Messer Aretino could have told us. The mention of paintings by masters of the Venetian school, now accounted almost priceless, among ordinary objects exposed for sale at a fair, necessitates a word of suggestion, that at and long after their original production these works were

regarded with an admiration and respect much more qualified than ours. The charm, which perspective bestows, was deficient; the canvas was fresh and damp (so to speak) from the easel; and if the purchaser or patron was dissatisfied, the artist might be summoned from his own residence a few streets or a few miles away to make required changes. The probability is that at *la Sensa* the landscape and the flower or fruit-piece were more usually to be seen and bought, either new or second-hand, than the portrait, which, being a direct commission from a wealthy personage for his gallery or salon, was protected from the humiliation of being offered at a stall side by side with objects in glass and hardware.

It is strikingly significant of the difference between the views entertained of some historical characters in their own time and among their own people, and those with which we have been taught to look at them; that, in the case of such a man as Aretino, the chaste and pious relict of the great Correggio, Veronica Gambara herself not only ranked this celebrated personage among her real friends, but addresses him in a letter as "divino signore Pietro mio," and it almost makes us pause to reflect whether we look at these famous actors of the past from the true focus. With Titian, Sansovino the architect, and all the choicest and most spiritual society of the day, the author of the *Sonetti Lussuriosi* was on terms of the closest intimacy; they constantly exchanged visits, and partook together of the best of good cheer. Nor did a stranger of distinction come to Venice without paying his respects to Aretino. He was one of the select group of men and women of culture which gathered round Titian, and made his musical *conversazioni* so delightful.

It is a pleasant point in connection with Aretino, and a tribute to his social standing and weight, that when his friend Sansovino was involved in trouble through a professional mishap, he exerted his utmost efforts in contributing to allay the official resentment, and obtain his pardon.

Many of the stories about this strange, whimsical, many-sided man may be inventions or extravagances. It has been said that he boasted—perhaps only that—of being able with a pot of ink and a quire of paper to conjure a handsome income out of the pockets of those, imperial majesties not excluded, who did not desire to have their weak points brought out in relief in his next Rabellesque lampoon.

Other notable rendezvous in the *cinquecento* era were the houses of Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, Tintoretto, and Veronica Franco, where all the artists and men of letters met, and where Aretino was in exceptional form. Both Giorgione and del Piombo were skilful musicians, and the former sang; but under the roof of Tintoretto the evenings were rendered especially attractive by the accomplishments of his daughter Marietta and the presence of Giuseppe Zarlino the great composer. Gentili Bellini, who lived at Rialto in a handsomely decorated house, where he was surrounded by places of business, seems to have less courted miscellaneous society, and to have preferred a select intercourse with the members of his own profession. But altogether there can have been no deficiency of means during all the best period of making life even more than endurable; and in fact the members of these pleasant circles seldom lived to be old. If they were not all so intemperate as Aretino, they did not spare themselves.

The masters of the Venetian school counted among them many whose manly and frank independence we are apt to admire and appreciate. They were in their way aristocrats, and they played the part sometimes with effect and success. Tintoretto advised an intending sitter, who prescribed scrupulous fidelity in rendering his habiliments, his lace, and his jewelry, to go to Bassano, an animal-painter; and when a distinguished party of senators and prelates once visited his studio, and remarked that he worked less carefully than one of the Bellini, the dyer's son retorted that perhaps that artist was not interrupted by such company.

Several touching personal traits of Titian and his contemporaries belong to Venetian ground; but they must be left to the biographical specialists. Such sweet and tender reminiscences as that of Titian meeting Tintoretto on the Piazza, and hailing him as an honour to his art, and when he saw the works of Correggio at Parma, exclaiming, "Now at length I behold a painter," are, however, something more than common biography, and linger in the mind for ever.

There was, besides the set which met under the roof of Titian, or with whom he had met, a later painter of Venetian origin, Rosalba Carrera of Chioggia, famous for her crayon miniatures, which conferred on her an European reputation.

Among the archives of the Holy Office under 1573 occurs the

viva voce examination of the very distinguished Venetian painter Paolo Cagliari, *detto* Veronese, then residing in the parish of San Samuele, on account of certain alleged improprieties in a picture of the Last Supper, which he had just executed on commission for the refectory of the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The particulars are excessively curious and piquant, looking at the chief person concerned;¹ and the case is one almost standing alone. The Holy Office usually consisted of the metropolitan of Venice, the papal nuncio, an ecclesiastic, termed Father Inquisitor, on the part of the Holy See, and three laymen on that of the Republic, denominated *Savii all' eresia*. These are the particulars :—

“Procès-verbal of the Sitting of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, Saturday, 18th July 1573.”

The painter was, first of all, formally asked what his name was, and what his employment, and then the interrogatories commenced by the Father Inquisitor pointing out as a strange circumstance that one of the attendants in the picture had his nose blood-stained, and carried a bandage on his face; and, farther, an explanation was solicited of the men-at-arms in German costume with halberds in their hands and in a state of intoxication. The tribunal invited his attention to St. Peter carving a lamb, and another apostle holding a plate or dish to receive a slice, while a third is picking his teeth with a fork.

“We painters,” rejoined Veronese, “take the same liberties as fools and antics do, and I have represented these halberdiers, one drinking, the other eating, at the foot of a ladder, both prepared, at the same time, to perform their duties, for it appears to me proper and possible that the master of the house, a rich and magnificent signore, as they tell me, should have such attendants.”

“Has some one directed you to paint Germans, buffoons, and nude figures in this picture, one buffoon with a parroquet on his fist?”

“No; but I had instructions to put in ornamental accessories, as I thought fit, and when in a canvas I have some spare room, I embellish it with inventions.”

“Is it not the case that the decorative details, which you painters are accustomed to introduce, have to offer some direct

¹ Yriate, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise au seizième siècle*, 1874, p. 161.

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relation to the subject, or are they left wholly to your fancy and discretion?"

"I execute paintings with full consideration of the spirit which seems to belong to them, and to be necessary to make them intelligible."

"Do you not know," put the Father Inquisitor, "that in Germany and other places, where heresy is rife, they have a way, by painting pictures full of fooleries, to expose to ridicule the practices of the Holy Catholic Church, and spread false doctrine among the ignorant and senseless?"

"I agree that it is a bad thing to do; but I must tell you, that I have ever deemed it my duty to follow in the steps of my instructors,"—and the speaker cited Michael Angelo and the Sistine Chapel.—"No," said he, "most illustrious lords, I do not pretend to prove that my work is decent; but I did not think that I was doing any harm. I had not reflected, and I did not foresee so much irregularity."

The tribunal deliberated; and the upshot was that the great artist was requested to make alterations, for which purpose three months were allowed him. It is remarkable that this work was intended for the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; and Veronese had already treated the same subject for other religious fraternities in Venice, apparently without comment. It was a large canvas, 39 feet by 7, and is now in the Louvre, having been presented by the Signory to Louis XIV. It exhibits the result of the citation before the Inquisitors in 1573; Veronese signs the changes made with a protest as to their impropriety, for which he would give his reasons on a future occasion. Where a harrier was in the original design, he has inserted a Magdalen.

We remember that the Roman authorities overhauled in a somewhat similar manner the Essays of Montaigne, which they found among his luggage, and ended by leaving the revision of passages, to which they excepted, to the author's own discretion.

CHAPTER LXVI

Luxury of the later Venetian life—Indulgence of the Government toward popular amusements—Profusion of public Holidays—The Regatta—Athletic Sports—*Andate*—Abandonment of some of them—*Casini*—Clubs—Gaming—The *Café Florian*—Evening Resorts and Resources of the Working Classes—The Practical Joke—Sior Antonio Rioba—The prize-fight—Street music.

WHEN we look at the profligacy and exuberant gaiety of the later and feebler Venetian life, we conceive surprise at the princely display and exorbitant disbursements of an aristocracy, which no longer possessed the old channels of wealth and the former financial elasticity; the amounts expended on entertainments in the eighteenth century, especially when we take into account the higher value of money, strike us as very large, with all our own modern proneness in a similar direction under special circumstances. The municipal splendour of London appears to be eclipsed by that of a private Venetian nobleman. The secular and religious *fêtes*—the ball, the masquerade, the regatta, with the pomp and expense attendant on marriages among the upper classes, tended to promote trade, and to popularise the government—at a cruel and a serious cost. Those were days never to return throughout the world's whole history, when the wife of a Contarini, dancing with a king, let her priceless pearl necklace fall, and her husband, stepping forward, crushed it beneath his feet, lest it should disturb the harmony of the proceedings, or induce the suspicion that the loss of a few thousand ducats was a matter of the slightest consequence. It was the senseless intoxication of vanity.

The severest political tension and peril—the crisis, when half Europe was in arms against them in 1509—did not hinder the Venetians from organising the most sumptuous and costly pageants in celebration of some private marriage or other commemorative ceremony. The oligarchical government seems to have shrunk from restraining the love of splendid gaiety among

the younger aristocrats, while the funds so squandered might have proved of essential public utility. The inexpediency of interference with pleasures and amusements, which diverted attention, was here, no doubt, the ruling motive; but it was both an evil and a scandal. The freedom, which appeared everywhere, both in the case of residents and strangers, struck Fynes Moryson, who was in Italy some years before he published his *Itinerary* in 1617.

One of the points of policy indeed observed more and more by the Government under the oligarchical principle was the extension of indulgence to the subjects of the Republic in all matters relating to recreations and amusements, where no constitutional question was involved or implied; and, as time went on, pleasure was pursued on this ground in every conceivable form and aspect. But, apart from private entertainments, which often in the middle and later periods acquired a degree of sumptuous splendour elsewhere unparalleled, both in the appointments of the table or salon and in the apparel and decorations of the guests, there were manifold diversions open either to the richer and more fashionable members of the community or to the people at large. For the former, the regatta, the masked ball, the opera, the theatre, the puppet-show, and the pantomime gradually constituted an ample opportunity of bestowing hours of leisure. For the latter there was a tolerably frequent recurrence of popular festivals and sports, characterised by coarse and boisterous humour, and advisedly left unmolested by the police without the strongest cause to the contrary. Several historical anniversaries furnished the opportunity for popular holidays, which helped to reconcile the mass to the loss of their voice in the direction of public affairs; and among pastimes, in which all classes more or less joined as spectators, were tournaments on the Piazza of Saint Mark and bull-baitings with dogs, prize-fights, and equestrian exhibitions on two or three other public squares, all subject to official permission. During the intense frost of 1491 there was an equestrian joust on the Grand Canal, in which certain Estradiots took part, and which the ex-queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, honoured by her presence.¹

The public regatta, one of the most important of Venetian pastimes, is of unascertained antiquity; but it may be safely referred back to the middle of the thirteenth century. A regatta, as well as a water-fête, was among the festivities which attended

¹ Molmenti, *La Vie Privée*, 1882, p. 366.

the coronation of Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1268. In the Latin poem on the Marian Games, written about the year 1300,¹ it is said that two boats, propelled with oars, were then usually appointed to run a course along the Grand Canal, and that whichever gained the race or received honourable mention, received a prize. On the 14th September 1315 a decree of the Great Council ordered that an annual regatta should be henceforth held on the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul (January 25) with vessels of fifty oars; and the superintendence of the necessary arrangements was committed to the Masters of the Arsenal. The boats generally employed on these occasions appear to have been galleys; but it may be collected from the wording of the Great Council Minute, that the rule in this respect was not strict.

The plausible notion, that the Canal Races were instituted for the first time in 1300 by the Doge Gradenigo as one of the methods of reconciling the people to the recent loss of their political liberty, is disproved by the manifestly superior antiquity of the custom. It is highly probable indeed that the regatta was originally nothing more than an occasional recreation or a grand holiday entertainment, and that the earlier experiments were as rude as they were intermittent. But, in the present state of knowledge with regard to Venetian civilisation and the peculiar tone of Venetian policy during the Middle Ages, it seems to be barely likely that the Republic remained long a stranger to a class of spectacle which was so thoroughly congenial with the national instincts, and which was so admirably calculated to excite and gratify the emulation of the seamen and gondoliers.²

¹ Letter of E. A. Cicogna to Cleandro, Count of Prata, *respecting certain Venetian Regattas, public and private*, p. 17. Venezia, 1856.

² "El Decreto xe sta quello,
Che le Feste ha comandæ
Per le spose de Castelo
Che xe stade rescatæ.

"Su le prime no ghe gera
Chi la pompa avease in cuor:
Tuto stava in dar bandiera
A chi gera vincitor.

"Ma col tempo sta spetacolo,
Che xe pur original,
Deventà xe assàs magnifico,
Veramente nazional."

—*La Regata di Venezia*. Composizione poetica in dialetto Veneziano, da Cleandro, Conte di Prata. Ven. 1856.

The regatta was accompanied by athletic sports and other games, including the water-polo, where the populace divided themselves into two parties, the *Nicolotti* and the *Castellani*, a recollection of an old feud which arose in the fourteenth century by reason of a disputed claim for mortuaries from the Bishop of Castello. All these manly and healthy exercises, in which foreign visitors were not debarred from joining, helped to form a nursery for the stout fellows who were engaged for the navy and marine. Among the aquatic diversions introduced at the splendid coronation of the Dogaresa Grimani in 1597, was a tilting match with lances between certain Englishmen who happened to be in the city.

The system of anniversaries and *andate* became so frequent and onerous, that two or three celebrations were gradually blended. It was judged, no doubt, that such later episodes as Lepanto and the heroic achievements of the Venetian commanders in the Greek and Turkish waters, as well as by land, were not merely deserving of honourable and grateful commemoration, but that the displays of patriotic enthusiasm renewed from season to season, contributed to foster a public spirit, and encourage emulation. The day of Lepanto, for which the silver *giustina* in its several varieties was specially struck, continued to be held in remembrance for some time; all classes took part in it; and the *Merceria* was roofed with blue cloth spangled in imitation of stars from Saint Mark's to Rialto. It was a kind of grand bazaar and *fête*, where the usual diversity of amusements and religious observances was to be seen, and where a multitude of objects was on sale, from a string of beads or a bunch of grapes to a Titian or a Tintoretto.

But all these joyous spectacles have been relinquished. Two only survived the Austrian occupation, that of the Redentore on the Giudecca (third Sunday of July), and that of the Salute on the Grand Canal; and both of these were of comparatively recent origin, the churches themselves having been erected in 1578 and 1630 as tokens of gratitude for deliverance from attacks of the pestilence. There were a few other periodical ceremonies and processions; but there was ever a drift into increased languor and insignificance.

Even the purely religious ceremonies, which were of sufficiently frequent recurrence, attracted a vast concourse of spectators, and formed part of the general plan for occupying the public

mind in its hours of leisure or relaxation. "So long have I lived," says Martino da Canale, whose very precious chronicle extends only from 1267 to 1275, "in beautiful Venice, that I have seen the processions which Monsignor the Doge makes upon high festivals, and which he would not on any account omit to make each year," and he proceeds to depict that on Easter Day, when the Doge and his suite go to Saint Mark's, his Serenity with a waxen taper in his hand, the umbrella held over his head which had been given to him by Monsignor the Apostle, or in other words the Pope, and the sword of State carried at his side. This particular celebration was in the time of Reniero Zeno, who died in 1268, probably unaware that observant eyes were carefully registering whatever he did or said worth noting.

The *Festa delle Marie* appears to have been among the earliest to drop. It was the celebration of the rescue in 939 of the Brides of Venice from the pirates of Narenta. At first the usage was probably observed with a moderate degree of display and expenditure; but in 1008 the Doge Orseolo II. left rather ample funds for the continuance of the anniversary; and a writer of the thirteenth century¹ relates that in his time the Brides of Venice were accustomed to wear gold crowns or coronets set with jewels and robes of cloth-of-gold, and that all the guests were regaled with wine and sweetmeats. Perhaps it was then that the oranges were added, and that malmsey was introduced; but neither could very easily have made part of the original oblation by the Trunkmakers' Guild.

The discontinuance of the festival did not interfere with the yearly visit of the Doge to Santa Maria Formosa. But the costly character which the pageant itself had assumed combined with the grave aspect of public affairs about 1378 to induce the Government to suppress it, and it is said that the step was partly recommended by a fatal casualty in the year just mentioned, by which one of the barques containing the girls foundered near Murano.

The Republic had in 1408 instituted at Padua what was termed a *Casino*, which was in reality a social club to enable men of the better class to meet and converse. We do not hear of any anterior recourse to this sort of provision; but such establishments multiplied at a later period, and their designations

¹ Da Canale, sect. 245.

sufficiently indicate their distinctive character and aim. There were the *casini* for the Nobles, for merchants, for literary men, for philosophers; the house for consular representatives domiciled at Venice: the *philo-drammatico*, the *philo-armonico*, the *intraprendenti*: the Casino of the Hundred, denoting the limit of membership: and the *Casino de' Vecchij*. These manifold resorts evince phases of life in the city, even when certain enervating agencies had lowered the moral tone, outside and above the doubtless too prevailing elements of frivolous and profligate gaiety, and deserve to be taken into account, when we estimate the general tenor of the Venetian life and thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was in these more or less intellectual centres that we must suppose all the literary and artistic taste of those times to have been fostered and promoted.

The Clubs of Venice were of course, like our own, viewed as lounges or occasional haunts; and the city was in the more modern days amply furnished with theatres—of which there were latterly several, opera-houses, and other institutions of a less exalted and classical type for the performance of pantomimes, marionettes, and other more popular diversions. At the regular theatrical establishments the comedies of Gozzi and Goldoni long enjoyed a far more than local celebrity.

A State, which had existed and flourished during so many ages, and which carried out the principles of civil government to approximate perfection, long survived without conspicuous change the debilitating effects of geographical discovery, of new political complications, and of new commercial ideas; and down to the middle of the last century, among the aristocracy, life continued to be an almost uninterrupted course of splendid and frivolous pleasure, contrasting with the soberer manners of happier and greater times. If we accompany Molmenti through the more fashionable quarters of the city, he will introduce us to much that is curious and instructive, to much that prepares us for the inevitable end of the decadent spendthrift, of the thoughtless, ostentatious prodigal.

The account published by the above-named writer is a *coup d'œil* of what we may conclude to have been observable at Venice in the sixteenth and in the earlier moiety of the seventeenth century. Many of the great families had accumulated large fortunes, and some still continued to do so. There was altogether

a vast amount of wealth ; but the earning power began to fail, when the Portuguese, Dutch, and English successively, and to a certain extent concurrently, absorbed more and more the trade long enjoyed as a monopoly by the Italians.

In common with nearly all Powers, which have lived long enough to accumulate riches and their infallible incidence, Venice in the last days of her independent existence displayed, side by side with public pusillanimity and private degradation, some brilliant exceptions under both categories, as well as traits which wear the aspect of inconsistency and waywardness. Molmenti, in his notices and illustrations of the period of decline, supplies us with several almost touching instances of the survival of the ancient heroism and dignity in private life. Napoléon stigmatised the Venetians in 1797 as *polissons* ; there were many who deserved the epithet, no doubt ; and the great soldier could have found an abundance in Paris. Yet to the last there was an element of patriotism and pride ; and the last of the Doges only removed his bonnet, and gave it to an attendant, with "I shall need it no longer," when he saw that the force brought to bear was overwhelming ; and he was the father of that Manin, who led the struggle for the recovery of freedom in 1848.

But if we desire to study an epoch, when Venetian glory was yet un eclipsed, and when the history of the Republic is to be read in the biographies of a few of her citizens, we have to go back to the century preceding that of the French Revolution, to the days when the magnificent exploits in arms of Mocenigo and Morosini more than vied with the noblest and bravest achievements of the Dandoli, Zeni, and Loredani of brighter times, and when the aristocracy, as a body, was yet sensible of the value of personal decorum and etiquette. That story of the noble Contarini, descendant of Doges and of a house coeval with the first settlement in the lagoons, when the Duke of Savoy at a public reception in 1667 offered to salute her on the arm, and she repulsed him with the observation, that his Highness would not find such behaviour acceptable at Venice, though it might be at Turin, bespeaks a spirit aspiring to emulate at home the heroism of her countrymen fighting against the Osmanli, and striving to win back lost empire and ebbing renown.

The ruinous expense of the war in Candia did not prevent the Carnival in 1646 from being observed with unabated licence

and display. Evelyn, who describes the winter of 1645-46 as very severe, and the snow as deep on the ground where he was (Padua), went over to Venice at Shrovetide, as he says, to see the folly and madness: "the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antic dresses, with extravagant music and a thousand gambols, traversing the streets from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad they fling eggs filled with sweet water, but sometimes not over sweet; they also have a barbarous custom of hunting bulls about the streets and piazzas, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the several wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes. The great banks are set up for those who will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about; and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner."

The Venetian was the forerunner of his fellows in modern Europe in that nearly the most fascinating and most destructive of all recreations and passions, the gaming-table. Venice was to the last century what Homburg and Monte Carlo are to this one; and some of the casinos dedicated themselves to the object. Visitors and victims from all parts flocked hither to make or leave their fortunes; certain Venetians sought amid these scenes to retrieve their fallen prosperity and affluence, and perhaps parted with the last wreck of their family estates; and, which is immeasurably sadder, there were to be seen, officiating as *croupiers* at the faro-tables, descendants of men who had sat in the Doge's chair, and who bore the most illustrious names in the Republic.

Dice appear to have been in vogue tolerably soon; and in fact all these conventional accessories must have reached the lagoon from one or other of the numberless sources of communication, while in the absence of collateral references their arrival and use are often apt, from their very familiarity, to be post-dated. This particular amusement and form of speculation, which has been known all over the world, is by some supposed to have conferred a new name on the Ponte del Malpasso or dei Malpassi, subsequently called the Ponte dei Dai or dei Dadi, and by the historian Sabellico *tesserarum pons*. Under the earlier designation it plays a part in the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy of 1310.

But the name *Barattiero* is borne by a Lombard engineer of the twelfth century, who saw more or less of Venice in his professional capacity; and the election of a Doge in 1229 was

embarrassed by the equal division of the forty votes between two candidates; and the tradition is, that a recourse was had to the law of chance. No particulars are given. Did the grave fathers toss the dice-box?

The practice of disguising the features by the assumption of masks and fanciful costumes for amusement was evidently an old one, when restrictions were imposed on its abuse for improper purposes in 1339, and when it seems to have been more or less usual for disorderly and licentious characters to cause annoyance and scandal in this way by pervading the city at all hours of the night and early morning.¹

De la Haye, who was at Venice about 1660, remarks: "At their Masques they [the ladies] have a particular care of refusing their hand to no body, lest it should prove some gentleman in masquerade, which amongst them would be an inexorable affront. At these meetings they place themselves all in a row, without speaking a word, and when they are taken out to dance, one must have a special care he does it not with his glove off; if he does, he not only runs a hazard of an affront, but to be pistoled or stabb'd. Their dance is nothing but a grave and stately motion from one room to another, till at last they return to the place from whence they were taken."

This description of amusement lasted down to modern times; but private entertainments were gradually superseded by the *Ridotti*, places for dancing, card-playing, and so on, one of which was situated at San Moisè, and whose public *bals masqués* were formerly held so many times a week in the winter. In the *Cries of Venice* a man with a lantern is guiding two gentlemen with masks to an entertainment of this sort.

The mask also played a leading and indispensable part in the low comedy placed on the stage in the eighteenth century, and was indeed a far more influential feature in the performance and in comic action than it is in the modern theatre. It was found to be a valuable accessory to the broad and coarse humour relished by Venetian audiences and spectators; and the government held, moreover, that it had the collateral merit of concealing identity, when ladies of family thought fit to frequent these performances, for in 1776² the Decemvirs interdicted women of rank and honest repute from going to the theatre unmasked.

The *ridotto* is associated by the Sieur de la Haye with a

¹ Romanin, ii. 3, nota.

² Romanin, vi. 186.

place where cards and gaming as well as dancing were carried on. "They have," says he, "certain places on purpose which they call *Ridotti*, where they meet, and dispose of several hours without speaking a word. Their success is never known by their behaviour, for they win and lose, receive and part with their money with the same temper and indifference." But he just after adds, that one of their chief places of meeting was at a senator's house, where they had always one of their judges under their eye. This was when De la Haye was at Venice about 1660. A little farther on he proceeds to observe: "You shall see fifty or three score ladies about a long table, shuffling and managing the cards with as much silence as they were statues, and losing their money with as little concernment as their husbands. I was many times at these meetings on purpose to have learn'd the game, but they play'd so quick, and talk'd so little, 'twas impossible I should do it." Evelyn had previously noticed the same thing, when he was here in 1646. He states that his party "went to the Chetto di San Felice to see the noblemen and their ladies at bassett, a game at cards, which is much used; but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, lose or gain, and go away as they please. This time of licence is only in Carnival and this Ascension-Week."

In 1704 the attention of the Decemvirs was drawn to the multiplication of these *ridotti* frequented by both sexes, and a source of disorder and scandal; and it was prescribed to the Inquisitors of State to take measures for their closure. Two establishments are specified: one at the Carmini, the other at Canareggio. But in a later edict of the same body, and on the secret file (28th February 1743), the *ridotto* at San Moisè seems to be excepted, while others, which had started in emulation or rivalry, are marked for suppression. It is particularly noticeable that the Ten in their decree on the subject discriminate between these *ridotti*, commonly called *Casini*, and the true Casino, as it was familiar to the Republic from the fourteenth century. At a more recent date the San Moisè house itself was peremptorily and definitively ordered in a very long and detailed minute of the Great Council (27th November 1774) to be shut up, as an institution which was productive of grave scandal in a State bred up in piety and good discipline.

The antiquity of the café, so far as Venice is concerned, has

apparently to be conjectured rather than ascertained. The origin of coffee and coffee-houses elsewhere is traced to the Levant, where an English traveller, Sir Henry Blunt, saw them in the earlier part of the reign of Charles I.; and nowhere should such institutions have obtained an earlier footing than here. They have been sufficiently abundant since the middle of the eighteenth century, and no establishment in Europe ever acquired such world-wide celebrity as that kept by Florian, the friend of Canova, and the trusted agent and acquaintance of hundreds of persons in and out of the city, who found him an unfailing source of information about everything and everybody. Persons leaving the city for a time left their cards and addresses and a clue to their movements with him; others coming to it inquired under his roof for tidings of those whom they desired to see; he long concentrated in himself a knowledge more varied and multifarious than that possessed by any individual before or since. Venetian coffee was said to surpass all other, and the article placed before his visitors by Florian was said to be the best in Venice. So cordial was the esteem of the great sculptor for him, that, when Florian was overtaken by gout, he made a model of his leg, that the poor fellow might be spared the anguish of fitting himself with boots. The friendship had begun when Canova was entering on his career, and he never forgot the substantial services which had been rendered to him in the hour of need.

But previously to the days of this famous and almost historical restaurateur the Council of Ten had been laying their hand on alleged abuses connected with the coffee-houses of the metropolis, which are charged in decrees of the 18th December 1775, and 28th December 1776, with fostering all kinds of corruption and immorality by harbouring women and youths, and remaining open to outrageous hours. An indirect fruit of this mischief was that the principal thoroughfares were thronged all night with loungers of both sexes,¹ and that public morals were jeopardised; and the Inquisitors of State were directed to eradicate this social canker.

Out-of-door recreations for all were at hand: not only those with which Venice is more closely associated, but, as we perceive,

¹ Una deambulazione notturna praticata perfino nelle ore avanzatissime della notte per tutte le pubbliche strade di questa Dominante non meno dalle femmine nostre ma dagli uomini ancora. . . . Romanin, vi. 188.

the tournament, bull-fight, the game of pell-mell, which last used to be played on the Campo S. Giacomo dell' Orio, and that of *calcio*, or football, where the young patricians, casting aside their ordinary costume, attired themselves in close-fitting suits for the sake of greater freedom. Many of them were addicted to the pugilistic art; and down to 1705 the Campo adjoining the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine was the scene of a yearly prize-ring. As many as seventy horses used to be kept for use in the inclosed space used as an arena for jousts at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, outside the Church of the Mendicanti.

So far back as 1548 street-musicians and public bands were required to obtain a licence from the *Messetaria*, an official department which superintended a variety of minutiae connected with the general comfort and security.

The resorts of the working classes in Venice itself, as well as in the suburbs and outskirts, were of two leading classes: the *bastioni* or wine shops and the *casini* or taverns, where the glass or other measure of cheap wine was accompanied by a game of cards or other similar diversion, and there were, after a while, the puppet shows and marionettes. In the sixteenth century only two *bastioni* existed in Murano with a dense and thriving population; in the nineteenth, with a tithe of the former inhabitants and comparatively no local industry, there are twenty.

When Mr. Howells was at Venice about 1867, he found the Venetian of that day easily satisfied and amused. The author of *Venetian Life* speaks of the roughly-hewn statue of Sior Antonio Rioba, which was set, he tells us, in the corner of an ordinary grocery near the Ghetto. Mr. Howells paid a visit to the spot. "He has a pack on his back and a staff in his hand, and on the wall near him is painted a bell-pull with the legend, *Sior Antonio Rioba*. Rustics, raw apprentices, and honest Germans new to the city are furnished with packages to be carried to Sior Antonio Rioba, who is very hard to find"—and there is generally a knot of boys at hand to enjoy the hoax. A comic journal during the republic of 1848 bore his name; it was then a jest of long standing—a thin one. In estimating the dependence of earlier ages on resources outside daily labour, there is always one element in the calculation; and it is the absence of artificial light after nightfall, which through centuries rendered out-of-door excursions impossible.

The wealthier classes had their *villeggiature* both in the immediate vicinity of the city and on the *terra firma*, and were at liberty, in the absence of official ties, to go whither they pleased. But the operative, the artisan, and the shop-keeper's assistant had their relaxation, and periodically made parties to go on boating excursions with music and refreshments to various points within a reasonable distance; and working women took a day in the year, and started in a body from one of the places of embarkation at a very early hour, with an escort of two neighbours of the other sex of mature years, with a mind to forget for a moment their hard lot at home. The expense was defrayed by a weekly payment to a treasurer by each intending participator in the holiday of a *quartuarolo* or *obolo*; and this jaunt was called a *garanghello*. The women presented a gay and bright appearance in their scarlet bodices and bombazine skirts or petticoats, snow-white linen, and muslin aprons set off with as much cheap finery or jewellery as they could command, or with bouquets of flowers. Their male relatives and friends came to carry the provisions for the day, and to see them off; their usual destination was Mestra, or Lido, or some place which afforded facilities for a picnic and a dance, accompanied or followed by songs and instrumental music; and in the evening they returned with the barks (*peote*) illuminated and with all sorts of enjoyment and fun. It was the women's own day; they left not only the men, but the children, behind them.

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